

THE
EARLY ENGLISH
CAROLS

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THE EARLY ENGLISH CAROLS

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TO
JAMES GEREAU GREENE
AND
RUTH LEIGHTON GREENE

PREFACE

THE Middle and Early Modern English texts here collected comprise all those lyrics extant and accessible in manuscript or printed sources of date earlier than 1550 to which, in the editor's judgement, the term 'carol' can properly be applied. These texts have been selected on the basis, not of their subject-matter, but of their metrical form. They include only poems intended, or at least suitable, for singing, made up of uniform stanzas and provided with a burden which begins the piece and is to be repeated after each stanza. The reasons for the adoption of this basis of selection and the historical justification for this limitation of the term 'carol' are given at some length in the Introduction.

The year 1550 is chosen as a downward limit for the reason that the carol form appears at about that time to have lost its great popularity with some suddenness. The burst of poetical progress and the accompanying change of metrical fashion which are associated with the Elizabethan period relegated the characteristically medieval carol form to the infrequent and socially undistinguished use claimed by an outmoded style. New musical developments, notably the madrigal, replaced among the cultivated the simple pattern of the carol. New dances imported from the Continent caused the medieval carole to become the amusement almost entirely of children and rustics. As a consequence the term 'carol' lost its definite medieval meaning, already weakened, of 'dance-song' and became the vague synonym for 'song in general' which it remains in common usage to-day.

It would be profitless and pedantic, as well as historically unjustified, when applying the word to songs of Elizabethan or later times, to insist on the limitation of meaning observed in this collection of songs from the time when 'carol' still held associations with the dance. The familiar instance of the word 'ballad' is a case in point. One may speak of a modern ballad or a ballad opera without prejudice to the technical and historical use of the word to designate a narrative folk-song from oral tradition. The present volume is simply an attempt to present the medieval carol as a definite metrical type, recognized as such by those who sang and wrote it in the England of the later Middle Ages.

No detailed treatment of the musical settings preserved for

many of the carols is here undertaken, although the evidence of such music has been used wherever possible in determining the metrical form of the lyrics. From such sources as the bass part-book with British Museum press-mark K.1.e.1, and MS. Addit. 31922 some pieces which resemble carols in arrangement of words have not been included, since the music varies from stanza to stanza and is not repeated as in the true carol. Discussions and transcriptions of the music of some of the carols are available to the reader in Stainer's *Early Bodleian Music*, Fuller Maitland's *Fifteenth Century Carols*, Sir Richard Terry's *A Medieval Carol Book*, and other works to which reference is made in the notes.

The arrangement of the carols by subject-matter calls for some explanation. The two most obvious and usual methods of classifying carols, a division into 'Christmas' and 'other' carols and a division into 'religious' and 'secular' carols, are also the most misleading. If 'Christmas carol' be taken to mean a song explicitly celebrating the Nativity, an English *noël*, the term is arbitrarily narrowed in a way unknown before 1800 at the earliest. If it be taken to mean any song suitable for singing at Christmas (from a modern editor's point of view), it ceases to have any objective value and excludes many songs which certainly *were* sung at Christmas, the loose and profane ones, for example. To the question 'Which of these pieces are Christmas carols?' one can only answer, 'Any, or all.' Probably most of them were felt to be suitable for singing at Christmas-tide. Quite as probably most of them, including some of those on the Nativity itself, were sung on other occasions, or *ad placitum*, as a heading frequent in one manuscript has it. A few are definitely occasional, especially those for the feast-days following Christmas Day, but there is no reason to assume that most of them, once in a singer's repertory, were disused from one year's end to the other as is the case with the modern 'Christmas carols'.

The division into 'religious' and 'secular' carols is likewise based on a modern rather than a medieval attitude. The distinctive charm of many carols is just that they do belong to two worlds; they were written in days when one could be pious and merry at the same time. Especially has the process of giving worldly or trivial songs a new devotional dress produced many carols which it would be equally misguided to class with *Hymns Ancient and Modern* as 'religious' or even with Herrick's *Hesperides* as 'secular'.

A chronological arrangement of the carols is impracticable for the reason that the relative priority of the texts, as apart from the manuscripts in which they are preserved, cannot in many cases be determined.

The arrangement here adopted is one designed to serve the convenience of the reader without grouping the texts in rigid and unmeaning categories. It adopts a middle course between the care-free arrangement of the compilers of the manuscripts and an unhistorical and arbitrary segregation by types. The order is designed to bring together pieces on the same or similar dominant themes. The reader will quickly perceive the relationship between carols which lie near each other, and the running titles of the pages are to be regarded as guide-posts rather than as designations having ultimate critical validity. The titles given the separate carols in the notes are likewise dictated by considerations of convenience. To attempt to impose them on the texts with any air of finality would be impertinent.

Subject to these reservations, the order of the texts is as follows:

Carols of Advent, the Nativity, the feasts of the Twelve Days, the Purification

Carols of the infant Christ and His mother.

Carols of the Passion, including *planctus Mariae*.

Devotional carols to or of the Virgin, including those on the Annunciation.

Devotional carols to or of the Trinity, God the Father, and Christ, including appeals of Christ to mankind.

Carols of the Saints.

Carols of the Mass and the Eucharist.

Carols of religious and moral counsel.

Carols of doomsday and mortality.

Carols of satirical tendency.

Carols on persons or events of political significance.

Amorous carols, refined and gross.

Humorous carols.

The notes are designed rather to be of service to those who may wish to study the texts further than to provide exhaustive commentary on each piece. Glossarial notes are provided only for words which might present some difficulty to those readers having a slight acquaintance with Middle English. They do not include linguistic discussions. For each of the many carols by James Ryman with their hundreds of verbal resemblances

to each other, a single reference to the full and laborious notes of Zupitza has been made. The work of previous editors has been freely drawn upon without detailed reference, and acknowledgement of indebtedness to all such commentary is gladly made here. A special notice is called for of the present editor's debt to Professor Carleton Brown's *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse*, without which the task of selecting and locating texts would have been far more difficult.

The Introduction of this volume incorporates, with minor revisions, the greater part of a dissertation submitted, under the title *The English Carol before 1550*, in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and accepted by the faculty of Princeton University in 1929. The corpus of texts now included corresponds in general to that upon which the dissertation was based.

The editing of the texts from the original sources and the preparation of the notes and bibliography were done in England during my tenure of a Research Fellowship of the American Council of Learned Societies for the academic year 1931-2.

Grateful acknowledgement is made to the authorities of the following libraries, who have permitted the transcription and publication of the texts in this volume: The British Museum; The College of Arms, Lambeth Palace, The Public Record Office; Lincoln's Inn; Westminster Abbey, The Bodleian Library, Balliol College, Oxford; New College, Oxford, The University Library, Cambridge; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge; Jesus College, Cambridge; St. John's College, Cambridge, Trinity College, Cambridge; Chapter Library, Canterbury Cathedral; The John Rylands Library, Manchester, National Library of Scotland; Trinity College, Dublin; Bridgwater Corporation Muniments; Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

My thanks are also offered to the following private owners of manuscripts, who have shown me particular courtesy in permitting the transcription and publication of texts: The Most Honourable the Marquess of Bath; the Right Honourable Lord Harlech; the Right Honourable Lord Tollemache and the Trustees of the Estate of the late Lord W. F. Tollemache; the Honourable Mrs. R. Douglas Hamilton. The text of No. 322 C is included by permission of Messrs. Stainer & Bell, Ltd., owners of the copyright, the texts of Nos. 79 B and 112 by permission of Professor Hardin Craig of Stanford University.

It is a further pleasure to record my gratitude to a number of other persons who have assisted me in various ways. Mr. Geoffrey B. Riddehough of the University of British Columbia very kindly communicated to me some results of his independent search for texts of carols in the British Isles. In particular he first called my attention to the existence and location of Nos. 36 c, 114 c, 147, and 170. Mr. Godfrey Davies of the Huntington Library sent me the necessary bibliographical and other information concerning MS. HM. 147 in that institution. My friends Professors Harvey A. Eagleson of the California Institute of Technology, Henry L. Savage of Princeton University, Edward B. Ham of Yale University, and Mr. Owen E. Holloway of Oxford, have furnished me with useful information. Mr. T. Bruce Dilks, F.R.Hist.Soc., made easy and pleasant my access to the archives of the Corporation of Bridgwater. Mrs. D. R. Dalton, Executive Secretary of the American University Union in London, gave me much practical help in my search for carols in English libraries.

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R. L. G.

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A Medieval Carole From British Museum MS. Royal 20 A. xvii *Frontispiece*

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE CAROL AS A *GENRE*

I. *The meaning of 'Carol'*

IN the mass of existing literature which professes to deal with the English carol the term is applied to lyrics differing widely in date, form, and spirit. Two popular works on the subject designate as the first carol the *Gloria in excelsis Deo* of the New Testament narrative, and proceed to apply the term as well to such later and less inspired compositions as eighteenth-century doggerel on Pekoe tea or these complacent lines¹

Now that the time has come wherein
Our Saviour Christ was born,
The larder's full of beef and pork,
The garner's filled with corn.

Small wonder that these treatises, like some more learned ones,² modestly eschew any attempt to define a carol in so many words. Comparison of such definitions as have been put forward by various authorities does not reveal any close agreement among them or any clear statement of the difference between what may be properly called a carol and any other song. Julian says:³

A carol is a song of joy originally accompanying a dance. . . . Under the term *carol* we may include a large class of popular songs, the first of which were characterised by dance measures, both of time and action. It has come eventually to be used to designate a kind of lyrical poem, usually, but not exclusively, on sacred subjects, intended to be sung, with or without musical accompaniment . . .

He further suggests that the essential difference between hymns and carols may be that the latter

. . . deflect (as do the Psalms themselves) from direct addresses to God into historical references to His miraculous works and providential interpositions in behalf of His people; or into subjective, contemplative

¹ Duncan, Edmondstone, *The Story of the Carol* (London, [1911]), pp 6, 197; Phillips, William J., *Carols' their Origin, Music, and Connection with Mystery-Plays* (London, n.d.), pp 1, 118

² e.g. Ruckert, Edith, *Ancient English*

Christmas Carols (London, 1914) or Reed, Edward B., *Christmas Carols Printed in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1932)

³ *A Dictionary of Hymnology* (New York, 1892), s.v. 'Carols'

admiration of the Divine dealings with His faithful servants as individuals, thereby indirectly promoting His glory, but not directly ascribing glory to Him, and thus 'praising Him'.

The author grants that this leaves a wide borderland between hymn and carol, and the distinction on the basis of 'directness' of worship is plainly of no application to many lyrics which have long borne the name of carol.

The *Encyclopædia Britannica*¹ describes a carol as 'a hymn of praise, especially such as is sung at Christmas in the open air'. Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*² defines the carol in modern usage as 'a kind of popular song appropriated to some special season of the ecclesiastical or natural year', and Pulver³ states that it has meant variously a song with text connected with the Nativity, a part of a miracle play, a jovial drinking song, and a dance like the German *Reigen* or the French *branle*. One of the most recent attempts at a definition is made by one of the editors of *The Oxford Book of Carols*, who opens his preface with the concise statement:⁴

Carols are songs with a religious impulse that are simple, hilarious, popular, and modern

This is quoted with warm approval by the reviewer of *The Times Literary Supplement*,⁵ who adds:

And it is not really possible to get much nearer to a precise definition; for like so many other names of musical forms (*e.g.*, motet and even symphony) the term means different things at different periods, and yet through all variations it has always managed to embody the same fundamental idea. a song (not a hymn) with a religious impulse sung from a warm heart whether solemn or gay.

There is some wisdom in the comment, and it is probably necessary to resign ourselves to this vagueness in modern popular usage, but such resignation in regard to the carol before, roughly, the reign of Elizabeth is both unnecessary and undesirable. A fairly close examination of the history of the word itself will show that in the later Middle Ages, when the carol was most flourishing, it bore a more exact meaning and was, in fact, the accepted name of a definite lyric type.

¹ Eleventh edition (Cambridge, 1911), s.v. 'Carol'.

² (Philadelphia, 1922), s.v. 'Carol'

³ *A Dictionary of Old English Music and Musical Instruments* (London, 1923), s.v.

'Carol'.

⁴ (London, 1928) The preface is by Percy Dearmer

⁵ 22 November 1928, p. 891.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists the following principal senses of the word:¹

I. A ring-dance, and derived senses.

- 1 A ring-dance with accompaniment of song; ? a ring of men or women holding hands and moving round in dancing step. *arch.*
- b* Diversion or merry-making of which such dances formed a leading feature *Obs.* (So in mod. F. dial. = 'fête, joie'.)
- 2 A song, originally, that to which they danced. Now, usually, a song of a joyous strain; often *transf.* to the joyous warbling of birds
3. *a.* A song or hymn of religious joy
- b. esp.* A song or hymn of joy sung at Christmas in celebration of the Nativity. Rarely applied to hymns on certain other festal occasions

II A ring, and related senses.

It will be seen from the definitions previously quoted and from an examination of the pieces included in almost any popular collection of carols² that senses 2 and 3 *b* are those in which the word has been most often understood for the last century at least, and that a confusion of the two is accepted by those who deal with the subject.³ To modern editors a carol may be either any song dealing with Christmas material or designed for Christmas festivities or worship, or a song, not necessarily connected with Christmas, which is vaguely felt to have some connexion with a dance. In any case the term has been far from having any such limits of application as those now recognized for the words 'ballad' or 'ode', let alone any such restricted metrical connotation as is possessed by 'sonnet', 'ballade', or 'roundel'.

It is, however, just such a restriction of meaning, with particular reference to the form of the lyrics, which characterizes the use of the word before the middle of the sixteenth century. It will be seen to be no arbitrary convention, but the natural result of the close association of a certain metrical structure with the round dance.

The word first seems to occur in extant English literature about 1300 in the *Cursor Mundi*, where it has the exact sense

¹ Condensed from the article 'Carol'. See also for the somewhat obscure etymology of the word. Further consideration is given it by Haberl, Rudolf, in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vol. xxxvi, p. 309, by Holmes, Urban T, in *Language*, vol. iv, pp. 28-30, and (with Förster, Max) *ibid.*, pp. 200-3. The important fact for the present discussion is

the direct derivation from Fr. *carole*.

² e.g. *The Oxford Book*, or Sandys, William, *Christmas Carols, Ancient and Modern* (London, 1833).

³ So by Reed, *Christmas Carols Printed in the Sixteenth Century*, Introduction. This begins promisingly, but proceeds to ignore the conclusions indicated by the quoted material.

of Old French *carole*, that is, a ring-dance in which the dancers themselves sing the governing music:¹

To ierusalem þat heued bare þai.
þer caroled wiues be þe way
of þair carol suche was the sange.
atte þai for ioy had ham amange.

The same meaning is seen in the fourteenth-century *Stanzaic Life of Christ*, where one of the characteristic gestures is mentioned:

Thow in þo ryng of carolyng
spredis þin armes furth from the.²

The *Handlyng Synne* of Robert of Brunne takes over and expands from its French original the famous medieval legend of the sacrilegious dancers of Kolbigk, who, for disturbing Mass, were condemned to continue their round for a year without stopping. Both the dance and the accompanying song are designated by 'carol':³

Þese wommen þede and tolled here oute
wyþ hem to karolle þe cherche aboute
Beune ordeyned here karollyng;
Gerlew endyted what þey shuld syng:
Þys ys þe karolle þat þey sunge,
As telleþ þe latyn tunge,
'Equitabat Beuo per siluam frondosam,
Ducebat secum Merswyndam formosam,
Quid stamus, cur non imus?'

This last is translated as

'By þe leued wode rode Beuolyne,
wyþ hym he ledde feyre Merswyne;
why stonde we? why go we noght?'

The same poem, in a passage not found in the French source, condemns those women who 'borwe clopes yn carol to go'.⁴

In the works of Chaucer 'carol' is used consistently in the sense of 'dance with song', repeatedly in *The Romance of the Rose* (Fragment A) where he is translating the French *carole* of his original,⁵ and a few times in his independent compositions.

¹ Ed Morris, R. (Early English Text Society, Original Series, Nos 57, &c., London, 1874-93), Fairfax text, ll 7599-602.

² Ed Foster, Frances A. (Early English Text Society, Original Series, No 166, London, 1926), ll 5937-8

³ Ed. Furnivall, F. J. (Early English

Text Society, Original Series, Nos 109, 123, London, 1901-3), ll 9039-51.

⁴ Ibid, l 3458 Cf. also ll 985-6, 4684-97

⁵ Ed. Skeat, W. W., in *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* (Oxford, 1894), ll 744-5, 754, 759, 781, 793, 804, 810

In the A-version of the prologue to *The Legend of Good Women* (the passage is not in the B-version) the great crowd of loyal women kneel to the daisy,¹

And after that they wenten in compas,
Daunsinge aboute this flour an esy pas,
And songen, as it were in carole-wyse,
This balade, which that I shal yow devyse.

It is to be observed that the *ballade*, 'Hyd, Absolon, thy gilte tresses clere', is not called a carol, it is merely indicated as being sung in the manner of carolling. Other lines in which the word occurs show that Chaucer observed a distinction between carolling, which was singing *and* dancing, and mere dancing or mere singing. For example:²

That never waking, in the day or night,
Ye nere out of myn hertes remembrance
For wele or wo, for carole or for daunce

Or ³

I saw hir daunce so comlyly,
Carole and singe so swetely,
Laughe and pleye so womanly

Among the devices figured on the wall of the Temple of Venus in the *Knight's Tale* are:⁴

Festes, instruments, caroles, daunces,
Lust and array, and alle the circumstaunces
Of love

It is said of the 'sotted priest' of the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale* that⁵

Nas never noon [nightingale] that luste bet to singe;
Ne lady lustier in carolinge

Gower's use of the word appears in some cases to be the same as Chaucer's, as in the following passages from the *Confessio Amantis*.⁶

. . . whanne hir list on nyhtes wake
In chambre as to carole and daunce.
And if it nedes so betyde,
That I in compaignie abyde,
Wher as I moste daunce and singe
The hove dance and carolinge
Or forto go the newefot

¹ Ed. Skeat, *ibid*, ll 199-202

² *The Legend of Good Women*, *ibid*, ll 685-7

³ *The Book of the Duchess*, *ibid*, ll 848-50

⁴ ll. A 1931-3

⁵ ll G 1344-5

⁶ Ed. Macaulay, G. C. (Early English Text Society, Extra Series, Nos LXXXI-II, London, 1900-1), Bk IV, ll 2778-9, Bk VI, ll 141-5, Bk V, ll 3143-6

Ther was Revel, ther was daunsinge,
 And every lif which coude singe
 Of lusti wommen in the route
 A freissh carole hath sunge aboute.

But in other passages there are signs that the word's implications of actual dancing are weakening, and that Gower means simply a song which may be sung with or without dancing, as when he writes ¹

Bot Slowthe mai no profit winne,
 Bot he mai singe in his karole
 How Latewar cam to the Dole

Or:²

And if it so befall among,
 That sche carole upon a song,
 Whan I it here I am so fedd,
 That I am fro myself so ledd,
 As thogh I were in paradis.

It is definitely applied to such songs as a lyric type in the list of Vam-Glory's accomplishments.³

And ek he can carolles make,
 Rondeal, balade and virelai.

Similarly in the Lover's account of his own poetical efforts:⁴

And also I have ofte assaied
 Rondeal, balade and virelai
 For hire on whom myn herte lai
 To make, and also forto peinte
 Caroles with my wordes qweinte
 To sette my pourpos alofte;
 And thus I sang hem forth fulofte
 In halle and ek in chambre aboute,
 And made merie among the route

The carols mentioned in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* are of particular interest, for they are definitely associated with the Christmas season, unlike any of the others except that of Kōlbigk. The word seems usually to mean for the author of *Sir Gawain*, as for Chaucer, the combined song and dance of the *carole*. The action of social dancing is implied in the following lines:⁵

Per tournayed tulkes by tymeȝ ful mony,
 Justed ful jolile þise gentyle knyȝtes,
 Syȝen kayred to þe court caroles to make.

¹ Ibid., Bk. IV, ll. 250-2.

² Ibid., Bk. VI, ll. 867-71.

³ Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 2708-9

⁴ Ibid., Bk. I, ll. 2726-34

⁵ Ed. Tolkien, J. R. R., and Gordon, E. V. (Oxford, 1925), ll. 41-3, 471-3, 1025-6, 1885-8

Wel bycommes such craft vpon Christmasse,
 Layking of enterlude3, to la3e and to syng,
 Among þise kynde caroles of kny3te3 and ladye3

(On St John's Day)

Forþy wonderly þay woke, and þe wyn dronken,
 Daunsed ful dre3ly wyth dere carole3.

And syþen he mace hym as mery among þe fre ladies,
 With comlych caroles and alle kynnes ioie,
 As neuer he did bot þat daye, to þe derk ny3t,
 with blys

In one passage, however, the term is unmistakably applied to songs which are sung for their own sake.¹

Much glam and gle glent vp þerinne
 Aboute þe fyre vpon flet, and on fele wyse
 At þe soper and after, mony aþel songe3,
 As coundutes of Krystmasse and carole3 newe.

A 'coundute', Latin *conductus*, was a two-, three-, or four-part song of which not all the parts were furnished with words. Its distinctive feature was that the melody of the tenor, if not an original theme, was taken from popular song and not from ecclesiastical music as in most other part-songs, such as rotas or motets.² It was a thoroughly cultured and sophisticated sort of composition, appealing to those who were musically educated. The *conductus* was old-fashioned and passing out of favour by the time that *Sir Gawain* was written, a fact which gives point to the description of the carols as new. The adjective may also have been chosen to distinguish these carols without dancing from the older carols which were only sung in the dance. At any rate the carol is here again mentioned in connexion with another kind of lyric which is distinguished by its *form*.

In the fifteenth century the use of 'carol' to designate song not actually accompanied by dancing becomes well established and the association with Christmas more frequent. In the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (1440) the noun and verb appear as 'Carole, songe', and 'Carolyn, or syng carowlys'.³ A rimed ecclesiastical calendar doubtfully attributed to Lydgate alludes

¹ Ibid., II 1652-5. See the editors' note on this passage. It is hardly correct to say 'it is from the medieval *coundutes* that modern carols are descended', still less so to call a 'conduit', as does S. O. Andrew (*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, London, 1929, p. 102), 'any song in honour of the

Christmas season'.

² Grove, *A Dictionary of Music*, s.v. 'Conductus', *Oxford History of Music* (London 1929), vol. 1, pp. 137 ff.

³ Ed. Mayhew, A. L. (Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. CII, London, 1908)

to 'A curyous (*or* careles) caral pis Crystemasse',¹ and an account preserved by Leland of a royal Twelfth Night feast in the third year of Henry VII (1487) records that 'at the Table in the Medell of the Hall sat the Deane and those of the Kings Chapell, which incontinently after the Kings furst Course sange a Carall'² The older meaning of the word is still met with, however, particularly in the North.³ The *Catholicon Anglicum* (as written probably of the East Riding of Yorkshire, 1483) glosses 'caralle' as *corea*, *chorus*, which significations are likewise given among the equivalents for 'dawnce'.⁴ The *Oxford English Dictionary* notes its occurrence in this sense as late as 1616.

In the sixteenth century 'song' is the ordinary meaning of 'carol', and the phrase 'Christmas carols' appears in print in the little books from the presses of Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Kele.⁵ In the second half of the century the looseness of usage which remains to the present day makes itself apparent, and 'carol' sometimes implies a connexion with Christmas, sometimes is simply interchangeable with 'song'.⁶

The passages cited show that for a late medieval writer or singer the carol was distinguished from other lyrics by its form rather than by its subject. The essential features of that form can only be determined from those texts to which the name was explicitly applied at the time of their writing down. These are not many, but they suffice for the purpose. The most important group consists of twenty-six which appear with the other poems of John Audelay in a unique manuscript, Bodleian Library Douce 302.⁷ All but one of these lyrics follow a rubric which reads

I pray yow, syrus, boothe moore and las,
Sying these caroles in Cristemas.

¹ Ed MacCracken, Henry N, *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, Part I (Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No CVII, London, 1911), p. 376.

² *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea* (London, 1770), vol. iv, p. 237.

³ So in Small, John, ed., *The Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas* (Edinburgh, 1874), vol. iii, p. 86, ll. 9-16, Smith, G. Gregory, ed., *The Poems of Robert Henryson* (Scottish Text Society, Nos. 55, &c., Edinburgh, 1906-14), 'The Testament of Cresseid', ll. 431, 443-4, Skeat, W. W., ed., *The Kings Quhair* (Scottish Text Society, New Series, No. 5, Edinburgh, 1911), stanza 121.

⁴ Ed Herrtage, S. J. H. (Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 75, London, 1881).

⁵ Compare also the designations of various carol-collections entered in the *Stationers' Register* 1562-87, quoted by Reed, *Christmas Carols Printed in the Sixteenth Century*, p. xviii.

⁶ John Palsgrave's *L'Éclaircissement de la langue francoyse* (1530) glosses the word both as Christmas song and as dance-song. 'Carole—a song *chancon de Noel* s.f. *carolle* s.f.' In the *Manipulus Vocabulorum* of Peter Levinus (1570) it appears simply as equivalent to song in general: 'A Caril, *canticum*, v' (ed. Wheatley, H. B., Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 27, London, 1867, col. 124).

⁷ For Audelay's other work see Whiting, Ella K., ed., *The Poems of John Audelay* (Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 184, London, 1931).

In three of these the word 'carol' is found in the text itself. At the close of a piece invoking a blessing on the youthful Henry VI, Audelay makes this appeal ¹

I pray youe, seris, of your gentre,
Syng this carol reuerently,
Fore hit is mad of Kyng Herre;
Gret ned fore him we han to pray.

In the course of another, on the 'timor mortis' theme, he tells us:²

As I lay seke in my langure,
With sorow of hert and teere of ye,
This caral I made with gret doloure;
Passio Christi conforta me.

In a third, in honour of St. Francis, he again asks.³

I pray youe, seris, pur charyte,
Redis this caral reuerently,
Fore I mad hit with wepyng eye,
Your broder, Jon, the blynd Awdlay.

The twenty-sixth piece, a narrative of St. Winifred, has not usually been counted among Audelay's carols, but he definitely calls it one.⁴

I pray youe al, pur charyte
Redis this carol reuerently,
Fore I hit mad with wepyng ye,
Mi name hit is the blynd Awdlay

In British Museum MS Additional 31042 is a song in honour of the rose as the symbol of an English champion, probably Henry V. It is in the hand of Robert Thornton, scribe of the famous collection of poems preserved at Lincoln Cathedral, and is marked 'A Carolle for Crystynmesse'.⁵ There is no mention of the Nativity in the text, nor indeed any explicit religious reference.

Another hitherto unpublished piece, written down in 1500 in a collection of Welsh poems, British Museum MS Additional 14997, uses the word in an especially interesting context. It is a hearty and festive song, not at all pious like Audelay's. The third and fifth stanzas run as follows:⁶

Therefore euery mon that ys here
Synge a caroll on hys manere,
Yf he con non we shall hym lere,
So that we be mere allway.

¹ No 428, stanza 15

² No 369, stanza 8

³ No 310, stanza 13

⁴ No 314, stanza 30.

⁵ No 427.

⁶ No 10. See also p lix

Mende the fyre, and make gud chere!
 Fyll the cuppe, Ser Botelere!
 Let euery mon drynke to hys fere!
 Thys endes my caroll with care away.

In a still different style is a laboured and theologically argumentative poem on the Incarnation of which the two stanzas appearing in Helmingham Hall MS. L.J. I. 10 are headed by the hand that wrote them down about 1531 'A carolle'.¹

The variety of subjects treated by the poems in Richard Hill's commonplace book of about the same time, now Balliol College, Oxford, MS. 354, is well known. A good number of these poems are listed as carols by the contemporary table of contents:²

dyuers carolles . . ff. CLXXVIII

Item dyuers good carolles ff. IICIII

Item dyuers mery carolles ff. IICXXVI

Item ye iij complexions of man with diuerys carolles ff. CLXXVIII

The lyrics which have just been noticed differ among themselves in almost all possible respects except two, in which they are in striking agreement. All are in stanzas, the form of which is not changed in the course of the poem, and all have prefixed a group of lines which forms a *burden* or chorus, to be sung (or considered as sung by a reader) before the first stanza and repeated after that and all succeeding stanzas. It would seem that these two characteristics of form were those which the writers of the manuscripts recognized as the marks of the carol type.

This conclusion is strengthened by a closer consideration of the meaning assigned to 'carol' by the compiler of the *Promptorium Parvulorum*. This Galfridus Grammaticus, a Dominican friar of Norfolk, was a man of some learning³ and distinguished with care a considerable number of musical terms.⁴ 'Carole, songe', he glosses as *palinodium*, 'carolyn, or syng carowlys', as *pallinodio*, and 'carowlynge' as *palinadinacio*.⁵ As he can hardly have taken 'carol' as equivalent to 'retraction', he

¹ No 95 b See also p lvi

² Printed by Flugel, E., in *Angha*, vol xxvi, pp 97 ff The groups of lyrics indicated are those which begin, by the modern numbering of the manuscript, on ff 176 r., 219 v., 248 r., 250 r., respectively.

³ See the introduction to Mayhew's edition, pp xi-xvii

⁴ e.g., the following terms for songs of different kinds

Soong *Cantus -us*, *Canticum -i*

Soong in a halle or in a chambyr *Cantilena, -e*

Song of a man alone *Monodia, -e*

Song of ii men *Bicinium, -ij.* (&c.)

⁵ He gives as his authority for the noun, 'vgucio', i.e. the Latin dictionary of Hugutio Pisanus (*d* 1210), and for the verb the *Catholicon* of Johannes de Janua. The *Oxford English Dictionary* prints *psalmodio* for the verb, presumably after Way's edition (London, 1843-65)

must have had in mind the other meaning of *palinodia*, that is, the repetition of part of a song, a sense warranted by a literal interpretation of the word's etymology.¹ Du Cange records an application of *palinodia* to vocal music with an element of repetition, specifically to the *Te Deum* sung antiphonally.² A sixteenth-century French theorist applies *palinod* to a recurrent refrain:³

Kyrielle a este appellée la ryme, en laquelle en fin de chaque couplet vn mesme vers est toujours repeté: qu'ils ont appelé Refrain, es Balades et Chans royaux, et l'ont icy nommé Palinod, c'est a dire Rechanté. Et est ce nom de Palinod bien seant en ceste Kyrielle, laquelle se commet le plus souvent en Chans lyriques ou Odes, ou ce Palinod est plusieurs fois rechanté . . .

It appears as the name of a lyric *genre* in the title of a French volume of about 1525: 'Palinodz, chants royaux, ballades, rondeaux et epigrammes à l'honneur de l'Immaculée Conception de la toute belle mère de Dieu (patronne des Normans), presentez au puy à Rouen. . . .'⁴ The *palinode* in French is differently described by different authorities, but the characteristic and necessary element involved is always a repeated phrase, a refrain.⁵ It is safe to assume that the learned Galfridus glossed 'carol' as he did because to him it meant a song with such a repeated member.

The definition of a carol to which all this points as the one actually accepted before about 1550 is 'a song on any subject, composed of uniform stanzas and provided with a burden.' This definition is the one which is adopted throughout the present volume and made the basis for the inclusion or rejection of a given text. In the few instances where a rigid application of it seems inadvisable due explanation is given in the notes.

The adoption of this definition, which has been suggested

¹ Gr *παλιν-ωδία*, a recantation

² *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, ed Favre, L. (Niort, 1883), s.v. 'Palinodia Dei' 'Sic canticum *Te Deum* laudamus vulgo S. Augustino adscriptum vocat Abbo Floriac in Epist. ad monachos Anglos apud Mabill. tom. 4. Annal. pag. 30. laudata, ubi idem canticum S. Hilario Pictavensi Episcopo tribuit Laurentio in Amalth. *Palinodia* est iter *reciprocum*. Item, *recantatio seu retractatio, contrarius cantus*. Unde patet vocis origo, quod scilicet canticum illud divisim choris soleat decantari'

³ Sibillet, Th., *Art poétique française* (Lyon, 1556), 12 pp. 145-6, quoted by Wolf, F., *Über die Laus, Sequenzen und Leiche* (Heidelberg, 1841), p. 204

⁴ Quoted, loc. cit.

⁵ Larousse, Pierre, *Grand Dictionnaire universel* (Paris, 1866, &c.), s.v. 'Palinod' 'Pièce dans laquelle le même vers revenait à la fin de chaque strophe' . . . [Le puy] de Rouen exigeait que toute pièce de vers qui lui était présentée se terminât par l'éloge de la Vierge' Cf. Stengel, E., in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vol. xxviii, p. 372

before, but without emphasis,¹ is not a mere attempt to impose verbal pedantry upon what is, or should be, one of the most light-hearted of medieval *genres*. The importance which it gives to the burden will find its justification in the central role played by that choral element, not in criticism, but in the real, the vocal life of the carols. The definition recognizes this type of song as being in direct descent from the vocally accompanied dance, the *carole*.

Furthermore, this recognition of the carol as a lyric *genre* distinguished by form, and not by some specialized content or vaguely defined 'spirit', eliminates for the period to which it applies the confusion now besetting so many of the editors and critics of so-called 'Christmas carols'. Its application involves denying the title of carol to a few, but only a few, well-known and charming pieces which have often borne it, such as the exquisite 'I sing of a maiden'.² In most cases this is clear gain. The narrative piece, for example, beginning 'Seynt Steuene was a clerk in kyng Herowdes halle', is simply a ballad, very properly included in Child's collection, there is no need to call it anything else.³ Other Middle English lyrics of the Nativity which lack a burden it is better to call merely 'songs', or 'Christmas songs' if you will.⁴ The term 'carol' can then claim its proper meaning and usefulness as the designation of those lyrics which bear, in their regularly repeated burdens, the mark of their descent from the dancing circle of the *carole*.

2. *The Carol and the Noel*

The modern use of the word 'carol' as equivalent to 'Christmas song' has frequently led to a more or less complete identification of the carol with the type of French popular song known as the *noël*. Such identification, unless carefully qualified, is productive of little but confusion and misunderstanding, particularly when it is applied to the early history of the two *genres*. For the period before 1550, at least, it is invalid, as a glance at the history of the *noël* will show.⁵

¹ Notably by Sir Edmund Chambers, *Early English Lyrics* (London, 1926), p. 291. Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (eleventh edition), s.v. 'Carol'.

² British Museum, MS Sloane 2593, f. 10 v. Often reprinted, e.g. *Early English Lyrics*, p. 107.

³ *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, No. 22.

⁴ e.g., 'As I went throw a gardyn grene', MS Sloane 2593, f. 18 v., included in

Rickert, *Ancient English Christmas Carols*, p. 174 (another version in Turnbull, W. B. D. D., ed., *The Visions of Tundale*, Edinburgh, 1843, p. 157), Brown, Carleton F., ed., *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century* (Oxford, 1924), Nos. 57, 58.

⁵ The difficulties of this identification and the attempt to base a history of the carol on it are exemplified in Reed, *Christmas Carols Printed in the Sixteenth Century*, Introduction.

The *noel*, from its first appearance as a recognized type to the present day, has been distinguished from other song by the fact that its subject-matter is specifically concerned with the Nativity. It has never been, like the early carol, a *genre* recognized by its metrical form. A *noel* may have any verse-form which its author fancies, with or without burden or refrain. It has no historical connexion as a type with the round dance, although individual *noels* have often been written to dance-tunes. In fact, a long stanza is rather characteristic of the *noël*, and long stanzas are rare in medieval dance-song. The essential feature is the Christmas material, a 'May-*noel*' would be a contradiction in terms, whereas a 'May carol' is not.

The heading of one of the two earliest large collections of *noels* expressly states their common feature. 'S'ensuiuent aucuns ditez et chancons faitz en l'onneur de la natiuite Jhesu Crist commencans par noel'¹ The only piece not connected with the Nativity in this collection is a Latin song to St. Catherine; in the other, that of Tisserant, there are only three, a song to St. Catherine, a *quête* song for the New Year, and a drinking song.

The generally overestimated antiquity attributed to the *noel* has been responsible for some of the confusion with the early carol. Instead of dating from the twelfth century or earlier, as it has often been said to do, the *noel* does not emerge as a *genre* until the late fifteenth century, some time, that is, after the carol has been well established in English.² It grew in favour rapidly from that time forward, and many volumes of *noels* were printed and circulated in the sixteenth and following centuries.³ But in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, when the carol was flourishing in England, the *noel* had not yet been developed.

This does not mean that there were no songs in French which were connected with the religious or festal aspects of the Christmas season. Such there were, but they belonged to recognized medieval *genres* and did not form a class by themselves. An

¹ Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 3653, f. 2r. The observations on this manuscript and that of Tisserant's collection, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS français 2368, are based on rotograph copies, Modern Language Association Deposit, Library of Congress, Washington, Nos 97 and 101.

² Gastoué, Amédée, *Le Cantique popu-*

laire en France (Lyon, 1924), pp 109-30. This work neatly exposes the lack of evidence for the existence of the *noel* at the early dates to which its origin has often been referred.

³ See the 'Bibliographie générale des anciens recueils de cantiques et noels', *ibid.*, pp 231-321.

often-quoted piece is the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman song which begins:¹

Seignors, or entendez a nus.
De loing sumes venuz a vous
Quere Noel,
Car l'em nus dit que en cest hostel
Soleit tenir sa feste anvel
A hïcest jur.

This piece, written in England, has been claimed as an early *noël* by French writers and as an early carol by English. Actually, as Gastoué points out,² it is an *aguillannée*, or *quête* song, an appeal for entrance to the feasting hall made by minstrels in search of largess. The birth of Christ is not alluded to. The burden of the piece does give it a resemblance to the carol, but it is not sung at the beginning, like a true carol-burden, and it is replaced by another couplet at the close of the song. This Norman minstrel's work is a cousin to the English carol, if you like, but hardly a progenitor.

A much closer parallel is provided by a fifteenth-century *chanson pieuse* preserved in a manuscript now in Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, and hitherto unpublished.³ It is an exact counterpart of many English carols in form and in substance:

Aue uirgo regina,
Dei plena gratia

Vos qui Nostre Dame aymez,
A mon reson entendez;
Qui est a dire si escotez
De virgine Maria.

Le seynt angel Gabriel,
Qui decendist de ciel,
A Marie paroles dit tieles:
'Aue, plena gratia.

'Vn fant sera de toi nee
Qui Jhesus sera appellee,
Qui tout le monde pur sa pité
Saluabit a miseria.'

¹ Ed Jeanroy, A and Langfors, A, *Chansons satiriques et bachiques du XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1921), p. 80

² *Le Cantique populaire*, p. 115. On

chansons de l'aguillanneuf see Tiersot, Julien, *Histoire de la Chanson populaire en France* (Paris, 1889), pp. 187-94

³ MS No 383, p. 210

Quant le douce fant fust nee
 Et de Seynt Johan baptyze
 In Jordano flumine.
Laua nostra crimina.

Les trois reis d'orientz,
 Il veneront ingnelement
 A Bedlem oué lour present;
Stricta sunt itinera.

Nostre Dame *et* Emperes,
 Si el aura nos promeez,
 Qu'el priera a son Filz
Pro sua familia

But the fact that it is written in the manuscript between two English carols¹ and the quality of the French point to its being the work of an Englishman in imitation of the English carols then current rather than an instance of 'French influence'.

One reason for the confusion of carol and *noel* as well as for overestimation of the contribution of French poetry to the carol is the frequent occurrence in carol-burdens of the word 'Noel'. This is the only French word which seems to be thoroughly at home in the carols; very few include other French phrases of even the simplest kind.² In some pieces 'Nowel' forms the entire burden, either the whole word or its final syllable being repeated as often as demanded by the music.³ More often it is combined with an English sentence or so, as:⁴

Nowell, nowell, nowell, nowell,
 Tydynges gode Y thyngke to telle

The word is an interesting one because of the related yet distinct character of its three principal meanings, some notice of which will help to explain the occurrences of 'Noel' in carols (and traditional folk-songs for Christmas) which contain no other French. It is used in that language as an exclamation of joy, as the name of the Feast of the Nativity, and as the name of a type of Christmas song. The second meaning, *jour de Noel*, seems to be the original one, as implied by the derivation of the word from Latin *natalis*.⁵ In this sense it occurs now and then in late Middle English, for example, in the English *Rewle*

¹ Nos 441, Appendix, No 11.

² Nos 6, 235, 310, 314, 390, 391, 417, 420, 421, 448

³ e.g. Nos 30, 122 A, 366, 157 C, 236

⁴ No 133, similarly Nos 6, 18, 21 C, 29,

41, 122 B, 183, 239, 240, 242, 261

⁵ Brachet, A., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* (Paris, 1868), s.v. 'Noel'

of *Sustris Menouresses Enclosid*¹ and Lovelich's *Merlin*,² as well as in the earlier *Sir Gawain*.³ But it was also used by the English as well as the French as an interjection to express rejoicing. This might be at New Year's time, as in Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale*,⁴ or on any great occasion, as when companies of virgins sang 'Nowell' to welcome Henry V home from Agincourt.⁵ This use was plainly adopted from the French custom to which Étienne Pasquier devotes a chapter in his *Les Recherches de la France*.⁶ It is as such an interjection, and not as the name of the feast of Christmas that it makes its way into the carols. The fact that it is also used both in this way and as the name of the holiday in the popular Christmas songs of France in no way implies (what is yet often said) that the carol developed from the *noel*.

This is emphasized by the occasional use of 'Nowell' in the burdens of carols on other subjects than the Nativity. It is attached to one version of a carol which is a *planctus Mariae*⁷ and to another on mortality,⁸ as well as to Annunciation pieces.⁹ Incidentally, it is one of the few vernacular words to be incorporated into sacred Latin song, as in the following lines of a *cantilena* of German origin:¹⁰

Noel, Noel, iterando,
Noel triplicando, Noel,
Ah, Noel, psallite

The meaning which 'Noel' does not possess in Middle English or in the carols before 1550 is that of 'Christmas song'. The line from the *Franklin's Tale* already alluded to,

And 'Nowel' cryeth every lusty man,

does not mean, as Skeat's note would have it mean, that every lusty man sings a Christmas song, for in Chaucer's time the French themselves, let alone the English, were not using the word in this sense. It means that he shouts the medieval equivalent of 'Hurrah!' and 'Merry Christmas!' at once.

¹ Seton, Walter W., ed., *A Fifteenth-Century Courtesy Book and Two Franciscan Rules* (Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 148, London, 1914), p. 108.

² l. 6870, cited by *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. 'Nowel'.

³ Ed. Tolkien and Gordon, l. 65.

⁴ *Canterbury Tales*, ed. Skeat, l. F 1255.

⁵ Chambers, [Sir] E. K., *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), vol. 1, p. 272, n. 4, vol. II, pp. 168-9.

⁶ (Paris, 1643), Bk. IV, chap. xvi. 'D'une Coustume ancienne qui estoit en France de crier Nouel pour signification de ioye publique' See also du Cange, *Glossarium*, s.v. 'Natale'.

⁷ No. 157 C.

⁸ No. 366.

⁹ Nos. 239, 240, 242.

¹⁰ Drevès, G., and Blume, C., eds., *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (Leipzig, 1886-), vol. XX, No. 141.

CHAPTER II

THE CAROL AS DANCE-SONG

I *The Carole and its Songs*

THAT the carol had its origin in the dance, or that at least the two were at some time closely associated, has been repeatedly affirmed by various writers. The basis for the statement has ordinarily been little more than the etymology of the word 'carol' itself; in only a very few instances has an attempt been made to indicate in any detail the nature of the relationship.¹ The neglect of this point is hardly to be wondered at in view of the long-prevailing mode of regarding the carol as distinguished from other lyrics, not by its form, but by its subject-matter or its spirit. For it is on the metrical form of poetry that the influence of the dance has principally operated and left more or less easily discernible traces. The eighteenth-century writer who hazarded the unfortunate suggestion that the word 'carol' was derived from 'Carolus' (because of the great popularity of Christmas songs in the days of King Charles) is hardly to be blamed for failing to see points of contact between a medieval dance and such a piece, say, as Herrick's *A Christmas Caroll, Sung to the King in the Presence at Whitehall*, set to music by Henry Lawes, and beginning:²

What sweeter musick can we bring
Than a caroll, for to sing
The birth of this our heavenly King?
Awake the voice! Awake the string!
Heart, eare, and eye, and every thing,
Awake! the while the active finger
Runs division with the singer

But when a carol is understood, as it appears to have been in the fifteenth century, to be a song, on whatever subject you please, written in stanzas and having a burden, its character as a possible accompaniment to the dance can be readily grasped. It should be helpful to such understanding to consider some of the evidence for the association of dance and song in medieval Europe.

The carol is only one of a number of lyric forms to be

¹ This is done for Audelay's carols by Chambers and Sidgwick, in *The Modern*

Language Review, vol v, pp. 473-8

² *Poetical Works* (London, 1859), p. 522

designated by a term suggesting a dance. *Ballette* and *rondel* have passed, with the verse-forms which they denote, from French into English, the former word undergoing two distinct developments into 'ballade' and 'ballad'. Provençal has its *ballada* and its *dansa*, Italian its *canzoni a ballo*, from which developed various types of *ballata*. Volumes of songs appeared in Germany in the sixteenth century with such titles as *Geistliche Ringeltenze*¹ and *Vier geistliche Reyenlieder*.² In Iceland the imported word *danz* was early applied to song.³ The occurrence of such names indicates that in each of the languages mentioned there exists lyric poetry which is closely connected with the dance and hence in greater or less degree analogous to the carol.

The value and interest which the history of these and related forms holds for the study of the carol are increased by the relative scarcity of direct evidence concerning the dance and the dance-song in England itself, a circumstance which forces the student of the English *genre* to have frequent recourse to the more abundant material from continental sources. Nor has there been any critical treatment of the relationship between song and dance in England comparable for acuteness and comprehensiveness to M. Alfred Jeanroy's classic work on the origins of the French lyric.⁴ It is true that the influence of the dance in the shaping of the narrative ballad has been a prominent landmark on the battle-field of ballad-scholarship, and that such zealous collectors and preservers of traditional folk-song as the late Cecil Sharp have been keenly conscious of the importance of the folk-dance for their chosen study. But only brief and general treatment has been given to the connexion of the dance with English poetry not classed as folk-song or ballad.

There can be no question of the enormous vogue of the carole as a social pastime. It figures repeatedly in the medieval French romances, among others *Le Roman de la Rose*,⁵ *Guillaume de Dole*,⁶

¹ Magdeburg, 1550

² Nurnberg, 1535 See Böhme, *Alt-deutsches Liederbuch*, pp. 369-70

³ Gummere, Francis B., ed., *Old English Ballads* (Boston, 1894), p. lxxv, n. 1

⁴ *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1904) With it should be used Gaston Paris's important review published with the same title (Paris, 1892)

⁵ See the citations from Chaucer's translation, above, p. xvi, n. 5

⁶ Ed. Servois, G. (Paris, 1893) A carole is described in ll. 504-18

Les dames et les compegnons

L'empereor s'en issent hors,
Main a main em pur lor biau cors.
Devant le tref, en j. pré vert,
Les puceles et li vallet
Ront la carole commencée.
Une dame s'est avancée,
Vestue d'une cotele en graine;
Si chante ceste premeraine

C'est tot la gieus enmi les prez.
Vos ne sentez mie les maus d'amer.
Dames i vont por caroler.

Remirez vos bras,
Vos ne sentez mie les maus d'amer,
Si com ge faz. . .

and *Le Roman de la Violette*.¹ The descriptions of the carole in literature, together with graphic representations, especially miniatures in manuscripts,² indicate with reasonable exactness the essential features of this dance, which, although the favourite, was by no means the only one known to medieval society.³ According to M. Bédier's description, it consisted of a chain, open or closed, of male and female⁴ dancers, who moved to the accompaniment of the voice or (less frequently) of instruments. The movement was ordinarily three steps in measure to the left, followed by some kind of marking time in place. It was usual for the dancers to join hands, but gestures seem frequently to have been introduced which would require the clasp to be broken.⁵ The whole procedure was under the direction of a leader. It was the duty of this leader, *coryphée*, or *Vorsänger*, to sing the *stanzas* of the song to which the carole

¹ Ed Buffum, Douglas L (Paris, 1928),
II 92-104

Après mangier les envia
Tous ensamble de caroler
Qui dont veist dames aler
En chambres por apparillier
Chascune prent un chevalier
Pur commenchie l'envoisement
Commenche tout premierement
A chanter ma dame Nicole,
Contesse estoit de Besenchon
Lors commenche ceste canchon
Sans felonnie et sans orguel

Alés bielement que d'amer me duel

² See frontispiece from British Museum MS Royal 20 A xvii. A fifteenth-century representation of the carole is printed in Sharp, Cecil J., and Oppé, A. P., *The Dance* (London, 1924), plate xiii, from British Museum MS. Harley 4425 of *The Romance of the Rose*. Three instrumental musicians are shown. Plate ix of the same work reproduces a miniature of a carole from the fourteenth-century Bodleian Library MS Bodley 264 of the Alexander romance. A carole is the subject of the carving on a mirror-case now in the Louvre, of which a photograph appears in Langlois, Charles V., *La Vie en France au moyen âge d'après des romans mondains du temps* (Paris, 1924), plate v.

³ See M. Joseph Bédier's interesting and ingenious article 'Les plus anciennes danses françaises' in *Revue des deux mondes*, pér v, vol xxxi, pp 398-424. Various types of dance current in medieval Germany are described in detail by Angerstein, Wilhelm, *Volktänze im deutschen Mittelalter* (Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge, Ser 3, Heft LVIII, Berlin, 1868), and Böhme, Franz

M., *Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1886)

⁴ There are many references to the carole, in both its popular and its more aristocratic use, which show that it was often danced by women alone. According to Jeanroy (*Origines*, p 391), the mixed carole was introduced in the thirteenth century.

⁵ So in the romance of *Le Châtelain de Coucy* one lady

prist entour soy sà et là
par les mains dames, chevaliers,
pour caroller

(Quoted by Jeanroy, *Origines*, p 391, n 3.) Compare the allusion to the joining of arms in the sermon on 'Bele Aelis' discussed below, pp cxiv-cxvii. 'in tripudio tria sunt necessaria, scilicet, vox sonora, nexus brachiorum, et strepitus pedum.' Gestures of various sorts figure, for example, in the account of a very lively carole danced in the vision of 'maître Mahieu', *Lamenta*, II 3561-70 (quoted in Langlois, Charles V., *La Vie en France au moyen âge d'après quelques moralistes du temps* (Paris, 1908), p 268.

Quidam cum lepido citharam pede comitante

Vadunt et redeunt, surgunt residentque plicante

In talos cervice sua Nimis ingeniose

Ducunt se simulantque minas pugneque jocose

Instar habent, sese fugiunt seseque secuntur,

Et verbis, plausu, digitis signisque locuntur. Aptant se ludo digiti modicumque quiescit

Infurcata manus lateri que sistere nescit, Dum jubet ipsa lira, subtiles et quasi fixos

Furantur motus humeri cernentibus ipsos.

was being danced.¹ During the time of such singing the ring moved to the left. At the close of the stanza the entire company of dancers would respond with the refrain or burden of the song, dancing in place the while. Then, as the circle revolved again, the leader would sing the following stanza, and so on. Obviously the leader was the only one of the group who needed to know all the words of a song; the burden, being invariable or nearly so, could be quickly learned and easily remembered by the chorus. Some sort of cue in words or music would serve to notify the chorus of its time for beginning the burden.

The passage already quoted² from the *Handlyng Synne* admirably illustrates this manner of dancing. The two narrative lines

By þe leued wode rode Beuolyne,
wyþ hym he ledde feyre Merswyne,

are what the leader, Beune, who 'ordeyned here karollyng' would sing, the exclamatory

why stonde we? why go we noght?

forming a burden for the chorus, highly appropriate if we picture them as singing the line while marking time as if impatient to resume the circular movement.³

The processional dance which accompanies the singing of the

¹ This leader was very often a woman. Jacques de Vitry compares her to the bell-cow of a herd, with the devil for master. See exemplum No. cccxiv in Crane, Thomas F., ed., *The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry* (London, 1890). 'Sicut vacca que alias precedit in collo campanam gerit, sic mulier que prima cantat coream ducit quasi campanam dyaboli ad collum habet ligatam.'

² Above, p. xvi

³ It would naturally be of great interest to know the ultimate provenance of these lines, which appear only in Latin in those earlier versions of the legend of the curst carollers from which the passage in the *Handlyng Synne* and its French source is taken. The problem is discussed by Gaston Paris in a review of Edward Schröder's work on the legend published in the *Journal des savants*, année 1899, pp. 733-47. As the Latin lines are found in an account of the affair coming eventually from one of the actual dancers, but re-edited in Romance territory and later

transcribed by an English clerk, Paris thinks they were taken (and translated) from some song current in the country where one of these re-handlings took place. The fitness of the lines for their context and the coincidence of the names Bovo and Merswyn with those of two of the original Kölbigk dancers are what presumably led to their selection and insertion. Paris inclines to regard them as from Lorraine, citing an old French song of similar content:

Rainaut o s'amie chevauchent par un pré;
Tote nuit chevauchent jusqu'au jor cler.
Je n'aurai ja mais joie de vos amer!

In view of the number of songs which open with a protagonist who 'chevauche', the parallel is not altogether conclusive.

Professor Gordon H. Gerould's discussion of the dance-song of Kölbigk in *The Ballad of Tradition* (Oxford, 1932), pp. 207-13, is principally concerned with its character as narrative, which makes it a possible fore-runner of the ballad.

Padstow 'May Song' keeps to the present day this association of burden with movement and stanza with standing. As long as the 'hobby horse' and his companion dancers advance along the street or whirl about in it, the crowd of villagers sings the burden over and over again. The instant the dancers pause for breath, the singers change without other signal to the stanza, at the conclusion of which the dance is resumed. One of the company assured the writer that this procedure is never varied.¹

It is not possible to speak with certainty of all details of the carole or to regard it as of invariable form. Its wide dissemination in various countries of Europe must have involved variations of one kind or another in the method of dancing. But the essential elements, the circular motion and the division of the group into leader and chorus, were the same in many lands and centuries. Likewise in many lands and centuries were to be heard songs which owed their form to the fact that they were sung in such dances. The essential characteristic of such dance-songs is their sharp division into stanza and burden, the former to be sung by a leader, the latter by the chorus, the former constantly changing its content, the latter repeated over and over again without change. It is a structure of poetry which has persisted long after its almost complete separation from the conditions which gave it birth. The body of texts here collected gives evidence of that persistence in the period of the decline of the carole.

Before an attempt is made to show the influence of the dance on these English texts, it may be well to assemble some of the scanty gleanings which are available for the early history of the round dance in England. There was a great deal of song-accompanied dance on the continent of Europe in the centuries before the Norman Conquest, as the repeated decrees issued against it by ecclesiastical authorities bear witness,² and the silence of Old English literature on the subject is not to be taken as implying that the maidens of Saxon England did not foot it in the meadows in spring or around a fire at Yule as did their cousins across the water. Gaston Paris points out that it was in a 'milieu sans doute purement saxon' that women sang of Hereward in their dances.³ The famous boat-song of Canute is said by the twelfth-century chronicler, Thomas of Ely, to have

¹ May, 1932

² A number of these, from A.D. 589 on, are quoted by Gougaud, L., 'La Danse dans les églises' in *Revue d'histoire*

écclésiastique, vol. xv, pp. 5-22, 229-245

See below, pp. cxii-cxiv

³ *Origines*, p. 47, n.

been composed by the king as he heard from his boat on the Ouse the singing of the monks:¹

Merie sunge ðe muneches binnen Ely
 ða Cnut cning reu ðer by,
 Roweþ, cnites, noer the land,
 And here wve þes muneches saeng

Gummere would regard this as the burden of what had become in the twelfth century a dance-song, for Thomas adds, 'et caetera, quae sequuntur, quae usque hodie in choris publice cantantur et in proverbis memorantur'.² The occurrence of refrains associated with rowing is not unknown in later dance-song.³ But at what precise date the boat-song, whether by Canute or not, passed into such use, Thomas does not tell us.

There was certainly dancing in England soon after the coming of the Normans. It is probably of ring-dances that William Fitzstephen speaks in his description of London in the twelfth century when he says (in the language of Horace), 'puellarum Cytherea ducit choros usque imminente luna, et pede libero pulsatur tellus'.⁴ The anecdote extracted by Ritson⁵ from Lambarde's *Dictionary of England*, which gives the couplet

Hoppe Wylikin, hoppe Wyllykin,
 Ingland is thyne and myne, &c.

as that to which the 'gallants' of Robert, Earl of Leicester, danced upon the heath to their own undoing, is of slight significance, as these dancers were 'a rabble of Flemings and Normans'. The couplet itself cannot be of the date ascribed to it (1173), but it may very possibly represent a dance-burden current at some later time. A far more valuable bit of evidence for song-accompanied dancing in England is contained in a southern manuscript of the early thirteenth century,⁶ for which, as for so much of the records of the medieval dance, we have to thank a moralizing cleric. This particular churchman made the

¹ Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O. 2. 1, ff 87 v, 88 r.

² Quoted in part by Gummere, *Beginnings*, p. 275. Liebermann's objection to taking 'choros' as meaning 'dances' (*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, vol. cxl, p. 262) like that of Miss Louise Pound (*Modern Language Notes*, vol. xxxiv, p. 163) is hardly valid in view of such use of the word as appears in the quotation from William Fitzstephen just below.

³ Gummere, loc. cit., and below, p. lxx.

⁴ Quoted by Chambers, [Sir] E. K., *The Mediaeval Stage* (Oxford, 1903), vol. 1, p. 164, n. 2. The passage is composed of tags from *Odes* I. iv. 5, and I. xxxvii 1, 2.

⁵ *Ancient Songs and Ballads*, ed. Hazlitt, W. C. (London, 1877), p. xxxv.

⁶ Trinity College, Cambridge, B. 1. 45, f. 41 v. Printed by Förster, Max, in *Anglia*, vol. xli, pp. 152-4.

lines here quoted his text for a sermon of the same type as that on the *chanson* of 'Bele Aelis'.¹ The discourse begins:

'Atte wrastlinge my lemman 1 ches,
and atte ston-kasting 1 him for-les'

. Mi leue frend, wilde wimmen & golme 1 mi contreie, wan he gon o þe ring, among manie opere songis, þat litl ben wort þat tei singin, so sein þei þus. 'Atte wrasth[n]ge mi lemman &c'

Forster rightly notes the significance of the passage.²

Wir haben hier . . . ein stück aus einem vielgesungenen volkstümlichen reigenlied vor uns, das also im chorgesang (*o þe ring*) vorgetragen wurde

These allusions to the dance imply that in each case it was an amusement of the common people, not the courtly carole of a select aristocratic company, performed perhaps after a noble banquet, or in a retired garden. Such dances were, of course, directly imported from France with other fashions and customs. But, apart from a presumably greater stateliness and restraint of movement, the carole of knights and ladies probably had little to distinguish it from the ring-dances of the folk. It was from the latter that their betters originally borrowed the sport, just as a number of favoured movements for the modern ball-room have found their way thither from the dance-halls of the loose-limbed Southern Negro. The essential division into leader and chorus, with the resulting division of the dance-song into stanza and burden, was to be found in ring-dances of high and low alike. Hardly otherwise could the burden have maintained itself as such a prominent feature of both the songs of the people and of the courtly *chanson à carole*. The aristocratic carole gave way centuries since to newer figures, but the round dances of the folk have a wan survival in the ring-games of children.

The scraps of song which have been quoted are in no case adequate for an understanding of the form of the early dance-song in England. In spite of this handicap of the almost complete absence of English texts an attempt may be made to reconstruct such a form by consulting the richer records of French poetry, e.g. in the acute work of M. Jeanroy, for which reconstruction the similarity of the dance itself in the two countries may be the warrant. M. Jeanroy says.³

'La forme [de la chanson à danser] la plus simple et la plus ancienne de toutes était composée de couplets que chantait un soliste et que

¹ See below, pp. cxiv-cxvii

³ *Origines*, p. 397, and n.

² Forster, *op. cit.*, p. 152, n.

suivait un refrain repris par le chœur . . . le couplet des deux vers devait être le plus ancien de tous, et il avait dû bientôt céder le pas à celui de trois, vers le commencement du xii^e siècle, dans la poésie latine, les couplets de trois vers non pourvus de refrain se font rares et sont habituellement remplacés par ceux de quatre. Mais les couplets suivis de refrains sont plus souvent de trois vers que de quatre, sans doute parce qu'il y avait là une forme traditionnelle qui s'imposait.

This results in the form of a a a X or a a a X X¹. But the practical measure of advising the chorus of the moment for it to begin its singing by means of a rime common to stanza and burden, resulted in the form a a a b B. M. Jeanroy gives the following as an example:²

Kant li vilains vai(n)t a marchiet,
il n'i vait pas por berguignier,
mais por sa feme a esgaitier,
ke nuns ne li forvoie.

Au cuer les ai les jolis malz, coment en guarairoie?

English poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries does not exhibit anything of like form that can be connected with the dance. But a chance jotting of the first half of the fourteenth century in a collection of written fragments³ challenges attention by its invitation to the dance. Is it actually a dance-song; is it burden or verse? In the words of Sir Edmund Chambers, 'We would dance gladly did we but know the tune'.⁴ As Sir Edmund prints it, it appears to be of a somewhat nondescript metre; but, with the form of the primitive dance-song as guide, inspection will show that the little piece divides very easily into a burden and a stanza, the former written first, as it was sung first:⁵

Icham of Irlaunde,
Ant of the holy londe
Of Irlande.

Gode sire, pray ich þe,
For of saynte charité,
Come ant daunce wyt me
In Irlaunde.

¹ In the notation of verse-forms here used the rimes of a stanza are indicated by lower-case letters, those of a burden by capitals. The numeral prefixed to each letter indicates the number of measures or accents normally found in the line.

² *Origines*, p. 399, quoted from Bartsch,

Romanzen, p. 21.

³ Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson D 913, f. 1 v.

⁴ *Early English Lyrics*, p. 279.

⁵ Text from Sisam, Kenneth, ed., *Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose* (Oxford, 1928), p. 166.

There is the typical stanza, three riming lines, and the fourth line linking them to the burden, in this case by the use of the same end-word. If the song was not danced to, at least it could have been. It should also be noted that it appears to be either genuine folk-song or something closely modelled upon genuine folk-song, as is the case with the other bits of verse on the same leaf ¹

It is reasonable to expect, when we turn to the more abundant texts of the pieces for which the name of carol is claimed, that if these are true products of the carole or even imitations of such true products, we shall find traces of this stanza-form which is so definitely associated with the dance in French. Nor are such evidences lacking. The four-line stanza rimed a a a b with a burden in B or B B is by far the most frequent metrical scheme of all. Not less than 188 of the 474 carols here collected use it in one or another of its combinations of lines of varying numbers of accents, and of refrain-lines. A few of the more common specializations of this type of stanza may be illustrated by quotations which will also show how nearly the English carol often approaches the metrical pattern of a French song derived from the dance. The form 4a 4a 4a 4b 4B 4B is one of the two most frequently used for the carol, as it is in No. 339.

(Burden) Man, bewar, bewar, bewar,
And kepe the that thou haue no car.

(Stanza 1) Thi tunge is mad of fleych and blod;
Euele to spekyn it is not good;
But Cryst, that deyid vpon the rood,
So yyf us grace our tungen to spare.

(Burden repeated)

(Stanza 2) Thi lyppis arn withoute bon,
Spek non euyl of thi fon,
Man, I rede be Seynt Jon,
Of euyl speche that thou be war

(Burden repeated)

(&c.)

This exact arrangement of rimes is not equally common in the

¹ Printed by Heuser, W, 'Fragmente von Jahrhunderts', in *Anglia*, vol xxx, pp.
unbekannten Spielmannshedern des 14 173-9

French lyric, but it does occur. Jeanroy¹ refers to the following piece as an example:²

(Stanza 1) An Hachecourt l'autre jour chivauchoie,
les un aunoï desduisant m'en alloie,
trovai pastoure seant sus la codroie,
an haut s'escria ansi

(Burden) 'enmī enmī enmī!
lasse, je n'ai point d'amī'

(Stanza 2) Cant j'antendi le cri la simple et coie,
vers li tornaï, de son anuut m'anoie,
je la saluai, mais se diex me voie,
anz respons je n'oi de li

(Burden) k' 'anmī enmī enmī!
lasse, je n'ai point d'amī.'

(&c.)

More often when the two lines of a French burden rime together, they are not linked to the stanza by this same rime.³ This is also the case with a considerable number of English carols, No. 60, for example:

(Burden) In the honour of Christes byrth
Syng we al with joye and myrthe

(Stanza 1) In this tyme of Chrystmas,
Bytwyxe an oxe and an asse,
A mayden delyuered was
Of Christ, her dere Son dere.

(&c)

But the early French dance-song did not confine itself to the stanza in a a a b alone. It retained the clearly separated burden, not assimilating it to the stanza in the form of text-lines as was done later in forms which were developed further after their practical connexion with the dance began to be disregarded.⁴ The fourth line of a four-line stanza might rime with the first three instead of with the burden, giving a mono-rime stanza not linked to the burden. Such is the case with the *chanson* of 'Bele Yolanz'.⁵

¹ *Origines*, p. 399, n. 1

² Bartsch, *Romanzen*, pp. 167-8, Compare *ibid.*, p. 28, No. 33

³ Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 399, n. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 401

⁵ Bartsch, *Romanzen*, p. 9.

(Stanza 1) Bele Yolanz en chambre koie
 sor ses genouz piales desploie
 co'st un fil d'or, l'autre de soie
 sa male mere la chastoie.

(Burden) 'chastoi vos en, bele Yolanz.'
 (&c)

A similar form, but with the ubiquitous English couplet-burden, is found in five carols, including No. 158:¹

(Burden) 'Mary moder, cum and se
 Thy swet Son nayled on a tre.

(Stanza 1) 'Thys blessyd babe that thou hast born,
 Hys blessyd body ys all to-torne
 To bye vs agayn, that were forlorne,
 Hys hed ys crownyd with a thorn.'
 (&c)

Or the French dance-song may content itself with three monorimed lines in the stanza:²

(Stanza 1) Lou samedi a soir, fat la semaine,
 Gaiete et Oriour, serors germannes,
 main et main vont bagnier a la fontanne.

(Burden) vante l'ore et li raim crollent ·
 ki s'antraiment soweif dormant.
 (&c)

And so may the English carol:³

(Burden) What, hard ye not? The Kyng of Jherusalem
 Is now born in Bethelem.

(Stanza 1) I shall you tell a gret mervayll ·
 How an angell, for ovr awayll,
 Com to a mayd, and said, 'All hayll!'
 (&c)

Instances could be multiplied, but the comparisons already made show the essential identity of principle in the construction of the French dance-songs of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the English carols preserved in manuscripts of two to three hundred years later. That identity of principle is the best possible evidence of their common parentage in the dance, the carole.

¹ The others are Nos. 21, 315, 331, 399

³ No 241.

² Bartsch, *Romanzen*, p 8

There is, on the other hand, great dissimilarity between the English carol and the courtly French lyric of the period when the carol was flourishing, a dissimilarity of form as well as of spirit. This may be strikingly shown by a comparison between the texts here collected and the so-called 'caroles' written in the fifteenth century and on English soil by Charles d'Orléans during his long captivity. The first of these three 'caroles' is rimed as follows, with lines of varying length.¹

A b b a c d c d a b b a A e f e f a b b a A

Charles's verses are artificial and literary, the products of a talent schooled in the conventions of the aristocratic poetry of the fourteenth century. They are written, moreover, in a form which no longer preserves the duality of stanza and burden which is the mark of near relationship to the round dance. Thereby they illustrate the change which earlier dance-song underwent at the hands of writers like Guillaume de Machaut and Eustache Deschamps: the originally choral burden, preserved as a literary convention, tended to be absorbed into the structure of the stanza itself as a mere refrain-line. The number of stanzas, indefinite in older dance-songs, as in the English carol, was limited, as in the three-stanza forms of *ballade* and *virelai*. Longer and more elaborate stanzas were devised, with ingenious rime-schemes and lines of varying length. In short, the simple periodicity of the dance gave way to the inventive power of the individual poet (or musician) as the shaping influence of song.

A similar tendency can be seen at work in the carol in the fifteenth century, resulting in the more elaborate verse-forms. But its effects are evident in comparatively few pieces; only twenty-one carols are written in stanzas of more than seven lines.² These more complicated rime-patterns are represented as a rule by only one or two carols apiece, and may pass as isolated experiments with the general carol-type. The standard of the carol-writers remained the simpler stanza with separate burden which is characteristic of song where the influence of the round dance is still felt.

¹ d'Héricault, Charles, ed., *Poésies complètes de Charles d'Orléans* (Paris, 1896), vol. II, p. 73. The English translation of this poem in British Museum MS. Royal 16 F. II, f. 122 v. begins

Alas, Fortune, alas myn hevynes
(Sauerstein, Paul, *Charles d'Orléans und die*

englische Übersetzung seiner Dichtungen, Halle, 1899, p. 37)

² Nos. 77, 107, 218, 230, 263, 304, 376, 439, 440 (8 ll.); 44, 95, 146 B, 161, 464 (9 ll.), 37, 150, 434 (10 ll.); 165 (11 ll.); 147 (12 ll.), 146 A (18 ll.), 308 (varying).

The form in French courtly poetry which retains most of the aspect of primitive dance-song is the *virelai*, and hence this may be regarded as the nearest of kin to the English carol. It does not appear, however, to have exerted any direct influence on the carol. The two moved in different circles of literary society. But the analysis made by M. Jeanroy of the essential structure of the *virelai* shows that it is a sister, or at least a cousin, to the carol.¹ The fundamental parts of the *virelai* are four (1) a burden placed at the head of the piece; (2) a part of the stanza independent of the burden, (3) a second part of the stanza corresponding (in rimes and accents) to the burden; (4) the burden repeated. The texts which M. Jeanroy cites exhibit this structure perhaps less clearly than some others which might be chosen. A *virelai* from Bodleian Library MS. Douce 308, as arranged by Gennrich, will show the likeness of the type to the carol.² The marginal numbers indicate the four divisions.

1. Bien doit merci recovrer,
qui loalment vult ameir.
- 2 Amors qui tant ait pooir
por amans faire valoir
m'ait mis an un dous espoir
3. ki me semont de chanter
- 4 Bien doit merci recovre[1]r,
qui loalment vult ameir.
(&c.)

This is an early specimen, and except for the limitation to three stanzas is the same as the primitive dance-song already discussed. A specimen from the pen of Deschamps will show the refinements which had been introduced into the *virelai* of the later fourteenth century:³

Or a mon cuer ce qu'i vouloit,
Or a mon cuer ce qu'i queroit,
Or a mon cuer son vray desir,
Or a mon cuer tout son plesir,
Or a tout ce qu'i desiroit,

¹ *Origines*, p. 427. The name *virelai* recalls the ultimately popular origin of the form, according to Paul Meyer (*Romana*, vol. xix, p. 26): '*Virelai*, plus souvent *vireli*, désigne originairement un air populaire, un *dorenlot*, comme *valurnu*, *valura*, *valuraine*,' &c

² Gennrich, Friedrich, ed., *Rondeaux, Virelais und Balladen*, vol. 1 (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, vol. xliii, Dresden, 1921), p. 107

³ Studer, Paul, and Waters, E. R. G., eds., *Historical French Reader* (Oxford, 1924), p. 234

La bonté, la beauté, l'onnour,
 La rose, la fresche coulour,
 La plus plaisant, la plus amee,
 La mieulx garnie de douçour,
 Et la plus amoureuse flour
 Qui onques fust au monde nee,
 Celle de qui nulz ne saroit
 Descripre les biens, ne pourroit
 Ancre, papier ne plume offrir,
 Ne langue ne pourroit souffrir
 De la louer selon son droit

Or a mon cuer &c

C'est Pallax, deesse d'amour,
 Et mon refuge et mon demour,
 C'est ma joye et paix ordonnee,
 C'est la fin de tout mon labour,
 C'est ma vie et ce que j'aour,
 C'est ma joyeuse destinee,
 C'est celle que mon cuer conoit,
 C'est celle que mon cuer servoit,
 C'est celle qui fait repartir
 Mon cuer d'amour, et remercier,
 Folz est qui plus demanderoit

Or a mon cuer &c.

It will be observed that it preserves the burden repeated between stanzas but remaining external with respect to them. In this respect it is still analogous to the carol

The carol is not an aristocratic *genre*, however, and the conventions of courtly love touch it hardly at all. We have seen that the development in the aristocratic poetry of France led it away from the simplicity of form which the carol preserved. What of the so-called 'popular' songs of France contemporary with the carol? It might be expected that they would have retained the same simplicity. This is exactly the case with many French songs of the fifteenth century, which are 'popular', not necessarily folk-songs current in oral tradition, but songs composed for the common people away from the influence of court or *puuy*. Such pieces as the following present a striking similarity of form to the carol:¹

(Burden)	Ne l'oseray-je dire Se j'ayme par amours? Ne l'oseray-je dire?
----------	--

¹ Gasté, A., ed., *Chansons normandes du XV^e siècle* (Caen, 1866), p. 28.

(Stanza 1) Mon père m'y maria,
 Vng petit devant le jour,
 A vng villain m'y donna,
 Qui ne sçait bien ne honour,
 Ne l'oseray-je dire?

(&c)

Another, very popular in Normandy in a number of versions, begins in one of these as follows:¹

(Burden) Las, il n'a nul mal qui n'a le mal d'amour.

(Stanza 1) La fille du Roy est aupres de la tour,
 Qui pleure et soupire meime grand doulour,

(Burden) Las, il n'a nul mal qui n'a le mal d'amour.

(&c)

A third Norman song is more elaborate in its structure, but still shows the same arrangement of a burden external to the stanza, although linked to it by rime ²

(Burden) Mon cueur vit en esmoy
 Las qu'il a de souci!
 Point ne voy mon amy,
 Il est trop loing de moy

(Stanza 1) Bientost de vos nouvelles
 Certaines rescripray,
 Se honte ne craignois,
 Et, j'eusse ceste loy,
 Bientost l'iroye chercher,
 Sans moy deshoner,
 Tant l'ayme, sur may foy!

(&c.)

These few examples will suffice to show that popular song of metrical structure essentially like that of the English carol was to be heard in the lands on the other side of the Channel whither so many young Englishmen followed their lords in the fifteenth century ³ An English gentleman travelling in Normandy under more peaceful conditions would likewise be certain to make the acquaintance of the dance-song of France in its own surroundings. A diverting manual of conversational Norman French of the late fourteenth century, written by an Englishman for

¹ Gérold, Théodore, ed., *Chansons populaires des XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Strasbourg, n.d.), p. 6

² Gasté, *Chansons normandes*, p. III

³ The Normans pay their compliments to 'les godons' in some of the pieces in Gasté's

volume, e.g. Nos iii, xxxv bis, lxi, lxxxvi, in No xxxviii as follows

Nous priron Dieu de bon cueur fin,
 Et la douce Vierge Marie,
 Qu'il doint aux Englois malle fin
 Dieu le Père si les mauldye!

Englishmen, describes the very liberal hospitality enjoyed by such a traveller at a Norman inn.¹ After a good dinner, 'Doncques viennent avant ou presence du signeur les corneours et clariouers, ou leur fretielles et clarions, et se comencent a corner et clariouer tres fixt, et puis le signeur ou ses escuiers se croulent, balent, dancent, houvent et chantent de biaux karoles sanz cesser jusques a mynuyt'

From mediæval Germany, too, come dance-songs which show the clear division into burden and stanza like the carol. A thirteenth-century specimen appears among the *Carmina Burana*:²

(Burden) Ich sage dir, ich sage dir,
Min geselle, chum mit mir

(Stanza 1) Ich wil truren varen lan,
uf die heide sulwîr gan,
vîl libe gespîlen mîn,
da sehwi der blumen schin.
(&c)

In an old German folk-song to accompany a ring-dance for St. John's Day the stanza is a simple couplet:³

(Burden) Blau, blau Blumen auf mein Hut
Hatt ich Geld und das war gut,
Blumen auf mein Hutchen

(Stanza 1) Nimm sie bei der schneeweissen Hand,
Und fuhr sie in den Rosenkranz.
(&c.)

However, the part taken by the soloist or *Vorsänger* seems to have left rather less lasting effect on the German lyric than on the French, to judge from the specimens preserved. Dance-songs of the type just quoted are less frequent than those which seem to have been designed for singing throughout by the entire company.⁴ Of this latter kind is another 'Abendreihen' for St. John's Day:⁵

Kommt her, ihr lieben Schwesterlein,
An diesen Abendtanz!
Lasst uns ein geistlich Liedelein
Singen um einen Kranz,
Singen um einen Kranz.

¹ Printed from British Museum MS Harley 3988 by Meyer, Paul, *Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature*, année v, semestre 2 (1870), pp 382-408

² Ed Schmeller, Johann A. (Breslau, 1894), p 213, burden and stanza here rearranged

³ Böhme, *Geschichte des Tanzes*, vol. 1,

p. 239.

⁴ Only a small proportion of the texts in Böhme's *Altdeutsches Liederbuch* (Leipzig, 1877) have burdens of the type found in the carol.

⁵ Böhme, *Geschichte des Tanzes*, vol. 11, p 12

The dance left its impression on the poetry of the south of Europe as well as on that of the north. The Provençal *dansa* has been alluded to, and deserves a word more, although there is nothing to indicate any direct Provençal influence on the English carol.¹ The *dansa*, in spite of its name, is rather farther removed from the dance itself than either carol or *virelai*. This is shown by the absence of a real burden, its place at the end of each stanza is taken by a *tornada* corresponding to the prefixed 'burden' in rimes and length of lines, but not repeating its words. An example (of the thirteenth century) will make the arrangement clear:²

- (‘Burden’) Bos sabers, joyos
 Me faytz e baudos,
 D’amor agradiva.
- (Stanza 1) Bos sabers me fay lo cor gay,
 Quar veray pretz ha d’onor
 Belazor non say, don morray
 S’ieu non hay breumen s’amor
- (*Tornada*) Ay! cor gracios,
 Lunh’ outra ses vos
 No m’es agradiva.
 (&c)

But another related Provençal form does preserve the verse-form which has been seen to be closely derived from the dance, a a a b B B, as the burden and first stanza of one specimen will show.³ This is the *ballada*:⁴

- (Burden) Coindeta sui, si cum n’ai greu cossire,
 per mon marit, quar nel voil nel desire.
- (Stanza) Qu’eu beus dirai per que son aissi drusa.
 quar pauca son, joveneta e tosa,
 e degr’ aver marit dont fos jojosa,
 ab cui toz temps pogues jogar e rire.
 (&c.)

The same name is applied in its Italian form to a type of the Italian lyric which presents in some respects the most striking analogy to the carol to be found in the literature of continental

¹ For a discussion of the influence of the troubadours on earlier Middle English poetry see Audiau, Jean, *Les Troubadours et l’Angleterre* (Paris, 1927).

² Quoted by Meyer, Paul, ‘Des Rapports de la poésie des trouvères avec celle des troubadours’ in *Romana*, vol. xix, p. 21

³ Bartsch, Karl, ed., *Chrestomathie Provençale* (Berlin, 1892), col. 245

⁴ The historical relations of *dansa*, *ballada*, and *virelai* are discussed with somewhat different conclusions by Meyer, Paul, *Romana*, vol. xix, pp. 11 ff., and Stengel, E., ‘Ableitung der provenzalisch-französischen *Dansa*- und der französischen *Virelay*-Formen’, in *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, vol. xvi, part 1, pp. 94-101

Europe. The *ballata* is also by origin a dance-song. That it was not a 'literary' *genre*, that it was emphatically a song to be sung and accompanied by physical movement, we are told by no less an authority than Dante himself. He writes in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (soon after 1300) ¹

Moreover, whatever produces by its own power the effect for which it was made, appears nobler than that which requires external assistance, but *Canzoni* produce by their own power the whole effect they ought to produce, which *Ballate* do not, for they require the assistance of the performers [*plausoribus* those who clap their hands or stamp their feet] for whom they are written; it therefore follows that *Canzoni* are to be deemed nobler than *Ballate*.

Dante's attitude towards these *ballate* suggests that of his English emulator, the author of *The Art of English Poesie*, towards the 'Carols and Rounds and such light or lascivious Poemes' and other 'small and popular musickes' which are the concern of strolling singers ² Unfortunately Dante's treatise breaks off before it has taken up the *ballata* in detail.

There is no difficulty, however, in recognizing the *ballata* as a product of folk-song and folk-dance, with a form resulting from the physical conditions of performance and not from mere literary convention. Rising and flourishing in central Italy, it was independent of the arts of the early Sicilian school of verse,³ and, although it came to be employed by the most sophisticated poets, it still kept its place as a vehicle of popular, *volkstümliche*, song.

The oldest and fundamental rime-scheme of the *ballata* was the following:⁴

B B (*ritornello*) a a a b (stanza) B B (*rit.*), &c.

This is obviously identical with that of the French 'primitive dance-song' and of many English carols. Flamini quotes an example of such an early *ballata*, which he calls 'coarsely plebeian':⁵

(*Rit.*) Pur bèi del vin, comadre, e no lo temperare:
ché lo vin è forte, la testa fa scaldare.

¹ Lib II, cap iii 'Adhuc quicquid perse ipsum efficit illud ad quod factum est, nobilius esse videtur quam quod extrinseco indiget. sed cantiones per se totum quod debent efficiunt, quod ballate non faciunt (indigent enim plausoribus ad quos edite sunt); ergo cantiones nobiliores ballatis esse sequitur extimandas'. (ed Rajna, Pio, Florence, 1897), pp 45-6 The translation is that of A G Ferraers Howell,

Dante's Treatise 'De Vulgari Eloquentia' (London, 1890), p 53.

² Puttenham, George [?], ed. Arber, Edward (London, 1869), pp 96-7.

³ Gaspari, Adolf, *Geschichte der italienischen Literatur* (Berlin, 1885), vol. 1, p 93.

⁴ Flamini, Francesco, *Notizia Storica dei Versi e Metri italiani* (Livorno, 1919), p 24.

⁵ Loc cit

- (St 1) Gièrnosen le comadri 'ntrambe ad una masone,
cercòr del vin sotile se l'era de sasone,
bèvenon cinque barili et erano desone,
et un quartier de retro per bocca savorare
- (Rit) Pur bèi del vin, comadre, e no lo temperare:
ché lo vin è forte, la testa fa scaldare
(&c)

From this beginning in popular song the *ballata* grew, under the hands of cultivated poets, into a number of longer and more elaborate forms, all of which retained, however (as the French *ballade* did not), the burden external to the stanza, the *ripresa*.¹ The simple four-line stanza with two-line burden, as above, was retained with especial frequency in the Italian lyrics known as *laude*, which, in their association of religious praise with the language and song-measures of the common people, so much resemble the English religious carol.² Of the 102 pieces ascribed to the greatest of all writers of *laude*, Fra Jacopone da Todi,³ 92 are cast in one form or another of the *ballata*,⁴ and of these 47 exhibit the fundamental scheme B B a a a b B B, &c.,⁵ either with short lines or with long lines divided by a caesura (and riming a-b a-b a-b b-c, &c.) as in *Lauda* xcviij.⁶

Amor, tu m'hai creata—per la tua cortesia,
ma so villana stata—per la mia gran follia,
fuor de la mia contrata—smarrita aggio la via,
la vergine Maria—me torni all'amor mio
(&c.)

The persistence of this type of stanza, the foundation of which is three lines riming together, may be explained, in the *laude* as in songs of the other languages, by regarding them as written for airs constructed on the model of popular dance-tunes, if not for such dance-tunes themselves. For such a stanza-form grew naturally out of a type of dance with a thrice-repeated movement. A verse for such song would require three lines to the same musical phrase, and hence riming,⁷ plus a line

¹ A *ballata* fell into one of several categories according to the number of lines in this *ripresa*, as follows. one hendecasyllable, *piccola*, one septenary, *minima*, two lines, *minore*, three lines, *mezzana*, four lines, *grande*, more than four lines, *stravagante* (*ibid*, pp 27-8)

² See below, pp. cxx-cxxiii

³ In the edition of the *Lauda* by Giovanni Ferri (Bari, 1915)

⁴ Those not in *ballata* form are Nos xxii, xliii, xlvii, lvi, lxiii, lxix, lxxi, lxxx, lxxxviii, xcvi

⁵ Nos ii, iii, viii, xi, xii, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix, xx, xxi, xxiii, xxv, xxviii, xxix, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxvi, xxxviii, xlv, xli, xlviii, li, lii, liii, liv, lv, lviii, lix, lx, lxii, lxviii, lxx, lxxii, lxxv, lxxviii, lxxix, lxxx, lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxvi, lxxxix, xciii, xcvi, xcviij, c

⁶ Ferri, *op cit*, p 242, stanza 1

⁷ The principle that in Old French lyrics derived from the dance riming lines were generally sung to the same musical phrase is demonstrated by Gennrich, Friedrich, *Musikwissenschaft und romanischen Philologie* (Halle, 1918)

corresponding to the coda of the music, and giving, by its new rime, a cue to the chorus, whose burden would end with this new rime.

The dominance of this type of stanza in the English carol indicates that the *genre* may properly be regarded as the English representative of a European family of lyric forms originating in the carole or a round dance very much like it. The corresponding type in French is the *chanson à danser* with a burden (in its courtly development, the *virelai*); in Provençal the *ballada*, in Italian the *ballata*, in German one type of *Reigenlied*. That direct influence was exerted on the English song by the French may be taken for granted, there must have been many a popular dance-song of which 'the note, I trowe, makel was in Fraunce'. Immediate influence from Italy or Germany is inherently less likely, but further investigation will be needed to justify a positive statement. If the same type of round dance was established in all these countries, there is no reason why an analogous but independent process in each should not have given to the language the lyric types which have just been discussed.

2 *The Carol and the Ballad*

The carol is not the only *genre* of English poetry for which an ultimate origin in the dance has been claimed. The traditional narrative ballad has long been regarded by some authorities as a development from folk-song associated with communal dancing. That it has been so associated in Scandinavian countries is known, and survivals of the practice of dancing to ballads in the Faroe Islands have been frequently referred to by writers on ballad-origins.¹ Opinion is not quite unanimous as to the association of dance and ballad in England and Scotland. F. Liebermann maintains² that it has not been proved that ballads were so sung in England, and that, on the contrary, the English dance was accompanied only by instrumental music. Miss Louise Pound³ is likewise strongly disinclined to connect dancing with the narrative ballad. But the weight of scholarly opinion tends to regard the ballad as a survival from dance-song. Some of the circumstances in the

¹ See Cox, Edward G., trans., *The Medieval Popular Ballad* (Boston, 1914), chap. 11, Gummere, *Beginnings*, *passim*, *Old English Ballads*, introduction, *passim*.

² 'Zu Liedrefrain und Tanz im englischen Mittelalter', in *Archiv für das Studium der*

neueren Sprachen, vol. cxi, pp. 261-2.

³ *Poetic Origins and the Ballad* (New York, 1921), pp. 67-86, 'The Ballad and the Dance', in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. xxxiv, pp. 360-400.

background of the carol which have been considered here have also been studied by workers on the ballad and interpreted this way or that according to the particular theory in support of which they have been invoked. There has also been a confusion of ballad and carol due to the use of the latter term to designate any Christmas poem, which has led to its being applied to such unquestionable ballads as Nos. 22, 54, 55 in Child's collection and the more recently authenticated folk-ballad of 'The Bitter Withy'.¹ Plainly a clear distinction between ballad and carol, and a formulation of the relation, if any, between them should be of service for the understanding of both *genres*. An attempt at such a distinction may be made here, not without realization of the dangerous character of the ground over which it leads.

The three principal points of difference between the pieces in Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* and those here collected concern method of transmission, narrative quality, and metrical form. The ballad is by definition a narrative poem with those combinations of ellipsis and repetition which characterize its peculiar style, it tells a tale and there makes an end. The interest is in the tale; none is diverted to the emotions of the teller or of his hearers, or to his relations with them. The objectivity of the ballad is one of the touchstones of its authenticity. Now neither complete objectivity nor narrative content is essential or even usual in the carol, although both may be present. Nor are the carols the product, like the ballads and all other true folk-song, of a sustained process of oral transmission. These contrasts are dealt with in more detail in Chapter IV, below. The third point of difference, that of metrical form, commands attention here because it may be regarded as a reflection of a difference between the respective backgrounds of ballad and carol. It argues a difference between the type of dance associated with the early narrative poetry of England and Scotland, and that associated with the more purely lyric poetry represented by the carol. The key to the distinction lies in that important member, the burden.

The burden characteristic of the carol-form is a line or group of lines, most often a couplet, repeated after every stanza, often linked to the stanza by rime, but essentially independent of and external to it. Such a burden or any part of it does not ordinarily appear *within* a stanza, although one of the burden-

¹ See the article on this ballad by Gerould, *Language Association*, vol. xxiii, pp. 141-67.
Gordon H., in *Publications of the Modern*

lines will often be found as the *last* line of a stanza, as a refrain.¹ The carol, then, consists of an alternation of two organic units, stanza and burden, the first changing its text, the second invariable.

The ballads, or rather some of the ballads, also include in their structure repeated choral elements, the ballad-refrains, about which much has been written. Whatever its historical importance, the refrain is not the essential feature of the extant ballads that the burden is of the extant carols. Of the 1,250 ballad-versions in Child's collection, only about 300, or less than a fourth, are provided with refrains.² Whether all ballads originally had refrains or not is an arguable question; the important thing for the present discussion is that the refrains which are preserved are almost invariably of one type, and that a type different from the carol-burden. The characteristic arrangement of stanza-text and refrain in the English ballad is one of alternating lines: a line of narrative text, then a refrain-line; another line of narration, then another refrain-line, different from the first, but often riming with it. For example:³

One king's daughter said to anither,
Brume blumes bonnie and grows sae fair
 'We'll gae ride like sister and brither.'
And we'll neer gae down to the brume nae mair

This form may be expanded by repetition, as in 'The Three Ravens', but the same principle persists, of a choral element introduced at two or more separate points in the stanza and actually forming part of the organic structure of the stanza itself.⁴

There were three rauens sat on a tree,
Downe a downe, hay down, hay downe
 There were three rauens sat on a tree,
With a downe
 There were three rauens sat on a tree,
 They were as blacke as they might be.
With a downe derrie, derrie, derrie, downe, downe

This sort of choral element, which I call a refrain inasmuch as

¹ The only exceptions to this rule are to be found in Nos 189, 204, 285, all the work of James Ryman, a conscious experimenter with verse-forms, in No. 117, where the influence of the learned music is responsible, and in Nos 44, 180, 446, 461.

² Ruhrmann, Friedrich G., *Studien zur*

Geschichte und Charakteristik des Refrains in der englischen Literatur (Anglistische Forschungen, Heft 64, Heidelberg, 1927), p. 16.

³ Child, No. 16 E, stanza 1.

⁴ Child, No. 26, stanza 1.

it forms part of the stanza, is found in folk-song of other countries. The Danish medieval ballad sometimes uses it, although less often than the refrain at the end of a stanza.¹ It marks the delightful little French *chanson* 'En passant par la Lorraine':²

En passant par la Lorraine
Avec mes sabots,
 Ils m'ont appelé vilaine,
Avec mes sabots dondarne,
oh, oh, oh!
Avec mes sabots

It appears to have been a common arrangement in songs of ring-dances in Germany, as in the old May-song of monk and nun.³

Et ging en Paterke langs de Kant
Her, 'twas in de Mer!
 He nahm en Nonneke bei de Hand
Her 'twas in de Mer, Mer, Mer,
her, 'twas in de Mer

Another German example is a religious parody of an older secular dance-song.⁴

Solo Wolt ir horn ein news gedicht ?
 Chorus: *das singen wir euch mit frewden,*
 Solo · was Gott an uns hat ausgericht,
 Chorus · *das singen wir euch und sprangen auf mit frewden*

But, as already noted, this manner of inserting refrain-lines between lines of stanza-text is all but unknown in the English carol.

Nor, on the other hand, is the burden of the type external to the stanza to be met with in the English ballads, except in rare instances. In a text of 'The Elfin Knight' taken from a seventeenth-century broadside such a burden appears superadded to a refrain of the ordinary ballad-type.⁵

(Burden) My plaid awa, my plaid awa,
 And ore the hill and far awa,
 And far awa to Norrowa,
 My plaid shall not be blown awa

¹ Cox, *The Medieval Popular Ballad*, p 31, Nos 129, 146, 81.

² Gérold, *Chansons populaires*, p 79, stanza 1

³ Bohme, *Geschichte des Tanzes*, vol 11, p 196, stanza 1

⁴ *Ibid*, vol 11, p 11

⁵ Child, No 2 A.

(Stanza 1) The elphin knight sits on yon hill,
 Ba, ba, ba, lill ba
 He blaws his horn both lowd and shril.
 The wind hath blown my plaid awa
 (&c)

In one text of 'Captain Car' a burden of the same form as the ballad stanza is associated with stanzas having no refrain:¹

(Stanza 1) It befell at Martynmas,
 When wether waxed colde,
 Captaine Care said to his men,
 We must go take a holde

 (Burden) Syck, sike, and to-towe sike,
 And sike and like to die,
 The sikest nighte that euer I abode,
 God lord haue mercy on me!
 (&c.)

But throughout Child's texts only about one in sixty can show a burden of this external type.²

It is hardly possible that this almost complete mutual exclusiveness is the result of chance. It indicates rather that there existed two sharply differentiated forms of choral element, one of which was definitely associated with the ballad, while the other was as definitely associated with the carol (and the popular prototypes of the carol). This in turn implies two different methods of performance: for the ballads a *Vorsanger* uttering a single line to which the chorus responds with a refrain-line, for the carol a leader singing an entire stanza before the chorus comes in with its burden. If we picture a change of some kind (perhaps from motion to rest and vice versa) in the dance at each of these changes in the song, it becomes obvious that the ballad-pattern would go with a more broken style of dancing than would the carol-form. Both could equally well be round dances, both forms of song being found labelled *Reihetanz* or *Ringeltanz* in German, but the degree of activity would differ. At any rate it is a two-part refrain inserted into a stanza, and not a carol-burden which Fabyan reports as made and sung in the round dances of the North after Bannockburn:³

¹ Child, No 178 A

² It is found in Nos 44 (two different burdens, another is probably lost), 82 (burden becoming stanza 11), 110 K, 115, 178 A, 192, 200 J, 209 E, 217 M, 222 D, 231 A (?), B, D, E, 289 B, C, D, E, 299 A

See Gerould, Gordon H, *The Ballad of Tradition* (Oxford, 1932), pp 122-4

³ Fabyan, Robert, *The New Chronicles of England and France* (London, 1811, after Pynson's edition of 1516), p 420

Than the Scottis enflamyd with pryde, in derysyon of Englysshe men,
made this ryme as foloweth.

Maydens of Englonde, sore maye ye morne
For your lemmans ye haue loste at Bannockisborne,
With heue a lowe
What wenyth the kyng of Englonde,
So soone to haue wonne Scotlande
With rumbylowe

This songe was after many dayes sungyn, in daunces, in carolis of ye maydens & mynstrellys of Scotlande, to the reproofe and dysdayne of Englysshe men, w[1]t[h] dyuerse other which I ouer passe.

Unreliable though Fabyan may be, this passage is one of the few bits of external evidence actually connecting a given early English song-text with the dance. It does not matter much if the song be considerably later than Bannockburn, or even of Fabyan's own time, about 1500. The refrain is one which has persisted in popular song into modern times.¹ It is to be found in a narrative song printed in *The Forsaken Lover's Garland* (Newcastle [?], 1750 [?]).²

'Tis of a ragged beggar man, came tripping o'er the plain,
He came unto a farmer's door, a lodging good to gain,
Rom-below, zun-garee, Rom-be-low, below, below.

Fabyan does not win our thanks for 'ouer passing' the 'dyuerse other'.

It is plain that it would be no difficult matter to adapt a song cast in one of the two characteristic patterns, ballad or carol, to fit music and action associated with the other. This would be particularly easy in the case of a song in two-line stanzas: the couplet would be sung continuously and followed by a burden in the one case, and in the other divided by the insertion of refrain-lines. Just this variation is shown by some texts of traditional folk-song recently collected in the United States. The two illustrations which follow are selected from versions taken down in the Appalachian Mountains by the late Cecil Sharp. The first comprises two variants of 'The Golden Vanity'. One of these has the inserted refrain, as in Child's versions:³

There was a ship sailed from the North Amerikee,
Crying O the lonesome lowlands low,
There was a ship sailed from the North Amerikee,
And she went by the name of the Green Willow Tree,
And she sailed from the Lowlands Low

¹ See Gummere, *Beginnings*, p. 274.

² Reprinted by Baring-Gould, Sabine, and Fleetwood Sheppard, H., eds., *A Garland of Country Song* (London, 1895), p. 53.

³ Sharp's No. 3968, from *MS Songs Collected in the Southern Appalachian Mountains*, rotograph copy Child, No. 286.

But another singer gave it thus, with an external burden (for which the tempo was changed):¹

There was a ship a-sailing on the North Amerikee,
And it went by the name of the Green Willow Tree

Sailing O the lonesome lowland low,
So level lands so low

The same difference is to be observed between two variants of 'The Farmer's Curst Wife'.²

An old man went to the field to plough,
Te ole dum diddle dum day,
Along comes an old devil, peeps over his horse,
Te ole dum diddle dum day.

There was an old man who lived under the hull,
If he ain't moved out he's living there still

Sing dow, dow, diddle a diddle,
Sing dow a diddle, a diddle a day

It is improbable that these variants, recorded in the same section of the country, preserve faithfully two distinct arrangements of the song, each of considerable antiquity. They show rather, that in the oral tradition in which they are now preserved, unconnected with the dance, the change from one form to the other is made without compunction.³ But, as the comparison of the earlier recorded texts of Child and of the manuscript carols indicates, such a change was not common in the late Middle Ages, the heyday of the carol and the time of the earlier records of the ballad.

Something of the kind has apparently been attempted with two pieces preserved in manuscripts containing numerous carols. One of these, No. 322 A, the 'Corpus Christi Carol', is unique in being the only piece written in carol form in a manuscript earlier than 1550 of which I have found a traditional version recorded by collectors of folk-song.⁴ The poem appears in Richard Hill's commonplace book, Balliol College, Oxford, MS. 354. It is also one of the few carols with a stanza of two short,

¹ Sharp's No 3909 in MS, No 41 F in *English Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* (London, 1932), vol 1, p 288

² Sharp's No 3889 in MS, No 40 E, op cit, vol 1, p 279. Child, No 278 Sharp's No 3580 in MS, No 40 D, op cit, vol 1, p 278

³ Mr Joseph W Hendren has very kindly communicated to me the interesting fact

that in the variant texts of ballads collected since Child's activity the alternating refrain is much less frequent and the end-refrain (not always easy to distinguish from an external burden) more so. Mr Hendren suggests that end-refrains may more often have been disregarded by the earlier ballad-collectors

⁴ See below, p xciv

four-accent lines¹ The text shows clearly, however, that the burden was meant to be sung first, in regulation carol fashion.

(Burden) Lully, lulley, lully, lulley,
The fawcon hath born my mak away.

(Stanza 1) He bare hym vp, he bare hym down;
He bare hym into an orchard brown

(Burden) Lully, lulley, lully, lulley,
The fawcon hath born my mak away

(Stanza 2) In that orchard ther was an hall,
That was hangid with purpill and pall

(Burden) Lully, lulley, lully, lulley,
The fawcon hath born my mak away.

(&c)

In the two versions recorded from oral tradition within the last seventy-five years what is substantially the same stanza-text appears with no burden, but with a two-part refrain inserted after the manner of the ballad:

No. 322 B.

(Stanza 1) Over yonder 's a park, which is newly begun,
All bells in Paradise I heard them a-ring,
Which is silver on the outside, and gold within,
And I love sweet Jesus above all things.

(Stanza 2) And in that park there stands a hall,
All bells in Paradise I heard them a-ring,
Which is covered all over with purple and pall,
And I love sweet Jesus above all things

(&c)

No. 322 C.

(Stanza 1) Down in yon forest there stands a hall,
The bells of Paradise I heard them ring,
It's covered all over with purple and pall,
And I love my Lord Jesus above anything.

(&c)

The version recorded by Hogg (D) has neither burden nor refrain. It is a delicate matter to theorize about, but the fact that the couplet-stanza of this piece, while common enough in the ballads, is seldom found in the carol-texts suggests that the traditional versions really preserve the original form of the

¹ The others are Nos 449, 463

song, which was adapted by the addition of a 'lullay' burden¹ to be sung as a carol.

Some such attempt at adaptation may be responsible also for the rather puzzling piece 'Robyn and Gandelyn'² The poem occurs only in the Sloane MS,³ which is composed for the most part of regular carols but also contains the ballad of 'St Stephen and Herod'. The line 'Robynn lyth in grene wode bowndyn', which Child takes to be a burden, is written at the very beginning and again at the very end of the piece, but its repetition at any point is not indicated. If the line was intended as a burden, the piece could, of course, be sung as a carol, but the narrative content and style, and its use of the ballad-stanza with first and third lines unrimed, mark it as not a carol by origin. The scribe apparently recognized its unlikeness to its companion poems, for it is the only one in the entire manuscript written as prose and not marked off into stanzas.

However the evidence of these two pieces may be interpreted, it does appear that, in the days when the dance and its song had recently parted company, there was a reluctance to make the change in a given song from one manner of singing to another. Roughly, the external burden is associated with songs of a lyric nature, the inserted refrain with narrative. In view of the extent to which the carole has been seen to condition the form of songs to which it was danced, is it too much to infer that the ballad with refrain derives from a ring-dance of somewhat different nature, the details of which we must be content at present to leave obscure?

3 *The Carol surviving the Dance*

There is a further question which naturally arises if the carol is considered as a song owing its form to the dance. That is, which, if any, of the carol-texts here collected were actually sung in the round dance? Unfortunately the answer cannot be specific. Some pieces, such as Nos. 467, 468, can be eliminated at once as inherently unsuitable for such performance. Their division into 'solo' and 'chorus' parts is conventional, as it is in modern pieces of poetry like some of Rossetti's. The lullaby carols, in the nature of the case, probably, although not certainly,⁴ were never danced to. Laboured argumentative or allegorical pieces, too, like Nos. 95 and 260, will not fit into a picture of a dancing ring. There is also the testimony of

¹ See below, p cxlii-cxliii

² Child, No 115

³ British Museum, MS Sloane 2593

⁴ See below, p cxlii

the music which has been preserved. An examination of the settings of the carols in MSS. Bodleian Library, Arch Selden B. 26, and Trinity College, Cambridge, O 3. 58 (both of the fifteenth century) shows that they are not divided in the fashion of the primitive dance songs into solo for verse and chorus for burden. They are treated throughout as part-songs, although the burden is still to be repeated after each verse as it would be in the dance.

A few indications of the division into parts may be given here; for details of the music the special studies and reproductions of these manuscripts which have been published may be consulted.¹ No 31 a, for example, is written in two parts throughout, No 30 in three parts throughout. No 426 b, the famous 'Agincourt Carol', is in two and three parts, arranged as follows:

Deo gracias Anglia } 2 parts
Redde pro victoria }

Our kyng went forth to Normundy
Wyth grace and myth of chyualry,
Ther God for hym wrouth meruelowsly, } 2 parts
Qwerfore Ynglond may cal and cry,
'Deo gracias'

Deo gracias anglia } 3 parts
Redde pro victoria }

No. 338 a shows even greater variety, the parts being disposed thus.

Abyde, Y hope hit be the beste, Solo
Abyde, Y hope hit be the beste, 3 parts
Abyde, Y hope hit be the best, } 2 parts
Sith hasty man lakked neuer woo. }

A[byde, Y hope hit be the beste, } 3 parts
Sith hasty man lakked neuer woo.] }

In British Museum MS Addit. 5665, of about the next century, the music is often signed with a composer's name, and is not that of simple dance-song, but studied harmony. The music of this manuscript has not been published in full, but a few selections are given in J. Stafford Smith's *Musica*

¹ For Arch Selden B 26, Stainer's *Early Bodleian Music*, for the Trinity College roll, Fuller Maitland's *English Carols of the*

Fifteenth Century, for selections from both, Sir Richard R. Terry's *A Medieval Carol Book* (London, [1931])

Antiqua.¹ A quotation from one piece² will show the same sort of division into two and three parts:

Nowell, nowell, nowell, nowell,	} 2 parts
Tydynges gode Y thyng[ke] to telle	
Nowell, nowell, nowell, nowell,	} 3 parts
Tydynges gode Y thyngke to telle	
The borys hede that we bryng here	} 2 parts
Betokeneth a Prince withowte pere	
Ys born this day to bye vs dere;	
Nowell,	
nowelle	3 parts

The carols as written in these manuscripts are plainly songs to be sung in company, but not to be danced to.

In the case of the more numerous pieces for which no musical setting is preserved, one must be more cautious in statement. There are a great many which would be perfectly suitable, as far as their form is concerned, to accompany a dance of the carole type, but the seriousness of their subject-matter seems to render them inappropriate for such use. But with the 'spiritual ring-dances' of the German Reformation period in mind, one cannot be sure that they were not sung 'o the ring'. Particularly in such a piece as No. 12, one of the earliest written of any of our texts (about 1350), is there a suggestion that religious songs were danced to in England as well; the burden 'Honnd by honnd we schulle ous take' being probably a close imitation of a secular dance-song.

Other carols, especially the boar's-head group,³ imply a processional use, the classic survival of such customs being the yearly bringing-in of the boar's head at Queen's College, Oxford. The manner in which this ceremony is carried out to the present day preserves the mark of the carole. The stanzas of the carol are sung by a soloist, and the burden, which is sung first, by a group of choristers. During the singing of each stanza the procession halts, moving forward again as the chorus sings the burden.⁴ The entrance of a figure personifying the Christmas season is indicated by the text of Nos. 5 and 6, and his exit by No. 141, and it seems highly probable that some sort of action accompanied the singing of the dramatic words of No. 117.⁵

¹ [London, 1812]

² No. 133, burden and stanza 1 Ibid, p. 22.

³ Nos. 132-5

⁴ Magrath, J. R., *The Queen's College*

(Oxford, 1921), vol. 11, p. 240

⁵ See Chambers, [Sir] E. K., and Sidgwick, F., *The Modern Language Review*, vol. v, p. 477

But the frequency with which exhortations to the company to sing are introduced, as compared with the scarcity of allusions to dancing, implies that in the fifteenth century the carol was usually sung without being danced to. This accords well with the shift in meaning of the word 'carol' noted in Chapter I as taking place about 1400. It would seem that the carole as a social amusement went out of fashion in England somewhere about that time. In its humbler guise, the ring-dances of the country-folk, it lingered even into recent times, as at Padstow.¹ The probability is that most of the pieces here collected were meant to be sung, at the time they were written down, much as they would be to-day, not in a dancing ring, but in a company gathered for conviviality or for religious praise. They preserve, however, and it is the secret of much of their charm, the atmosphere of general participation which the round dance engenders:

Therefore euery mon that ys here
Synge a caroll on hys manere;
Yf he con non we schall hym lere.

The companionship of the dance remained associated with the form of verse which had the dance-song for its pattern, even when the singers no longer stepped 'hand by hand'.

¹ See above, pp. xxxii, xxxiii

CHAPTER III

THE LATIN BACKGROUND OF THE CAROL

1. *The Latin Lines of the Carols*

IN the years when the literary lyric was coming to light in the vernacular tongues of medieval Europe, there existed another important tradition of lyric poetry which must not be overlooked because of its almost complete disappearance in modern times. This was the tradition of accentual Latin verse, which had risen with the lapse of turbulent centuries from the low estate of labourer's chant or soldier's marching song to the highest possible use, the service of God.¹ Like the other expressions of medieval Latinity, it took little heed of boundary lines or of national cultures, it shared the universality of the Church by whose servants it was mainly fostered. It could, and did, flourish undisturbed in England while the Germanic speech of the island was assimilating huge doses of Roman vocables and rhythms. There need come no surprise, therefore, with the realization that the background of the English carol includes more than the idyllic picture of maidens dancing in the daisy fields, and that a place is claimed by the cloistered scriptorium and the flagstoned choir.

The most obvious point of contact between the carol and medieval Latin poetry is to be found in the scraps of actual Latin with which the carol-texts are so plentifully larded. English poetry, at least, has no other province in which macaronic construction plays so large, so earnest, and so happy a part. Of the 474 carols here collected, 202 include Latin lines or phrases.² With a few exceptions,³ the carols in this large group are of religious or moral content, and the Latin which they contain is naturally for the most part in the idiom of the Church. If, instead of being dismissed with a word or

¹ For three recent histories of medieval Latin poetry, see Raby, F. J. E., *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 1927) and *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1934), and Allen, Philip S., *The Romanesque Lyric* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1928).

² Nos 1, 2, 3, 9, 14, 19-21, 23, 24, 26, 29, 31, 33-6, 38, 39, 45, 46, 49, 51, 52, 56, 58, 59, 62, 64-6, 68-70, 72, 75-8, 79 A, 80-2, 86,

88, 91, 92-6, 98-100, 101 B, 103-5, 109, 110, 114-16, 118, 119, 122, 123 A, 125 A, 126, 127, 130-2, 138, 140, 148, 152, 157 A, 168, 169, 172 A, 173, 176, 178, 179, 185-91, 194-202, 204, 206-18, 220-30, 232, 234, 237-45, 248, 253, 258, 262, 265-7, 273-9, 284-305, 307, 311-13, 319, 322 A, 330, 333-5, 351-3, 358, 364, 366, 367, 369, 370, 372, 375, 378, 399, 410, 426, 429, 457, 461, 474

³ Nos 132, 399, 410, 457, 461, 474

two, as has often been done,¹ these lines and phrases are considered a little more closely, they may serve as guides to a better understanding of the relations of the carol and medieval Latin literature.

The English-Latin carols are in general the work of authors who had the real knack of macaronic verse. In most cases the sense of the lines is continuous, English and Latin carrying forward the same subject-matter. The joinings are often very neatly made, and the Latin verses come in decidedly pat, as in Ryman's carol of the shepherds:²

Vpon a nyght an aungell bright
 Pastoribus apparuit,
 And anone right thurgh Goddes myght
 Lux magna illis claruit
 For loue of vs (Scripture seith thus)
 Nunc natus est Altissimus
 And of that light that was so bright
 Hu valde timuerunt,
 A signe of blis to vs it is,
 Hec lux quam hui viderunt.
 For loue of vs (&c)

It is rare, however, to find Latin and English alternating so frequently as in the following carol on the 'Timor mortis' theme:³

Illa iuventus that is so nyse
 Me deduxit into vayn devise,
 Infirmus sum, I may not rise;
 Terribilis mors conturbat me
 Dum iuuenis fui, lytill I dred,
 Set semper in sinne I ete my bred,
 Iam ductus sum into my bed;
 Terribilis mors [conturbat me.]

Nothing but a desire for novelty seems to be responsible for the unusual arrangement of the Latin lines in No. 31 a:⁴

A Patre vnigenitus
 Thorw a maiden is com to vs
 Syng we to here and sey, 'Welcome!
 Veni redemptor gencium.'

¹ e.g. the paragraph in *The Oxford Book of Carols*, p. xii, or Dyboski's *Songs, Carols and other Miscellaneous Poems*, p. xviii 'they [the Latin lines] can all be traced back to Latin church-hymns in old collections' William O. Wehrle, in a dissertation which has appeared since this chapter was written (*The Macaronic Hymn*

Tradition in Medieval English Literature, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1933), attempts some analysis and classification of macaronic lyrics and comments on many of the carols.

² No. 75, stanzas 1, 2

³ No. 372, stanzas 1, 2

⁴ Stanzas 1, 2.

Agnoscat omne seculum ·
 A bryght sterre thre kynges [made] come
 For to seke with here presens
 Verbum supernum prodiens

Latin lines used as the *caudae* of tail-rime stanzas are of two general types. When they are not repeated from stanza to stanza, they ordinarily carry on the argument of the piece like the other lines which precede them, as in this carol in honour of St. Thomas of Canterbury ¹

Lestenyth, lordynges, bothe grete and smale;
 I xal you telyn a wonder tale,
 How Holy Cherche was brow[t] in bale
 Cum magna iniuria

The greteste clerk of al this lond,
 Of Cauntyrbery, ye vnderstond,
 Slawyn he was [with] wykkyd hond,
 Demonis potencia

When the same line is used for the *caudae* of all stanzas, forming a refrain, it is usually one which does not require any particular immediate context; it is exclamatory, or sententious, or directly addressed to God, the Virgin, or a saint. Like the burden, of which such a refrain usually forms one line, it serves as a kind of text or theme-line for the whole composition. The vocative use of such lines is illustrated by the following carol to St. John the Evangelist:²

Prey for vs the Prynce of Pees,
 Amice Cristi Johannes.

To the now, Cristes dere derlyng,
 That were a maydyn bothe eld and yyng,
 Myn herte is set to the to syng,
 Amice Christi Johannes.

For thou were so clene a may,
 The preuytes of heuene forsothe thou say
 Qwan on Crystys brest thov lay,
 Amice Christi Johannes

Their use as pious exclamations is to be seen in a piece for the Epiphany season:³

Alleluya, alleluia,
 Deo Patri sit gloria

¹ No 114 a, stanzas 1, 2.

² No 103 Aa, burden and stanzas 1, 2.

³ No 123 A, burden and stanzas 1, 2.

Ther ys a blossom sprong of a thorn
 To saue mankynd, that was forlorne,
 As the profettes sayd beforne,
 Deo Patri sit gloria.

Ther sprong a well at Maris fote
 That tordned all this world to bote,
 Of her toke Jhesu flesshe and blod;
 Deo Patri [sit gloria]

Almost never are the bits of Latin inserted in a really inconsequential fashion. It is exceptional even to find lack of syntactical agreement between Latin and English, such as occurs in one of the holly-ivy group of carols where third and second personal forms are confused:¹

Ivy, chefe off treis it is,
 Veni, coronaberis

The most worthye she is in towne—
 He that seyth other do amysse—
 And worthy to bere the crowne;
 Veni, coronaberis.

Even in the highly irreverent song of Jankyn, the Latin phrases are inserted in a way that emphasizes the character of the piece, not quite as a parody of the Mass, but as a kind of sacrilegious trope of bits of its text:²

'Kyrie, so kyrie,'
 Jankyn syngyt merie,
 With 'aleyson'.

Jankyn began the Offys on the Yol Day,
 And yyt me thynkyt it dos me good, so merie gan he say,
 'Kyrieleyson'.

Benedicamus Domino: Cryst fro schame me schylde,
 Deo gracias therto alas, I go with chylde!
 K[yrleeyson]

Many of the Latin lines in the carols are of a type which, while having little claim to originality, hardly allows us to

¹ No 138, burden and stanza 1

² No 457, burden and stanzas 2, 7. Other stanzas tell of Jankyn's part in the 'Pystyl', the 'Sanctus', and the 'Angus'. The principle of interpolation is much like that of a genuine trope. Compare the burden of 'Jankyn' with the following opening

lines from a trope of the Kyrie

Kyrie,—Rex pie,—Da nobis hodie,—
 Veniae—Munus et gratiae *Elenson*
 (Quoted by Gautier, Léon, *Histoire de la poésie liturgique au moyen âge Les Tropes*, 1, Paris, 1886, p. 148 n. II E)

speak of a 'source' for the individual phrase. Any clerk with some fluency in Latin would have at his command any number of such clichés, not always preserved verbatim like texts of Scripture, but subject to slight variations in wording which in no way lift them out of the class of pious commonplace. It would be as useless as it would be dull to reproduce here the catalogue of these Latin expressions found in the carols, but a few may be cited as typical. "'Aue" fit ex "Eva"' (No. 238) is merely the simplest possible way of expressing that favourite of all medieval anagrams. Hymns to the Virgin are strewn with it, in various wordings, the best known being that of the 'Ave Maris Stella'.¹ Phrases of similar currency and lack of distinction are 'Infernali pena' (No. 179), 'Magnificantes Dominum' (No. 75), 'Ne cademus sustine' (No. 274), 'O rex noster Emanuel' (No. 92), 'Pro peccante homine' (No. 24), 'Tria ferentes munera' (No. 127), and many others. The great store of epithets applied to the Virgin by her devotees is levied upon for many of these uninspired lines, e.g. 'Mater Dei electa' (No. 179), 'O virgo summe decora' (No. 198), 'Maria, spes nostra, salve' (No. 215), 'Dei genitrix pia' (No. 194).

Other lines of Latin appear to have been composed for the particular place in which we find them, the author of the carol having simply shifted languages at the appointed place—no difficult matter, and, it may be added, one that has given the world no very luminous gems of Latin verse. The discovery of a verbal similarity to any one of these lines in some Latin piece on the same subject, say in the *Analecta Hymnica*, need not imply anything more than that two writers of verse of much the same background and way of thought have chanced to use the same expression. Among the many lines and phrases of this sort are the following: 'Per tua sancta merita' (No. 104), 'Quem gens seua crucifixit' (No. 218), 'Vllo sine crimine' (No. 24), 'Gentibus in Judea' (No. 68).

2. *The Hymn and the Carol*

Apart from commonplaces of clerkly Latin and connective phrases especially composed for a particular carol, there are to be found a considerable number of lines which are directly taken from some part of the service of the Church. As these were borrowed for incorporation without change into

¹ Daniel, H. A., *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*
(Leipzig, 1855), vol. 1, p. 204, stanza 2
Sumens illud Ave

Gabrielis ore,
Funda nos in pace,
Mutans nomen Evae.

the verses of song, it is not surprising that most of them are drawn from those parts of the ritual which are metrical, or at least rhythmical, units, that is, the hymns, the proses or sequences, and the antiphons. Of these three types the hymn is that which presents the nearest likeness of form to the carol, being divided into stanzas, each of which is sung to a repetition of the same musical setting.¹ It is also that which contributes the greatest number of Latin lines to the carol-texts, as the following table will show.²

*Table of Hymn-Lines Used in the Carols*³

<i>Line</i>	<i>Carol No</i>	<i>Use</i> ⁴	<i>Text</i>
A Patre Unigenitus	31	Epiphany, Lauds	B S. 1, col. cccxxix
A solus ortus cardine	21, 31, 52, 122 B	Christmas, Lauds	B S. 1, col. clxxxix
Adam parens quod pollut (Adam vetus quod pol- lut)	31 a, b	York, Christmas, Nones	Hym. S., p 14
Adesto nunc propicius	86	See 'Salvator mundi, Domine' below	
Aeterne rex altissime	273	Vigil of Ascension, I Vespers	B S. 1, col dcccclviii
Agnoscat omne saeculum	31	York, Christmas, Prime	Hym S., p 13
Aurora lucis rutilat	273	First Sunday after Easter, Matins	B S. 1, col. dcccclviii
Aurum, thus, myrrham, offerunt	125 A	See 'Reges de Saba' below.	
Ave, plena gratia	232 B		See <i>Rep. Hym.</i> Nos 2030-3, 23740-8, 35658-60.
Christe, redemptor om- nium	9, 21 A, B, D, 122 A, 273	Christmas, Matins	B S. 1, col clxxi

¹ Throughout the present discussion the term 'hymn' will be applied only to stanzaic pieces in metre, excluding other forms like proses and tropes which are often classed as hymns under the broader meaning of the word 'any song or song-like poem of praise to God'. See the classification of hymns in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. 'Hymn'.

² This and the similar tables which follow make no claim to exhaustiveness. Further diligent search in hymn-collections would doubtless reveal further borrowings.

³ ABBREVIATIONS

An Hym Dreves, G. M., and Blume, C., eds., *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (Leipzig, 1886-)

B S Proctor, Francis, and Wordsworth, Christopher, eds., *Breviarum ad Usus*

Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum (Cambridge, 1879-86)

Dan Daniel, H. A., ed., *Thesaurus Hymnologicus* (Leipzig, 1855-6)

Hym S Hymnarium Sarisburiense (London, 1851)

Mone, Franz J., ed., *Laterneische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (Freiburg, 1853-5)

Rep. Hym Chevalier, Ulysse, ed., *Reperitorium Hymnologicum*, (Louvain, 1892-1920)

Sar Mss Legg, J. Wickham, ed., *The Sarum Missal* (Oxford, 1916)

⁴ References, unless otherwise noted, are to the Sarum Use. In many cases the service cited is only one of several for which the same hymn is prescribed, ordinarily the first occurrence of the hymn in the liturgical year is that recorded.

Circumfultus undique	99	See 'Protomartyr Stephane' below.	
Conditor alme siderum	273	Advent, First Sunday, Vespers	<i>B S</i> 1, col v
Consors paterni luminis	23 B, 31 a, b	Tuesday after Octave of Epiphany, Matins	<i>Hym S.</i> , p 47
Deo patri sit gloria	86 A, B, 123 A	Frequent attend of hymns, e.g., Sunday, Lauds	<i>B S</i> 11, col 34
Deus creator omnium	122 A	First Sunday after Octave of Epiphany, I Vespers	<i>B S</i> 1, col. cccm
Effusione sanguinis	275	Non-Sarum, Common of a Martyr	<i>Dan</i> 1, p 109
Enixa est puerpera	52, 191 A, 232	See 'A solis ortus' above.	
Ex ilibata virgine	127	See 'Christe, redemptor omnium' above	
Exultet coelum laudibus	21 A, B, C, 33	Common of an Apostle	<i>B S</i> 11, col 368
Fili Mariae virginis	275, 276	Non-Sarum, Service of B V M in Advent, Nones	<i>Mone</i> 11, p 133
Gaude, mater gloriosa	202		See <i>Rep Hym.</i> No 6865
Gloria tibi, Domine	24, 29, 31 a, b, 35, 52, 86, 168, 187 B	The 'Gloria', first said Christmas, Matins	<i>B.S</i> 1, col clxxi
Hostis Herodes impie	21 A, C, D, 122 A	Vigil of Epiphany, Vespers	<i>B S.</i> 1, col. cccxix
Iam lucis orto sidere	21 B, 122 A, C, 273	Advent, First Sunday, Prime	<i>B.S</i> 11, col 37
Jesu, nostra redemptio	122 A	Vigil of Ascension, Compline	<i>B S</i> 11, col. 235
Jesu, Salvator saeculi	21, A, D, 122 A, C, 273	a First Sunday after Easter, Compline b All Saints, I Vespers	<i>B S</i> 11, col. 234 <i>B S.</i> 11, col 961
Laus, honor, virtus, gloria	33	A doxology	<i>Dan.</i> 1v, p. 20, n
Magnae Deus potentiae	122 A	Thursday after Octave of Epiphany, Vespers	<i>Hym S.</i> , p 53
Mane nobiscum, Domine	33, 38, 367	See 'A Patre Unigenitus' above.	
Maria ventre concepit	31 a, b	York, Christmas, Terce	<i>Hym. S.</i> , p 13
Mundum pugio continens	33	Annunciation, Matins	<i>B.S</i> 11, col 235
Mysterium mirabile	176	Non-Sarum, Eastertide, Terce	<i>Dan</i> 1, p 49
Ne mentem somnus operimat	86 A	See 'Salvator mundi, Domine' below	
Non ex virili semine	24	See 'Veni, redemptor gentium' below	
O lux beata Trinitas	21, 31 a, b	First Sunday after Trinity, I Vespers	<i>B S</i> 1, col mclxvii
Pastor creator omnium	23	See 'A solis ortus' above	
Processit ex virgine	49	See 'Verbum Patris hodie' below,	

Protomartyr Stephane	99	St Stephen's Day, Lauds	<i>B S</i> 1, col. cxxi
Quem genuit puerpera	127	Non-Sarum, Feasts of B V M	<i>Dan</i> 1, p 79
Qui creavit omnia	68		See <i>Rep Hym</i> , No 16388
Qui natus es de virgine	35 A, 52	See 'Gloria tibi, Domine' above	
Reges de Saba veniunt	125 A	Non-Sarum, Christmas	<i>Dan</i> 1, p 334
Resultet terra gaudius	33	See 'Exultet coelum' above	
Salvator mundi, Domine	86, 122 A	Advent, First Sunday	<i>B S</i> 11, col. 226
Secreta quae non noverat	52	See 'A solis ortus' above	
Sine virili semine	23 A, 58	Non-Sarum, Christmas	<i>Dan</i> 1, pp 327, 334
Solvit a poena miseros	33	See 'Aurora lucis rutilat' above	
Succurre nobis miseris	229, 275	Non-Sarum, Compline	<i>Dan</i> 1, p 34
Summi largitor praemii	273	Lent, First Sunday, Matins	<i>Hym S</i> , p 66
Te reformatior sensuum	86	See 'Salvator mundi, Domine' above	
Tu Trinitatis Unitas	122 A, C	Friday after Octave of Epiphany, Matins	<i>B S</i> 11, col. 149
Veni, Creator Spiritus	122	Whitsunday, Terce (Also first words of Ordinary of Mass)	<i>B S</i> 1, col. mviii
Veni, redemptor gentium	23, 31, 69	Vigil of Christmas, I Vespers	<i>B S</i> 1, col. clxvi
Venter puellae baulat	52	See 'A solis ortus' above	
Verbo concepit filium	52	See 'A solis ortus' above	
Verbum Patris altissimi	33	See 'Jesu, salvator saeculi' above	
Verbum Patris hodie	49	Christmas, Lauds	<i>B S</i> 1, col. cxc
Verbum supernum pro-	31 a, b	Advent, First Sunday, Matins	<i>B S</i> 1, col. xviii
diens			
Vexilla Regis prodeunt	265	Passion Sunday, Vespers	<i>Hym S</i> , p 79
Vox clara, ecce, intonat	273	Advent, First Sunday, Lauds	<i>B S</i> 1, col. xxxi

The hymns in the above table include some of the finest and best known which the Middle Ages produced. It is interesting to observe the manner in which carol-writers made use of their lines.

Often one carol incorporates a number of lines from the same hymn. This is not necessarily a sign that the carol is in any sense a partial translation or even an imitation of that hymn, although often it celebrates the same occasion. It may merely indicate that the lines of the particular hymn were fresher or firmer in the memory of the carol-writer than were others. Such is the case with No. 52, most of the Latin lines of which are taken from the Christmas hymn 'A solis ortus cardine', one of

the two hymns made from a fifth-century alphabetical poem by Caelius Sedulius.¹ The carol reads:

Now syng we, syng we,
'Gloria tibi, Domine'

Cryst kepe vs all, as he well can,
A solis ortu[s] cardine;
For he ys both God and man
Qui natus est de virgine

As he ys Lord both day and nyght,
Venter puelle barulat,
So ys Mary moder of myght,
Secreta que non noverat.

The holy brest of chastyte
Verbo consept Filium,
So browght before the Trinite
Vith castytatis lyllyum

Betwen an ox and an asse
Enixa est puerpera;
In pore clothyng clothed he was
[Q]ui regnat super ethera.

The italicized lines are all taken from the hymn² and occur in the same order in both hymn and carol, but the English text is in no way modelled upon the Latin, as a comparison will quickly show. The following is the older text of the hymn, that in the modern Roman Breviary having undergone some changes.³

A solis ortus cardine
Ad usque terrae limitem
Christum canamus principem,
Natum Maria virgine.

Beatus auctor saeculi
Servile corpus induit,
Ut carne carnem liberans
Ne perderet quos condidit.

¹ It comprises the stanzas beginning with the letters A to G, the stanzas beginning with the letters H, I, L, N form the Epiphany hymn 'Hostis Herodes impie'

² The lines 'Gloria tibi, Domine' and 'Qui natus es[t] de virgine' are from the Gloria used with this hymn, but not peculiar to it alone 'Castitatis lilum' is conventional,

the author may have had in mind the prose for the Mass of the B V M, which has the phrase 'O castitatis lilum' 'Qui regnat super aethera' occurs in the second Lectio for Lauds in the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary

³ Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, vol 1, p 143

Clausa parentis viscera
 Coelestis intrat gratia,
 Venter puellae bauulat
 Secreta quae non noverat.
 Domus pudici pectoris
 Templum repente fit Dei,
 Intacta, nesciens virum
 Verbo concepit filium.
 Enixa est puerpera
 Quem Gabriel praedixerat,
 Quem matris alvo gestiens
 Clausus Ioannes senserat.
 Foeno iacere pertulit,
 Praesepe non abhorruit,
 Parvoque lacte pastus est
 Per quem nec ales esurit
 Gaudet chorus coelestium
 Et angeli canunt Deo
 Palamque fit pastoribus
 Pastor creator omnium

Yet in no case does any carol borrow a greater number of lines from one hymn than does this No. 52 from Sedulius' work.

A far more usual procedure on the part of carol-writers was to cull lines here and there for insertion into an English piece. In such a case imitation of a particular hymn is hardly to be expected, nor is it found. A carol so constructed is No. 31 a. As may be seen from the preceding table, for the eleven Latin lines of this piece eight different hymns from various seasons of the year are laid under contribution.¹ In the beginning of the first stanza² the author follows the Latin hymn whence his first line is taken, for one line of English, 'Thorw a maiden is com to vs' from 'A Patre Unigenitus, Ad nos venit per virginem', but the remainder of the piece is merely a pot-pourri of the first lines of hymns.³ The same momentary following of the Latin text whence a line is taken is to be seen in No. 265, which takes half of its burden from the great Passiointide hymn ascribed to

¹ 'A solis ortus cardine', 'A Patre Unigenitus', 'Veni, redemptor gentium', 'Agnoscat omne saeculum', 'Consorts paterni luminis', 'O lux beata Trinitas', 'Verbum supernum prodiens', 'Maria ventre concepit', and the 'Gloria tibi, Domine' used with various hymns

² Quoted above, p. lxi

³ The hymn begins

Vexilla regis prodeunt,
Fulget crucis mysterium,

Quo carne carnis conditor
Suspensus est patibulo.

Confixa clavis viscera,
Tendens manus, vestigia,
Redemptionis gratia
Hic immolata est hostia.

(Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, vol. 1, p. 160. The older version of this hymn also differs from that in the modern Roman Breviary.)

Fortunatus. The first stanza may be regarded as a very free reworking of the opening lines of the hymn:

Now synge we, as we were wont.
'Uexilla Regis prodeunt'

The Kinges baner on felde is playd,
The crosses mistry can not be nayd,
To whom our Sauyours was betrayd,
And for our sake,
Thus sayth he:
'I suffre for the,
My deth I take'

But, as the 'Thus sayth he' promises, the body of the carol is an address of the crucified Christ to sinful man, having nothing in common with the hymn.¹

As these typical instances indicate, the direct contribution of the hymns of the Office to the subject-matter of the English text of the carols is extremely slight.² This is hardly to be attributed to lack of interest in the hymns themselves or in their possibilities as subjects of translation. James Ryman, prolific as a carol-writer, translated into English a number of the very hymns most quoted in the carols, and another collection of such translations made in the late fifteenth century is largely composed of the hymns which have been cited.³ Ryman's translations are the more interesting, as they retain the four-stress line and four-line stanza of their originals, whereas the anonymous hymnal is written in rime-royal with five-stress lines. Ryman also occasionally allows a line of Latin to remain, as in the following translation of 'Christe, redemptor omnium':⁴

Crist, that ayene hast made man free,
Ex patre patris vnice,
Onely borne, or thus worlde began,
Whose birth dyuine no tunge tell can

¹ For the source of the remainder of the carol, pointed out by Reed, see Notes

² The carols which paraphrase and quote from the *Te Deum laudamus* (Nos 96, 284-305) form a somewhat exceptional group. They show no particular influence from the rhythmical form of their great source.

³ Ed. Patterson, Frank A., 'Hymnal from MS Additional 34,193 British Museum', in Loomis, Roger S., ed., *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis* (Paris-New York, 1927), pp. 443-81.

⁴ Stanzas 1, 4. Cambridge University

Library, MS Ee 1 12, f. 30 r, printed Zupitza, J., *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, vol. lxxxix, p. 194. Other hymns translated by Ryman and published from the same manuscript are 'Conditor alme siderum' (ibid., p. 190), 'Verbum supernum prodiens' (ibid., p. 191), 'Vox clara, ecce, intonat' (ibid., p. 192), 'A solis ortus cardine' (divided and translated as two, ibid., pp. 192, 193), 'A patre Unigenitus' (ibid., p. 195), 'Christe, qui lux es et dies' (ibid., p. 196), 'Saluator mundi, Domine' (ibid., p. 197), 'Hostis Herodes impie' (ibid., p. 223).

This day berith witnesse, that now is come
 Currens per anni circulum,
 That thou art come fro blis an hye,
 The welthe of this worlde alone only
 (&c)

More probably the carols' independence of the hymns' subject-matter is due to the recognition by those who produced the carols that the masterpieces of church song were in a more exalted strain than was fitting for pieces modelled on popular song.

Metrically the carol and the hymn have more in common. They show similarities in form of both stanza and line which seem to indicate influence of the Latin poetry on the English. The likenesses of stanza-form are perhaps the more obvious.

One of the predominating forms of the Latin hymn through many centuries was a four-line stanza of four-measure lines. This form is found both in quantitative verse and in accentual, as well as in pieces showing the transition from one type of rhythm to the other. Most of the hymns to which reference is made in the table above are written in this stanza. Some, particularly those written in the earlier Middle Ages, are unrimed, e.g. 'Aeterne rerum conditor'. Others use rime in various arrangements. A monorime stanza like that found in a few carols¹ is one of these:

Conditor alme siderum.
 Aeterna lux credentium,
 Christe, redemptor omnium,
 Exaudi preces supplicum.

Five carols² use couplet rime like that in the following hymn-stanza:

Chorus novae Ierusalem
 Novam meli dulcedinem
 Promat, colens cum sobrius
 Paschale festum gaudiis.

Other rime-schemes occur in the hymns which the carols do not use, e.g. 4a 4b 4c 4b, and 4a 4b 4b 4a. In fact it is usual for the hymns of the Office which have been repeatedly cited here to introduce rime somewhat capriciously, omitting it altogether in some stanzas, and varying the rime-scheme in others. This is to be expected in view of the early date of most

¹ Nos 21, 157 C, 158, 315 (in part), 331, ² Nos 31, 88, 178, 380, 438
 333, 374, 379, 399

of them, as rime was seldom applied consistently throughout a Latin piece before the eleventh century.¹ But in hymns which were composed in the centuries immediately preceding the period of the carol's appearance, regular and often ingenious rime is constantly used. The fact that the hymns from which lines for macaronic carols were taken do not themselves show rime similar to that of the carols is therefore no evidence against the influence of Latin versification

The four-line cross-rime carol stanza, as well as the mono-rime and the couplet-rime, appears to be for the most part a product of Latin influence. The ballad-stanza, whether written as the two long lines which it actually is, or in the form 4a 3b 4c 3b, is little used by the carol-writers.² When a stanza of four- and three-measure lines in alternation is used, the first and third lines are rimed, as in the fifteenth-century hymn containing these lines:³

O adoranda deitas,
Te invoco in fide,
O admiranda bonitas
Nunc audi me et vide!

But the largest group of cross-rime carol-stanzas is made up of those having all their lines of four measures. This stanza may be regarded as the result of applying internal rime to long lines of eight measures,⁴ but such lines are not common in early English lyric verse. The much-used form 4a 4b 4a 4b is rather to be regarded in the carols as due to the influence of the isometric Latin hymn-stanza. This is plainly shown by such a piece as No. 23 A, where the b-lines are actually taken from hymns:⁵

When he was borne that made all thyng,
Pastor creator omnium,
Angelles thei began to syng,
'Veni, redemptor gentium'

No 122 A seems to show a transitional stage in the process of adaptation, one of the b-lines of each stanza being Latin, the other English:⁶

Ther is a babe born of a may
In saluacion of vs,
That he be heryd in this day,
Vene, Creatore Spiritus.

¹ Raby, *Christian-Latin Poetry*, p. 25

² Nos. 25, 135 (in part), 136 A, 143, 162,
465

³ Mone, *Latinsche Hymnen*, vol. 1, p. 287

⁴ As by Schipper, Jakob, *Englische Metrik* (Bonn, 1881-8), vol. 1, p. 343

⁵ Stanza 5

⁶ Stanzas 1, 2

In Bedlem, in that fayre plas,
 This blessid barne borne he was;
 Him to serue God grawnt vs grace,
 Tu Trinitatis Vnitas

The example of the Latin hymn-stanza of four four-measure lines is probably responsible for a specialized form of the stanza in a a a b which has been shown to have such an intimate connexion with the dance. In vernacular dance-songs using this form, the line in b, forming a transition from the first three lines of the stanza to the burden, is usually shorter than the lines which precede it; often it is only a 'tag' of one or two measures. In some of the carols it has this shorter form, but in a far greater number it has four measures. That this preference for a four-measure *cauda* is the result of acquaintance with the isometric hymn-stanza is attested by the large number of such *caudae* which appear in Latin, often directly quoted from a hymn. No. 24 provides a good example:¹

Blyssid be that mayde Mary,
 Born he was of here body,
 Godis Sone that syttit on hy,
 Non ex uirili semine

Man and chyld, bothe eld and ying,
 Now in his blysfyl comyng
 To that chyld mow we syng,
 'Gloria tibi, Domine'

The introduction of internal rime into four-measure lines, occasionally met with in the carols, particularly in the lullaby carols, is evidently an imitation of the leonine rime so prevalent in later medieval hymns and other Latin poems. No. 75² shows the use of leonine rimes in English lines. A Latin example follows:³

Christum ducem, qui per crucem
 Redemit nos ab hostibus,
 Laudet laetus noster coetus,
Exultet coelum laudibus.

Poena fortis tuae mortis
 Et sanguinis effusio
 Corda terant, ut te quaerant,
Jesu nostra redemptio.

¹ Stanzas 1, 4

² Quoted above, p. lxi.

³ Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen*, vol. 1, p. 112

These Latin lines also serve to illustrate a practice of medieval hymnody which is reflected in the macaronic verses of the English carol and of various religious lyrics in other languages. Lines from well-known hymns were often incorporated into new Latin hymns precisely as they were into the carol.¹ This principle of providing a new context for a well-known phrase is the same which underlies the production of the tropes and *épîtres farcies* in vogue in the period from the ninth to the twelfth centuries. It is distinctly a 'monkish literary device, and such carols as No. 31 were doubtless inspired by acquaintance with hymns like that just quoted.

3. *The Prose and the Carol*

The principal use of the hymns just discussed is in the Office of the Canonical Hours, as contained in the Breviary. The prose, or sequence, on the contrary, belongs essentially to the ceremony of the Mass. Although the words of many proses present a superficial likeness to those of a hymn, the structural principles of the two forms are radically different, a fact which must be kept in mind in any consideration of the relations of prose and carol. Proper understanding of this difference involves some acquaintance with the early history of the prose, which may be very briefly reviewed here.²

The place of the prose in the Mass is between the Gradual and the Gospel on feast-days. In the early Middle Ages the Gradual (an anthem sung between the Epistle and the Gospel, so named because it was sung from the steps of the altar or ambo) ended with an 'Alleluia' of which the last syllable was sung to a prolonged series of notes (*melisma* or *sequentia*). So long, indeed, was this passage in some settings that it was necessary to divide it in order to allow the singers to take breath. Each of these divisions was then called a *sequentia*. Then arose the practice, so important for the future development of the prose, of having each of these musical phrases sung twice, once by each of two opposed choirs, usually of men and boys respectively. The prose as a form of liturgical poetry began when, about the eighth century, in circumstances not fully known,³ Latin words,

¹ For further examples see *ibid.*, pp. 113, 176, 177

² In accordance with the authoritative short account of the prose and its development by Clemens Blume, S. J., in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. 'Prose or Sequence'

³ The long-accepted story of the development of the prose by Notker at St. Gall,

whither refugee monks from Jumièges had brought the idea of fitting words to a *sequentia*, is discredited by recent scholarship. Notker was influential in spreading the vogue of the prose in Germany, but its ultimate point of origin appears to have been in French territory. See *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. lxx, pp. x-xxx

at first unmetrical, were fitted to these long musical passages. Such a composition with its words was designated as *sequentia cum prosa*, whence the two terms, now used synonymously, of 'prose' and 'sequence'.

The earliest proses were written to already existing melodies and were made to correspond to these absolutely, a syllable for every note. Such are the productions of Notker Balbulus of St. Gall, which may be regarded as typical of the first period of prose-writing, lasting into the twelfth century and often called after him 'Notkerian'. The following prose in honour of St. John the Evangelist, attributed to Notker, will illustrate the parallel construction which is the distinctive feature of the form. The first and last strophes were sung by both choirs together, the remainder by the choirs in alternation, strophes here set opposite each other being sung to the same musical phrase.¹

1 Iohannes, Iesu Christo
multum dilecte virgo,

- | | |
|---|---|
| 2. Tu eius amore
carnalem | 3 In navi parentem
liquisti. |
| 4 Tu leve coniugis
pectus respuisti
Messiam secutus, | 5 Ut eius pectoris
sacra meruisses
fluenta potare |
| | |
| 10. Tute carcere
flagrisque fractus
testimonio
pro Christi es gavisus; | 11 Idem mortuos
suscitas inque
Iesu nomine
venenum forte vincis. |
| 12. Tibi summus tacitum
ceteris Verbum suum
pater revelat | 13. Tu nos omnes precibus
sedulis apud Deum
semper commenda, |

14. Iohannes, Christi care

Proses of this type are far enough removed, to be sure, from a metrical, stanzaic song like hymn or carol. But the next stage of development brought proses in which principles of accentual rhythm and rime asserted themselves more and more.² A prose

¹ Ibid, p. 276

² From the very beginning many proses ended all their strophes in -a, a reminis-

cence of the final *a* of 'Alleluia' which was the starting-point for all later developments

of this transitional sort is the famous 'Victimae paschali laudes', attributed to Wipo the Burgundian, and beginning:¹

1. Victimae paschali laudes
immolent christiani

- | | |
|--|--|
| 2. Agnus redemit oves,
Christus innocens patri
reconciliavit
peccatores | 3 Mors et vita duello
confluxere mirando,
dux vitae mortuus
regnat vivus |
| 4 Dic nobis, Maria,
quid vidisti in via?
'Sepulcrum Christi viventis
et gloriam vidi resurgentis; | 5 Angelicos testes,
sudarium et vestes.
Surrexit Christus, spes mea,
praecedet suos in Galilaea ' |
- (&c)

Greater uniformity of rhythm will be noticed, as well as the introduction of rime.

The final result of these tendencies was the 'regular' or 'Adamian' prose, so called after Adam of St. Victor, its principal exponent. In these compositions the twin strophes are rimed throughout and have a rhythm based on word accent and with a regular caesura. As the regular prose usually omitted the opening strophe for the combined choirs, the likeness of its text to that of a hymn is often complete, as in the celebrated 'Verbum bonum et suave':²

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Verbum bonum et suave
Personemus, illud <i>Ave</i> ,
Per quod Christi fit conclave
Virgo, mater, filia, | 2 Per quod <i>Ave</i> salutata
Mox concepit fecundata
Virgo, David stirpe nata,
Inter spinas lilia. |
|---|--|
- (&c.)

But the musical setting for such a prose remained like that for the older type, each phrase of melody being sung only twice, once with each of two paired strophes, and not repeated for each strophe of the entire composition like a hymn-tune. Regular proses like the 'Laetabundus',³ in which not all the strophe-pairs have the same form, show more clearly the difference in construction between even the latest proses and stanzaic pieces like hymns and carols.

It is plain that the prose is a highly specialized development of the art of song, produced by learned composers in the artificial environment of monastic schools and intended for

¹ *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. lrv, p. 12

² *Ibid.*, p. 343

³ See below, pp. lxxviii-lxxxiii

singing by trained performers. Nevertheless it has repeatedly been asserted that it has a close connexion with popular poetry.¹ This fact and certain evident similarities in form and subject-matter between Latin proses and English carols necessitate some scrutiny of the actual relationship between the two. As in the case of the hymns, the lines actually quoted by the carols from the proses claim first attention.

These appear to be fewer in number than the lines taken from hymns. The following Latin passages are probably quoted by the carol-writers directly from the sources indicated:

Table of Prose-Lines Used in the Carols

<i>Line</i>	<i>Carol No</i>	<i>Use</i>	<i>Text</i>
Amice Christi Johannes	103, 104	St John the Baptist's Day	<i>Sar Mis</i> , p. 477
Clangat pastor in tuba cornea Ut libera sit Christi vinea (adapted)	116	Holy Innocents, Vespers, Procession to altar of St Thomas of Canterbury	<i>B S</i> 1, col ccxlv
Johannes, Christi care	105	St John the Evangelist's Day	<i>Sar Mis</i> , p. 463
Nato canunt omnia	179	Christmas, Mass at Cock-crow	<i>Sar Mis</i> , p. 462
O castitatis liliū, tuū precare filiū	196	Mass of B V M	<i>B S</i> 11, col. 519
Sacra fluenta potare	105	St John the Evangelist's Day	<i>Sar Mis</i> , p. 463
Salve, regina gloriæ	207-II	Non-Sarum, Mass of B V M	<i>An. Hym</i> , 1x, p 74

The carols in which these lines are used in no way show further indebtedness to the proses for their subject-matter. In fact the phrase 'Amice Christi Johannes', the concluding line of a prose in honour of St. John the Baptist, is adopted for the burden of two carols on St. John the Evangelist. 'Johannes, Christi care' is indeed applied to the same saint in both prose and carol, and the phrase 'Sacra fluenta potare' in No. 105 seems to be adapted from strophe 5 of the same prose,² but there the likeness ends. Neither do these carols exhibit any similarity of form to the proses whence their Latin is drawn. The two proses for the two St. Johns are of the older, non-rhythmical type, as is the 'Nato canunt omnia'. The prose of the Virgin is in the Adamian form, but none of its strophes suggests the stanza used in the carol which borrows its Latin.

¹ e.g. Wolf, Ferdinand, *Über die Laus, Sequenzen und Leiche*, p. 32 and n. 40, Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 649.

Ippoliti, Giovanni, *Dalle Sequenze alle Laudi* (Osimo, 1914).

² See above, p. lxxv.

There is one famous prose, however, from which a number of English poems derive subject-matter, Latin tags, and, to some extent, metrical form. This is the 'Laetabundus' attributed to St. Bernard of Clairvaux. The English renderings of the 'Laetabundus' which have been preserved illustrate several stages in the process by which this prose (the only one so treated in surviving texts) was made over into a carol. The original Latin text is as follows.¹

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Laetabundus
exsultet fidelis chorus,
Alleluia, | 2. Regem regum
intactae profudit thorus,
Res miranda |
| 3. Angelus consilii
natus est de virgine,
Sol de stella, | 4. Sol occasum nesciens,
stella semper rutilans,
Semper clara. |
| 5. Sicut sidus radium,
profert virgo filium
Pari forma. | 6. Neque sidus radio,
neque mater filio
Fit corrupta. |
| 7. Cedrus alta Libani
conformatur hyssopo
Valle nostra; | 8. Verbum, mens altissimi,
corporari passum est
Carne sumpta. |
| 9. Isaias cecinit;
synagoga meminit,
nunquam tamen desinit
Esse caeca, | 10. Si non suis vatibus,
credat vel gentilibus
Sibyllinis versibus
Haec praedicta |
| 11. Infelix propera,
crede vel vetera;
cur damnaberis, gens misera? | 12. Quem docet litera,
natum considera;
ipsum genuit propera. |

The closest translation of this prose in fifteenth-century English is in Bodleian Library MS. Arch Selden B. 26.² It is rimed throughout, but preserves the original form of each strophe:

Glad and blithe mote ye be,
All that euer Y here nowe se;
Alleluia.

Kynge of Kyngys, Lorde of alle,
Borne he is in oxe stalle,
Res miranda.

The Angel of Counsel now borne he is
Of a maide ful clene, ywis,
Sol de stella;

¹ *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. liv, p. 5

² f. 19 v., printed Padelford, Frederick M.,

Anglia, vol. xxxvi, p. 105 Music in *Early Bodleian Music*, Nos. lxx, lxxi

The sunne that euer shyneth bryght,
The sterre that euer yeueth his lyght,
Semper clara.

Ryght as the sterre bryngth forth his beme,
So the maide here barn-teme,
Parī forma

Nother the sterre for his beme,
Nother the maide for here barne-teme,
Fit corrupta.

The cedur of Liban that growyth so hye,
Vnto the ysape is made lye,
Valle nostra

Godys Sone of heuen bryght
Vntyl a maide is he lyght
Carne sumpta.

Ysaye saide by prophecie—
The sinagoge hath hit in memorye
Yyt neuer he lynneth maliciously—
Esse ceca.

Yf they leue not here profetys,
Then lete hem leue ethen metrys
In sibylmys versiculys
Hec predicta.

Unhappy Jewe, come thou nere,
Byleue ellys thyne eldere
Why wolt thou, wrecche, ydampned be?

Whomme techeth the letter
Byholde the childe the better;
Hym bare a maide moder Marye

The editor of *Early Bodleian Music* labels this piece a carol, but it is no carol, as the music plainly shows. It is simply a prose in English, the music being arranged exactly as for a Latin prose; that is, the first pair of strophes are to be sung to the same melody, the next pair to a different one, and so on, except that in this setting each of the last two strophes has its own separate melody.

James Ryman has left two versions of the 'Laetabundus' in English which approach the carol in that they have been cast in uniform stanzas, although they lack the burden necessary for a

true carol.¹ The first of the two uses the Latin tags of the original prose, and is in a stanza of two lines plus *cauda* probably suggested by the dominant form of strophe in Bernard's poem:²

The incorrupt wombe virginall
Hath borne the king of kingis alle,
Res miranda
The aungell of counseill full of myght
Is borne of a virgyne pure and bright,
Sol de stella.
This son of lyght is not fading
Ne this sterre bright, but is shynyng
Semper clara.
As the sterre bright bringith furth his light,
A mayde hath borne the king of myght
Pari forma.

(&c)

His second version shows plainly that the above lines have been turned into three-line stanzas simply for the sake of having them in that form; the re-working consists merely of adding a weak, redundant line to each stanza³

The incorrupt wombe virginall
Hath borne the king of kingis alle
For to make vs free, that were thrall,
Res miranda.
The aungell of counsell full of myght
Is borne of a virgyne pure and bright
For to bringe vs ayene to light,
Sol de stella
The son of light is not fadyng
Ne this sterre bright, but is shynyng
With beames of light resplending
Semper clara
As a sterre bright bringith furth hir light,
A mayde hath borne the son of right,
Bothe god and man, that Ihesus hight,
Pari forma

(&c)

¹ Although no music is preserved to give certain evidence, the first strophe of the Latin prose which Ryman puts at the head of his English words is hardly to be regarded as a burden, he quotes similarly the first stanzas of the Latin hymns which he translates.

² Cambridge University Library, MS. Ee 1 12, f 35 v, printed Zupitza, J, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, vol lxxxix, p 201, stanzas 1-4.

³ MS cited, f 76 v, printed Zupitza, op. cit, p 276, stanzas 1-4

Another handling of the 'Laetabundus' material in stanzas of three lines plus *cauda*, with more of the Latin retained, is to be found in Bodleian Library MS. Ashmole 189 of the fifteenth century.¹ As it is hitherto unpublished it may be here quoted entire:

Regem regum a mayde hath borne
To sawe mankynde, that was forlorne,
And yyt ys sche as sche was beforne,
Res miranda.

Angelus consilu
Was borne of this blessyd ladye
Virilis ignara consorcii,
Sol de stella

Cedrus alta Libani
That yrewe on this hylle so hye,
Yne oure valey he deyth aplye,
Carne sumpta

Verbum ens altissimi,
Persaywyng mischefe so nye,
For our synnes he cam to dye
Valle nostra.²

Ysayas cecinit
That a chylde schalle be borne,
Synagoga meminit
Therof longe tyme beforne.

Si³ non suis vatibus
Therof thay take no affiawns,
Sibilinis⁴ versibus
That borne was of oure aliawns

Infelix, propera, to the Y saye,
Leste thou be dampned a domysdaye,
Thane shalt thou synge welawaye
But thou belyve hec predicta.

This piece is not a carol, for it has no burden, and the stanza form does not remain constant, but the form of the first four stanzas indicates the working of some influence besides that of the prose itself.

Finally, in No 14b, we have the 'Laetabundus' completely transformed into a carol, as the music shows.⁵ The 'Alleluia'

¹ ff 104 v, 105 r, text from MS.

² MS *nostram*

³ MS S₃

⁴ MS *Sibilinis*

⁵ *Early Bodleian Music*, No 11, burden and stanzas 1, 2

becomes a burden, and all the stanzas are to be sung to the same melody. The two-line-plus-tag strophe predominant in the prose has become the favourite three-line-plus-*cauda* stanza of the carol, the Latin tags being retained as the *caudae*.

Alleluya

Now wel may we merthis make,
For vs Jhesus manhode hath take
Only for our synnes sake
Alleluya, alleluya

A Kynge of Kynges now forth is brought
Of a maide that synned nought,
Nother in dede, nother in thought,
Res miranda

(&c)

The Latin tags of the 'Laetabundus' are used by one carol not otherwise based on Bernard's prose. The burden of this carol has the same words as the first stanza, but lacks the *cauda*.¹

[T]her [is n]o rose of swych vertu
As is the rose that bare Jhesu

Ther is no ro[se of] swych vertu
As is the rose that bar Jhesu;
Alleluya

For in this rose conteynynd was
Heuen and erthe in lytyl space,
Res miranda.

(&c)

At first glance the texts just quoted might seem to justify an assertion that the prose 'Laetabundus' exerted a considerable influence upon the English carol. The important part assigned to the prose in the shaping of the Italian *laude* by Professor Ippoliti² and the recognition of the prose-line of the 'Laetabundus' as a source of the tail-rime stanza by Wolf³ and Schipper⁴ further suggest this. But consideration will show that it is hardly the case.⁵

¹ No 173, stanzas 1, 2. Compare No 338 a from the same manuscript.

² *Dalle Sequenze alle Laudi*, Part I, chap 11, Part II, chap 11.

³ *Über die Laus*, pp 30-6.

⁴ *Englische Metrik*, vol 1, pp 356-7.

⁵ It is not surprising to find so many English pieces modelled to some extent on the 'Laetabundus', for the prose was widely imitated in various languages. Bartsch, Karl (*Die lateinischen Sequenzen des Mittel-*

alters, Rostock, 1868, pp 224-5) lists twenty-six other Latin proses to the same melody, many of which imitate the words as well. Typical of these is the prose in honour of St Francis, 'Laetabundus Francisco decantet clerus alleluia' (text in Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, vol 11, p 193), which Ryman translated into English stanzas of two lines plus *cauda* (text in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* vol lxxxix, p. 237). Bernard's

The English stanza-form which results from imitation of a pair of long lines of the type found in the first four strophes of the 'Laetabundus' is that in the form a a b a b. This can hardly be said to occur in the carols at all, the only instances being the single stanza of No. 373 and two stanzas of No. 12. Even if this be divided (as it is not in the proses, where double strophes are essential), the resulting form a a b is to be found in only seven carols. Some of these may indeed be granted to have undergone influence from the prose.¹ The tail-rime stanza having three lines rimed together followed by a *cauda*, a a a b, is by far the most frequent of all in the carols, and has been explained as a form developed by the conditions of the popular dance. But it is a form also to be found in the proses, the fifth strophe-pair of this same 'Laetabundus' suggests it, and it occurs throughout the 'Verbum bonum et suave'.² Is it perhaps in imitation of this type of prose rather than of dance-song that the carols use it? Professor Ippoliti regards it as deriving from the prose in those *laude* where it occurs.³ But this form of tail-rime stanza is frequent in other medieval Latin poetry besides the proses, e.g. the *cantilena* 'Bonum vinum cum sapore', quoted below,⁴ and in the proses themselves it is less used than the form a a b. There would seem to be more warrant for holding that its occurrence in the proses is the result of an influence exerted upon them by secular song. The entire history of the prose, in fact, shows a process of development from a Gregorian chant, quite unlike anything in popular poetry, to a song in the accentual rhythm borrowed from non-literary verse, and in strophes which are like the stanzas of popular song in their uniformity.⁵

prose was also imitated in German and French. Heinrich von Loufenberg was the author of a fifteenth-century version which follows exactly the form of the original (text in Wackernagel, Philipp, ed., *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, Leipzig, 1864 &c., vol. 11, p. 586). The Latin tags are preserved in two Old French pieces, one a translation keeping the strophic form of the 'Laetabundus' throughout (text in Jeanroy, Alfred, and Langlois, A., eds., *Chansons satiriques et bachiques du XII^e siècle*, Paris, 1921, p. 84). The other, more famous, is a capital Anglo-Norman drinking song, which varies from the form of its original only in the third and seventh verses of strophe vi. It begins (*ibid.*, p. 78)

Or hi parra

La cerverye nos chauntera

Alleluia!

Qui que en beyt,
Si tele seyt com estre deyt,
Res miranda!

¹ In No. 422 the first two lines of a stanza so rimed are of seven measures, in no event derived from such lines. No. 173, just quoted, preserves tags from the prose, and the combination of an 'Alleluia' refrain with the non-religious content of holly and ivy in No. 137 suggests a similar relation. The others are Nos. 53, 148 (in part), 445, 474.

² Quoted above, p. lxxxvi.

³ *Dalle Sequenze alle Laude*, pp. 135-8.

⁴ p. lxxxvi.

⁵ Cf. Wolf, *Über die Laus*, p. 31: 'und zwar gerade in dieser Gattung des Kirchengesanges [prose], als der volksmässigsten, wird der Einfluss der volkstümlichen Poesie auch am sichtbarsten.'

What the fifteenth-century English texts of the 'Laetabundus' actually show is the effect of the already existing carol-form, popular by origin, upon the *material* of a prose, ecclesiastical by origin. The English text obtained by translating the Latin was put into uniform stanzas of three lines plus *cauda*, and provided with a burden so that it might be sung carol-fashion, and in that process the distinctive features of the prose-form were discarded ¹

4. *The Antiphon and the Carol*

A third form of church-song upon which the carols drew for their Latin phrases was the antiphon. The ordinary antiphons, the verses sung before and after the psalms to Gregorian melodies suggesting those of the psalms, are the sources of the following lines:

Table of Antiphon-Lines Used in the Carols

<i>Line</i>	<i>Carol No</i>	<i>Use</i>	<i>Text</i>
Ave, rex gentis Anglorum	312	St Edmund's Day, I Vespers	B S. iii, col. 1073
De fructu ventris	29	Christmas, II Vespers	B S 1, col cxciv
Exortum est	29	Christmas, II Vespers	B S 1, col cxciv
Ipse invocavit me	474	Christmas, II Nocturn	B S 1, col. clxxvii
Lapidaverunt Stephanum	9, 100	St Stephen's Day, Lauds	B S 1, col. ccx
Mirabile mysterium	56, 94, 319	Circumcision, Lauds	B S 1, col. ccxciii
Missus est angelus Gabriel	246	Advent, Third Wednesday, Lauds	B S 1, col cxix
Notum fecit Dominus	474	Christmas, III Nocturn	B S i, col clxxxii
O clavis David	2	Advent, Vespers	B S 1, col. clv
O radix Jesse	1	Advent, Vespers	B S 1, col. clv
Ortus est sol iustitiae	127	Purification, Processional	Sar Mis, p. 249
Pastor caesus in gregis medio pacem emit cruoris pretio	115	Holy Innocents, Vespers	B S. 1, col. ccxlvii
Veritas de terra orta est	77	Christmas, II Nocturn	B S 1. col. clxxvii

¹ The so-called 'Prose of the Ass', beginning 'Orientis partibus' and with its vernacular burden, represents an extreme in the intrusion of popular ways of song into Latin liturgical poetry. It is actually no prose at all, as the music shows, all

stanzas being sung to the same melody. (See *Analecta Hymnica*, vol. xx, p. 257) The real prose used in the ritual of Sens for the Feast of the Ass preserves the strophe-pairs characteristic of the type (*ibid.*, p. 218)

The four Antiphons of the Blessed Virgin Mary, originally connected with psalms, but since the thirteenth century sung as separate chants,¹ contribute Latin lines to the carols as follows:

Table of Lines from the Antiphons of B V.M. used in the Carols

<i>Line</i>	<i>Carol No</i>	<i>Use</i>	<i>Text</i>
Alma redemptoris mater	234	Service of B V M, Advent to Purification, Compline	Dan ii, p 318
Pro nobis Christum exora (from 'Ave, regina coelorum')	198	Service of B V M, Purification to Septuagesima, Compline	Dan ii, p 319
Regina coeli, laetare	185, 186, 189, 204, 218, 237	Service of B V M, Easter-tide	Dan. ii, p 319
Quem meruisti portare Resurrexit, sicut dixit	204, 218 218	From 'Regina coeli'	
Salve regina, mater misericordiae	206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 213		
O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Maria	199, 228	From 'Salve, regina'	Dan. ii, p. 321
Vita dulcedo et spes	213, 214		

The 'Ave, regina celorum' of No. 201 is taken, not from the Antiphon of the Blessed Virgin Mary which so begins, but from a shorter antiphon included among the formulas for grace after dinner in the York Primer. All its lines are used in carols as follows:²

	<i>Nos</i>
Ave, regina celorum	201
Mater Regis angelorum	201
O Maria, flos virginum	201
Velut rosa vel lilium	201, 218
Funde preces ad filium	201, 218
Pro salute fidelium	62, 201, 218

The 'Alma redemptoris mater' of No. 243b is taken, not from the Antiphon of the Blessed Virgin Mary which so begins, but, as shown by the line following it in 243 a, 'Quem de celis misit Pater', from a processional antiphon used from the Octave of Trinity to Advent.³

The antiphons seem to have been used merely as sources for Latin phrases and not to have had any part in shaping the form of the carols which quote them.

¹ See *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. 'Antiphon'.

² Text in *Horae Eboracenses* (Publications of the Surtees Society, vol cxxxii,

Durham, 1920), p 29.

³ Text in Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, vol v, p 133.

5. *Non-ritual Latin Poetry and the Carol*

When we turn from the formal compositions included in Breviary and Missal to those medieval Latin lyrics, sacred and secular, which had no regular place in the order of service, we find many pieces which resemble the carol in metrical form as well as in subject and spirit. A number of these are to be found in the same manuscripts with collections of carols. Bodleian Library MS. Eng. poet. e. 1 opens with two Latin pieces, the first being a song to the Virgin with a 'nowell' burden:¹

Nowell, nowell, nowell, nowell,
 Myssus est ad virginem angelus Gabriell.

Angelum misit suum Deus omnipotens,
 Vt vnicum per filium eius saluetur gens.
 'Virgo aue,' clamat ille, 'O Maria clemens,
 Concipies et paries, virgo semper manens'

(&c)

The second is a song on the convenience of ready money, written in a metrical form exactly corresponding to that most favoured by the English carol (4a 4a 4a 4b 4B 4B). The first three stanzas show its form and manner.²

Semper viuit misere,
 Qui non habet soluere

Bonum vinum cum sapore
 Bybit abbas cum priore;
 Sed conuentus de peiore
 Semper solet bibere

Bonum vinum in taberna,
 Vbi vina sunt Valarna,
 Vbi nummus est pincerna,
 Ibi prodest bibere.

Dum vadis ad bibendum
 Te festina ad videndum
 Quantum habes ad soluendum,
 Antequam vis bibere.

Bodleian Library MS. Ashmole 1393, of the early fifteenth century, contains a Latin piece having the same Latin burden

¹ Printed Wright, Thomas, *Percy Society Publications*, vol. xxiii, p. 1

² *Ibid.*, p. 2

that is used by James Ryman with two English carols.¹ It begins:²

Ecce quod natura
Mutat sua iura,
Virgo parit pura
dei filium.

Ecce nouum gaudium,
Ecce nouum mirum,
Virgo parit filum,
Que non nouit virum.
Que non nouit virum,
Sed ut pirus pirum,
Gleba fert saphirum,
Dei filum

This is one of a large number of sacred Latin songs which are usually designated by the term *cantio* or *cantilena*. They are, strictly speaking, extra-liturgical, but they were produced under the auspices of the Church and were frequently introduced into services, particularly on feast days.

The following Latin lines appear to have been borrowed by carols from such *cantilenae*.

<i>Line</i>	<i>Carol No</i>	<i>Text</i>
In virginali gremio	82	<i>An Hym</i> xx, p 47
Nascitur de (ex) virgine	58	<i>An Hym.</i> ii, p 163
Salve, sancta parens, }	200	<i>An Hym</i> xx, p 209
Omni labe carens }		
Super omnes speciosa	202	<i>An Hym</i> xx, p 154

Many of those *cantilenae* which have been collected in the *Analecta Hymnica*³ are provided with burdens of the type found in the carols, particularly those pieces dealing with the two favourite themes of the English religious carol, the Nativity and the praise of Mary. A fifteenth-century specimen from Germany shows how the *cantilenae* used the favourite carol-form of tail-rime stanza and burden linked to it by rime.⁴

Haec festa nataha
Recolit ecclesia.

Virgo parit filum
Saluatorem omnium,
Qui non animalum
Abhorret praesepia

¹ Nos 65, 66 The Latin piece is No. 5151
in Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*
² f 69 r Printed *Early Bodleian Music*,
vol ii, p 63, burden and stanza 1 The

same words are differently set in MS Arch
Selden B 26, printed *ibid*, p. 154

³ Vol xx

⁴ *Ibid*, p 123, burden and stanzas 1, 2.

Angelus haec loquitur,
 Pastoribus dicitur.
 De virgine nascitur
 Rex gubernans omnia.
 (&c)

Much the same form was in use at least two centuries earlier, as in the following ¹

Hodie fit regressus
 ad patriam.
 Hodie splendor et lux
 Refulsit hominibus
 In tenebris sedentibus
 Per gratiam.

 Ergo nostra concio,
 Psallat cum tripudio
 Nato Dei filio.
 Per gratiam.

These are wholly Latin poems, and without question the work of educated churchmen. Whence do they derive their form that is so like that of English carol or French *chanson à danser*? There is no mark of the twin strophe of the prose here, and there is a burden, which the proses never have. There are still earlier Latin lyrics with burdens or something very like them. The ninth century offers us an 'Abecedarius' with a tone much like that of some moralizing English carols of six hundred years later. It begins thus in one version:²

Audax es, vir iuuenis,
 Dum feruet caro mobilis;
 Audenter agis, perperam
 Tua membra coinquas
 Attende homo, quod pulvis es
 Et in pulverem reverteris
 Brevis est tempus, iuuenis,
 Considera, quod moreris,
 Venitque dies ultimus
 Et perdes florem optimum.
 Attende homo, quia de terra factus es
 Et in terra ponendus eris.
 (&c.)

¹ Ibid., p. 124, burden and stanzas 1, 7

² *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini (Monumenta Germaniae Historica)*, Berlin, 1923),

vol. iv, p. 495, stanzas 1, 2. Other pieces with similar repeated elements are on pp. 504, 507, 512, 515, 518, 524, 526, 559, &c

This 'Adtende homo' is a choral element, to be sure, but it resembles more a response in the service than a real burden. Also it is not invariable, but alternately appears in the two forms seen above. But another version, written down two centuries later in a Goliardic song-book,¹ presents a stanza-text almost identical with that quoted, and repeats the 'Adtende homo' in invariable form after every stanza, thus bringing it nearer to the burden of popular song. And if we turn to that other great collection of Goliardic verse, the *Carmina Burana*, we find burdens common enough.² The nature of the songs which contain them is sufficient evidence to show whence the Latin lyric learned to use a burden: the 90 'Seria' include three pieces with burdens, the 193 'Amatoria, Potatoria, Lusoria', thirty-four. The chorus-part of student-song and *cantilena* is no development from alleluatic sequence or processional hymn; it is modelled directly on the corresponding chorus-part of popular and secular songs.

Some of these burdens of the *Carmina Burana* are particularly interesting in that their words recognize the association with the dance of these Latin predecessors of the English carol. It is in the songs in praise of spring, the time when youths and maidens danced in the meadows, that the burden most consistently appears. Sometimes it is actually in the vernacular, as in the following piece, which reverses the arrangement of Latin and vulgar tongue common in the carols:³

Floret silva nobilis
floribus et foliis
Ubi est antiquus
meus amicus?
Hinc equitavit,
eia, quis me amabit?

(Burden) Floret silva undique,
nah mine gesellen ist mir we.
Gruonet der walt allenthalben:
wa ist min geselle 'alselange'?
Der ist geriten hinnen,
owi, wer sol mich minnen?

¹ Cambridge University Library MS Gg 5 35, printed Breul, Karl, *The Cambridge Songs* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 66

² The following pieces, in Schmeller's edition, have burdens Nos xxviii, lxvii, lxxxvi, 31, 34, 38, 48, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59,

79, 80, 81, 88, 92, 112, 115, 121, 140, 140a, 141, 141a, 142, 143, 143a, 145, 146, 160, 164, 166a, 178, 181, 182, 191. The dramatic and prose pieces are not reckoned

³ Ed. Schmeller, No. 112, p. 188

The dance is explicitly mentioned in the following macaronic piece:¹

Congaudentes ludite,
choros simul ducite!
Iuvenes sunt lepidi,
senes sunt decrepiti.

(Burden)

Audi bela mia,
mille modos Veneris
da hizevaleria

(&c)

A similar invitation forms the burden of a song wholly in Latin:²

Solis iubar nituit,
nuntians in mundum
quod nobis emicuit
tempus letabundum,
et quod nunc apparuit
dans solum fecundum,
salutari meruit
per carmen iocundum.

(Burden)

Ergo nostra concio
psallat cum tripudio
dulci melodia.

(&c)

It is significant that two lines of this burden form part of the sacred *cantilena* of the thirteenth century quoted above.³ The references in these *cantilenae* to dancing as a proper means of expressing joy need not be attributed to imitation of classical poetry or of psalmody when it is recalled that dancing to the accompaniment of song was one of the principal recreations of the people whence the authors were recruited. It was the festival folk-dance which inspired such lines as the following:⁴

Manibus plaudite,
pedibus terite,
Natus est parvulus,
ergo venite.

¹ Ed Schmeller, No 79, p 166, stanza 1 and burden

² Ibid, No 54, p 147, stanza 1 and burden

³ p lxxxviii Cf *Analecta Hymnica*, vol xx, pp 80, 88, 115

⁴ *Analecta Hymnica*, vol xx, pp 113, 63, 93 Compare the positive evidence for the employment of dance-song as the musical

basis of Latin *cantilenae* provided by Bibliothèque de Lille MS 95 (facsimile in de Coussemaker, E, *Histoire de l'Harmonie au moyen âge*, Paris, 1852, plate xxvi), where a piece is headed 'Cantilena de chorea super illam quae incipit *Qui græue ma courtoise se iou lai ce me font amouretes cau cuer ai*'

Nova gaudia
 Et nova studia
 Et nova sint tripudia,
 Nam nova sunt solemnna,
 Novi regis praesentia . .

Sonet vox tripudii,
Gaudeamus socii,
 Grata quies otii
 In hoc florali gaudio,
 Floris renovatio
 Lusus est incitatio

The tendency in Gohardic verse to irreverent parody, of which so much has been made, must not be allowed to obscure the probability of its having acted as a transmitting medium for the influence operating in the other direction, from vernacular folk-lyric to sacred Latin.¹ Surely the authors of the Nativity songs just quoted knew well the accent of amorous student songs!

One of the most telling pieces of evidence for the fact that medieval Latin lyrics were sometimes indebted for their verse-form to popular songs in the vernacular is provided by the 'Red Book of Ossory' now in the Episcopal Palace at Kilkenny. The collection of religious *cantilenae* in this manuscript was composed by a bishop for his clerks to replace light and worldly songs, and at least those Latin pieces which have the tunes indicated by a few lines of English or French songs must be in the verse-form of the vernacular lyrics.² The best example is No. 17 of the sixty songs.³

Alas hou shold Y synge? Yloren is my playnge.
 Hou shold Y with that olde man
 To leuen, and let my leman,
 Swettist of all thinge?

(Stanza 1) Succurre, mater Christi, menti mee tristi
 Pondere peccati quo deprimitur,
 Prorsus ad yma semper labitur,
 Sine defensore

The frequency with which burdens occur in the Latin songs is one of their noteworthy features

From this necessarily fragmentary review of some features of

¹ Evidence confirmatory of this process, with special reference to the *pastourelle*, has been pointed out, since the above was written, by Jones, William Powell, *The Pastourelle* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931), chap. v. Mr. Jones sees an indebted-

ness of both sophisticated vernacular lyric and Gohardic Latin verse to a common source in folk-song.

² See below, p. cxviii.

³ f. 71 v.

the Latin background of the English carol the ultimately popular character of the *genre* gains only confirmation. The qualities of form common to the carol and medieval Latin poetry are for the most part precisely those which derive from the poetry of the people and particularly from the dance-song. Where the service of the Church touches the carol it leaves only such effects as can be reconciled with the form already given by popular poetry, as the fate of 'Laetabundus' in English demonstrates. The hermit-saint, the musical theorist, the imitator of classical poetry, none of these sequestered religious could have given us the carol or its Latin counterpart, the *cantilena*. The Latin lyrics in lighter vein were valuable agents in transmitting the popular influence which shows itself in burdens and triply-rimed stanzas, but they were not prime movers. Behind them, as behind the vernacular lyrics of Europe, is the song of the unlettered people, shaped by the physical conditions of its performance, the relentlessly regular periodicity of the dance, and the opposition of leader and chorus

CHAPTER IV

THE CAROL AS POPULAR SONG

THE phrase 'popular poetry' has often been used indiscriminately to describe two kinds of composition between which the line of demarcation, sharp enough in theory, is often difficult to draw in practice. The two categories are perhaps most clearly indicated in English by the respective labels 'popular by origin' and 'popular by destination', the former being applied to what is called in careful German usage *Volks-poesie*, the latter to *volkstümliche Poesie*. The term 'popular poetry' or 'popular song' is used here as equivalent to 'poetry popular by destination'; that is, it is applied to material the text of which is derived from written or printed sources, but which is designed to appeal to an audience including people of scant formal education and social refinement. The popular quality of such material is not dependent upon the circumstances of its composition; whether of unknown date and authorship, or preserved in the author's signed and dated holograph, it is popular if its appeal is to such an audience. The quantity of popular song is of course enormous, it includes the most varied subject-matter and metrical forms, and it is being added to every day.

The term 'folk-song', coined within the last half-century on the analogy of the German noun, is here used only in the sense in which it is understood by the Folk-Song Society: to designate 'song and melody born of the people and used by the people as an expression of their emotions, and (as in the case of historical ballads) for lyrical narrative';¹ song, that is, which first makes its appearance in the oral tradition of a homogeneous community without 'book-learning'. British folk-song is rapidly closing its accounts with the disappearance of these communities, and it lingers only in a few isolated districts like the mountains of the south-eastern United States. A few faint traces of it are preserved in various game-songs of children. The only material which can be proved by positive external evidence to be English folk-song is that which has been taken down from the lips of singers who have learned it orally from other singers. The songs so collected possess certain characteristics

¹ Kidson, Frank, and Neal, Mary, *English Folk-Song and Dance* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 10.

of style (more pronounced in the music than in the words) which enable one familiar with them to recognize as true folk-song similar material preserved in manuscript or early printed sources whose exact provenance is not known. A considerable part of the matter collected in Child's canon of the ballads is admitted on this basis

The only safe criterion, therefore, for use in an attempt to determine to what extent the medieval manuscript carol partakes of the nature of true folk-song is provided by the body of traditional material collected from the singers themselves by such recorders as the late Cecil Sharp and others. That much of this was current at the period when the carols were written down is not to be doubted. The unmistakably medieval legends embodied in ballads like 'Sir Hugh, or the Jew's Daughter'¹ which are still being sung, show plainly the antiquity of such pieces. It is true that many genuine folk-songs show signs of more recent origin, such as references to particular voyages or wars which detain an absent lover, but the readiness with which oral tradition alters details to make them conform to the experience of a given group of singers renders it dangerous to deny the possibility of antiquity to many folk-songs which have a superficially modern aspect. Hence it is not only permissible but pertinent to seek for points of similarity and difference between the carols of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and recently collected traditional song.

The best possible evidence that a given carol is true folk-song is, of course, the discovery in oral tradition of a version recently current. The only manuscript carol for which evidence of this kind has come to light is the 'Corpus Christi' piece already referred to.² Mr. Frank Sidgwick first called attention to the fact that a traditional folk-song reported from North Staffordshire in 1862 was a variant of the 'Corpus Christi' poem written in Balliol College, Oxford, MS. 354.³ A second traditional version, generally similar to the first, was later recorded in Derbyshire. As pointed out above, these traditional songs are not true carols, having an internal refrain instead of a burden. A fourth traditional version, recorded by the poet James Hogg, with neither burden nor refrain, was first related to the others by Miss Edith C. Batho.⁴

Of the other written carols, for which no external evidence

¹ Child, No. 155

² No. 322. See above, pp. liv-lvi

³ *Notes and Queries*, Tenth Series, vol. 1v, p. 181.

⁴ 'The Life of Christ in the Ballads' in *Essays and Studies*, vol. 1x (Oxford, 1924),

p. 94

appears to exist, there are few which seem to bear the character of true folk-song and not merely to show imitation of it. One is a piece beginning like a *chanson d'aventure* which its editor passes over with the comment that it is 'winsome'.¹

Mery hyt ys in May mornynge,
Mery wayys for to gone
And by a chapell as Y came,
Mett Y wyhte Jhesu to chyrcheward gone,
Petur and Pawle, Thomas and Jhon,
And hys desyplys euerychone.

The burden is doubtless one from a secular May-song which has become attached to this religious piece, possibly because of identity of tune. But the text of the stanzas is quite unlike most of the other religious carols. It contains the same kind of religious allegory which is so puzzling and so charming in 'Corpus Christi', while the remaining religious carols tend to be more orthodox in their imagery, even at the expense of originality. The accounts of the Annunciation, Nativity, or Epiphany introduce little that is not in the Scriptural accounts or well-established theological tradition. The more picturesque parts of the apocryphal gospels are not drawn upon as they are in Christmas ballads like 'The Bitter Withy'. But this carol shows popular fantasy uncontrolled by the book in its scene of Christ and His disciples, among whom are numbered St. Nicholas (?) and St. George, celebrating a Mass. The red gold so beloved of folk-poetry is here, as it is in 'Corpus Christi', and the bells ring as in the traditional refrain of that song. St. George is particularly prominent in British folk-lore, but, except for the inclusion of his name in the lists of saints appealed to in Nos. 308, 309, this is his only appearance in a manuscript carol.

Two hitherto unnoticed carols in Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, MS. 383, because of their homeliness, their directness of speech, and their theme of the betrayed girl, have a strong case for consideration as authentic folk-song.² At least they stand out from the other carols on similar themes by virtue of their greater freshness of expression and vividness of detail.

In a number of other pieces particular features are to be found which suggest the peculiarities of folk-song, but in no case has the entire poem a truly folk-character: the often-printed drinking carol, 'Bring us in good ale',³ is an example.

¹ No 323, burden and stanza 1 The (Bryn Mawr, 1913), p. 73
comment is by Sandison, Helen E., *The* ² Nos 452, 453.
'Chanson d'Aventure' in Middle English ³ No 422.

The stanzas are made up of a repeated formula together with a portion which is changed with each repetition, an old device used by very elementary folk-poetry:¹

Bryng vs in no browne bred, fore that is mad of brane,
Nore bryng vs in no whyt bred, fore therin is no game,
But bryng vs in good ale

Bryng vs in no befe, for ther is many bonys,
But bryng vs in good ale, for that goth downe at onys,
And bryng vs in good ale

(&c)

A song built on this pattern cries aloud for improvisation, and new verses were doubtless added as it circulated.² But the words have a sophistication in their pretended delicacy as to diet which removes them from the class of real folk-poetry. It is also pertinent to note Sharp's observation on the absence of drinking-songs among the traditional pieces of England.³ The device of repetition may well have been borrowed from current folk-song, but the piece itself was not. The same device of repetition is used, with even less change from stanza to stanza, in No. 25.⁴

Al the meryere is that place
The sunne of grace hym schynit in

The sunne of grace hym schynit in
In on day quan it was mor[we,]
Quan our Lord God born was,
Withoute wem or sorwe

The sunne of grace hym schynit in
On a day quan it was pryme,
Quan our Lord God born was,
So wel he knew his tyme

This is not folk-song, of course, but the author may have learned his trick of a formula with much repetition and slow progression from such a piece as 'I haue XII oxen'⁵ where only two words are changed with each new stanza. Simple repetition of a phrase

¹ Version A, stanzas 1, 2. For repetition in folk-poetry see Gummere, *Beginnings*, pp 205 ff.

² A has four stanzas not in B, and B has two not in A.

³ *English Folk-Song, Some Conclusions* (London, 1907), p 98. 'Drinking songs, too, are scarcely ever to be found in the repertoire of the folk-singer. Incidental

allusions to drink are common enough, but the thorough-going bacchanalian song is unknown to the folk-singer—so far as my experience goes.'

⁴ Burden, stanzas 1, 2.

⁵ Balliol College, Oxford, MS 354, f 178, printed Dyboski, *Songs, Carols, and other Miscellaneous Poems*, p 104.

at the beginning of successive stanzas also occurs in Nos 12, 27, 54, 130, 132 A, and 230, but in each case it forms only a small part of the stanza and does not give the carol any particular likeness to folk-song. Nos. 423 and 430 are written more closely to a repetitive formula and suggest folk-song more strongly.

A related type of formula, characteristic of folk-narrative whether in prose or in verse, is that in which a number (usually three) of persons attempt the same action, or one person performs or experiences three successive phases of an action. It is frequent in the ballads, for example, at the beginning of 'The Cruel Brother'.¹

A gentleman cam oure the sea,
Fine flowers in the valley
 And he has courted ladies three
With the light green and the yellow

One o them was clad in red
 He asked if she wad be his bride

One o them was clad in green
 He asked if she wad be his queen

The last o them was clad in white
 He asked if she wad be his heart's delight.

This method of narration is used in an Epiphany carol² in telling of the gifts of the Magi. The text of the stanzas differs in the two extant versions, but the procedure is the same.³

Baltazar was the ferste kyng,
 He browte gold to his offeryng
 For to presente that ryche Kyng
 And his moder Marie

Melchiar was the secunde kyng,
 He browte incens to his offering
 For to presente that ryche Kyng
 And his [moder Marie.]

Jasper was the thred kyng,
 He browte myrre to his offeryng
 For to presente that ryche Kyng
 And his [moder Marie]

The presence of this formula in the carol is doubtless the effect of familiarity with narrative folk-song, but it does not appear

¹ Child, No 11 B, stanzas 1-4

² No 123

³ Version B, stanzas 8-10.

with any great frequency in the carols generally, and does not establish any one of them as a real folk-production.¹

One of the clearest glimpses of a background of folk-custom and folk-song is given by the group of carols which treat of the holly and the ivy 'Holly and ivy', in one wording or another, is a favourite phrase in traditional English folk-song, as in the well-known piece beginning:²

The holly and the ivy,
When they are both full grown,
Of all the trees that are in the wood,
The holly bears the crown

It is introduced more perfunctorily in the following doggerel sung by children as a *quête* song when begging for evergreens, apples, or pence.³

Holly and ivy,
Mistletoe bough,
Give me an apple,
And I'll go now.
Give me another
For my little brother,
And I'll go home,
And tell father and mother

It is used as a refrain in a folk-song preserved in several variants and beginning⁴

My father left me an acre of land,
There goes this very.
My father left me an acre of land,
And a bunch of green holly and very

Probably it is a similar folk-refrain or burden that is affixed to a carol written on the back of a fifteenth-century indenture among the papers of the Corporation of Bridgwater⁵ Before the carol, which is a reworking of the prose 'Laetabundus', is written the line:

Holy holy holy holy holy and yffy yffy;

after the carol:

Holy holy and yfy yffy holy yffy holi

¹ The enumeration of the Five Joys of Mary in Nos. 231, 232 shows some influence of this formula. The Joys, in varying number, are the topics of many traditional songs, e.g., 'The Seven Joys of Mary' (*Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, vol. v, p. 18), 'The Nine Joys of Mary' (*ibid.*, p. 319), 'The Ten Joys of Mary' (Sharp, Cecil J., ed., *Folk Songs from Somerset*, Fifth Series, London, 1909, p. 66). The

tradition of the Five Joys is, of course, originally learned and theological

² Sharp, Cecil J., ed., *English Folk-Carols* (London, 1911), p. 18

³ *Folk-Lore*, vol. xiv, p. 177, reported as current about 1825

⁴ *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, vol. 11, p. 212, Child, No. 2

⁵ No. 14 a

A number of carols, as many writers have noted, imply a traditional strife between the holly and the ivy, which are connected respectively with men and women. The most explicit statement of the opposition is in a little piece with a refrain but no burden, which may be a real folk-song, perhaps a game-song as the words suggest:¹

Holvyr and Heyvy mad a gret party,
Ho xuld haue the maystre
In londes qwer thei goo.

Than spake Holuyr 'I am frece and jo[ly,]
I wol haue the maystre
In londes qwer thei goo '

Than spake Heyvy 'I am lowd and prowld,
And I wyl haue the maystre
In londes qwer thei goo '

Than spak Holvyr, and set hym downe on his kne
'I prey the, jentyl Heyvy, sey me no veleny,
In londes qwer we goo '

Another holly-and-ivy piece, which is a true carol,² is a good illustration of the way in which folk-material might be utilized by the carol-writers. It is a song taunting Ivy with inferiority to Holly and with her exclusion from the hall. In one version it has stanzas composed of two long lines with a burden of the same form

Nay, Iuy, nay, hyt shal not be, iwys;
Let Holy hafe the maystry, as the maner ys.

Holy stond in the hall, fayre to behold;
Iuy stond without the dore, she ys ful sore a-cold.

This version must be close to actual folk-song, somewhat touched up, perhaps, by the hand which recorded it. It strongly suggests a dramatic game during which it would be sung, and in which the feminine party of Ivy would be excluded from a company representing those in the 'hall' and would be grouped by itself 'without the door'.³ The taunting tone of the burden is a familiar one in folk-song, as in the flyting.⁴ The

¹ Bodleian Library MS Eng poet e 1. f 30 r and v., printed by Wright, Thomas, *Percy Society Publications*, vol. xxiii, p. 44.

² No 136 A.

³ Compare the 'scenarios' reconstructed for medieval French dance-songs by M. Joseph Bédier (*Revue des deux mondes*, pér v, vol xxxi, pp 402-24) especially those in which one or more dancers are excluded

from a group as 'vilain' or 'jalous', e.g. Vous qui amez, traiez en ça,
En la, qui m'amez mie!

⁴ Gummere (*Beginnings*, p 307) calls this carol a flyting. There is no ground for his statement that 'it is holly for summer and ivy for winter'; the symbolism of holly and ivy is certainly sexual

phrase 'as the maner ys' shows the feeling of the imperativeness of custom which is so marked a characteristic of the folk-mind, it suggests the lines preserved in a children's game-song still in use:

Go in and out the windows,
As we have done before

The identification of holly with the male and of ivy with the female is to be observed in a number of folk-customs from various parts of England. A communication to the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1779, often cited in this connexion, describes the burning at Shrovetide of two effigies known as the 'Holly-Boy' and the 'Ivy-Girl' by the girls and boys respectively of a village in East Kent.¹ This 'Ivy-Girl' has also been identified with the 'Harvest-May', the last sheaf of a harvest dressed as a girl and brought home on the last load by the women workers.² The sheaf is, of course, a very ancient symbol of woman and the fertility associated with her. Ivy appears openly as a fertility-charm in the Worcestershire and Herefordshire custom of giving a little of the ivy that has hung in the church to the ewes in the belief that this makes them tend to bear twin lambs.³

Holly and ivy are particularly connected with Christmas customs, being two of the greens principally used to deck houses at that season. There is a marked preference for holly for this purpose, ivy sometimes seeming to share the discredit attached to mistletoe because of heathen associations.⁴ The sexual significance of the two plants is prominent in various Christmas usages, including that of a strife between men and women.⁵ A seventeenth-century volume, *The Twelve Months*, alludes to it thus: 'Great is the contention of holly and ivy, whether

¹ Vol xlix, p 137 Holly and ivy also appear in February customs in the following begging-verse for Valentine's Day (Northall, G F, ed, *English Folk-Rhymes*, London, 1892, p 212).

Holly and ivy, tickle my toe,
Give me red apples and let me go.

² Hazlitt, W C, ed *Faiths and Folklore* (London, 1905), vol II, p 319

³ *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, vol XI, p 206

⁴ Thistleton Dyer, T F, *British Popular Customs* (London, 1911), p 458, *Folk-Lore*, vol xxviii, p 421

⁵ The smooth variety of holly also appears as a feminine symbol 'Smooth

holly, ivy, and mis[t]letoe hung behind shippon door before noon on Christmas Day prevents cows miscarrying' (*Folk-Lore*, loc cit) Another belief is that if smooth holly is brought first into a house on Christmas Day the wife will rule during the coming year, if rough holly, the husband (loc cit, *Notes and Queries*, Eleventh Series, vol VI, p 486) The same alternative of smooth holly instead of ivy was known to Gascoigne in 1576 (*Princely Pleasures at Kenilworth Castle*, quoted by Hazlitt, op cit, vol I, p 318) 'Mary, there are two kinds of holly, that is to say he holly and she holly Nowe some will say that the she holly hath no prickles, but thereof I entermeddle not'

master or dame wears the breeches.'¹ Plainly related is the tradition reported from Oxfordshire that a man must supply a maid with ivy, or she will steal his breeches.² Some kind of contention between men and women in connexion with the giving of gifts at the New Year (which is still in the Yule season) is rather obscurely hinted at in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.³

And syþen riche forth runnen to reche hondeselle,
 3e3ed 3eres-3iftes on h13, 3elde hem b1 hond,
 Debated busyly aboute þo giftes;
 Ladies la3ed ful loude, þo3 þay lost haden,
 And he þat wan wat3 not wrothe, þat may 3e wel trawe.

It may be that the ladies are said to have lost, because the gifts were confined to the men; a tradition reported from the East Riding of Yorkshire forbids the receiving of gifts by women at Christmas.⁴

The exclusion of Ivy and her women from the hall in the carol has not hitherto been satisfactorily explained by any of its commentators. The key to it lies in the general disfavour with which folk-belief seems to have regarded woman (and her symbolic plant) on Christmas Day itself. It takes this precise form of exclusion in a number of customs behind which is the great importance attached to the omen of the 'first foot'. For a woman to be the first foot on Christmas is generally considered unlucky, in a tradition reported from three shires a woman is not permitted to enter a house at all on Christmas Day, but must sleep there the night before. In some instances the plant-symbolism has been united with the custom of 'first-footing'. At Holderness on Christmas and New Year's mornings a sprig of holly would be laid outside the door to ensure that the first thing to enter should be a male.⁵

Even the birds mentioned in the carol are linked to old folk-beliefs. The owl is associated with ivy in many popular sayings, especially in the proverbial expression 'like an owl in an ivy-bush'. The owl as an object of derision and even of attack is also a well-known figure, as passages in *The Owl and the*

¹ By M. Stevenson, quoted by Brand, John, *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1841, vol. 1, p. 269)

² *Folk-Lore*, loc. cit.

³ Ed. Tolkien and Gordon, II 66-70. The editors' note on the passage says, 'how the

ladies might lose is not known'

⁴ *Folk-Lore*, vol. xxviii, p. 430

⁵ *Notes and Queries*, Sixth Series, vol. x, p. 482. See also Seventh Series, vol. x, pp. 5, 93

Nightingale show. The owl is there twitted with her unpopularity as she sits in her ivy-bush ¹

Vorþi þu art loþ al fowel-cunne,
 & alle heo þe dryueþ heonne,
 & þe biscrycheþ & bigredeþ,
 & wel narewe þe byledeþ.

Vor children, gromes, heme & hine,
 Hi þencheþ alle of þine pine:
 If hi mowe ideo þe sitte,
 Stones hi doþ in heore slytte,
 & þe totorneþ & toheneþ,
 & þine fule bon toscheneþ

Even more striking is the connexion of the owl with women in antagonism to men as shown in a bit of old broadside verse which is doubtless a reflection of an older folk-tradition. The first two stanzas show the tenor of the piece.²

Full mournfully hootes Madge Howlet
 Under the ivy bushe;
 Your husbands you should scowle at
 If you sette by them a rushe
 To whit, to whoo, alas for you!
 When married men
 Full nine in ten,
 Elsewhere maides and widowes woo

Full mournfully hootes Madge Howlett
 Under the ivy greene,
 Your husbandes you should scowle at
 The cause of all your teene
 To whit, to whoo, alack and alas!
 When husbands wed
 And go to bed
 With other mens wives, as it ever was

From such a rich background of folk-custom the holly-ivy carol emerges. Another version of it, committed to writing sixty or seventy years later, presents it in a smoother and more finished form, with stanzas composed of two couplets of long lines instead of one ³ The presence of an additional couplet containing a formal simile ('But lyke a meyny of bullokkes', &c.)

¹ Ed Atkins, J. W. H. (Cambridge, 1922), Jesus text, ll 65-8, 1115-20 Compare the seventeenth-century quotation, 'With that they all fell upon him, as an Oule in an ivie bush' (*Notes and Queries*, Ninth Series,

vol ix, p 157)

² Collier, J. Payne, ed., *Twenty-five Old Ballads and Songs* (London, 1869), p 32.

³ No 136 B

shows that an individual artist has laid his hand on the older material. The order of the stanzas has been changed, so that the likeness to a game-song is much obscured. If this interpretation is correct, the two versions of the piece illustrate a process of adaptation and reworking of folk-song material which doubtless underlies other carols where the distinctive folk-characteristics of the original songs have been more completely eliminated by the work of the 'improver'.

Three other carols of the holly-ivy group show religious, semi-learned handling of the folk-theme. One, partisan to the holly, has a secular stanza-text, probably older than the 'Alleluia' burden and refrain.¹ Another takes the part of ivy, with a refrain from the Song of Songs.² Ivy is here taken to symbolize the Divine Spouse and the Virgin. The sanctification of ivy is done even more thoroughly by a truly medieval acrostic in a fifteenth-century carol written to counteract the prejudice against a plant which, as a symbol of womanhood like the Virgin, ought to be revered.³ There is no folk-imagination here, only pedantry.

The contrast between the typical manuscript carol and the type of folk-song on which it is yet ultimately dependent can be seen in a comparison of two pieces which take notice of the same great event, the Battle of Agincourt. One is a traditional song showing the true carol-structure, the 'Padstow May Song'. It is a dance-song for the May festival, divided into stanzas and burden. As preserved it is in two parts, the 'Morning Song' and the 'Day Song'. The recorded text of the latter begins:⁴

(Burden) Awake, S. George, our English knight O!
For Summer is a-come, and Winter is a-go

(Stanza) Where is S. George: and where is he, O?
He's down in his long-boat upon the salt sea, O.

(Burden) For to fetch Summer home, the Summer and May, O!
The Summer is a-come, and Winter is a-go

(Stanza) Where are the French dogs, that made such boast, O?
They shall eat the goosefeather, and we'll eat the roast, O!

The burden with its invocation of St. George, as sung before the first stanza, shows a connexion with the widespread folk-drama

¹ No 137

² No 138

³ No 139 Compare the connexion of the Virgin with *holly* in the traditional piece referred to above, p. xcvi, and in the Cornish 'Sans Day Carol' (*Oxford Book of Carols*, No. 35)

⁴ Baring-Gould, Sabine, and Fleetwood Sheppard, H., eds., *A Garland of Country Song* (London, 1895), p. 94. At present (1932) the first stanza of the Morning Song (with St. George changed to King George in the younger mouths) is sung with the burden of the Day Song

of St. George which symbolizes the passing of winter and the resurrection of the fertilization-spirit, an observance having its roots far back in the customs of pagan Britain ¹ The age of the burden 'For Summer is a-come, and Winter is a-go' can only be guessed at, it may well be at least as old as whatever folk-song lies behind the English words of the famous rota 'Sumer is i-cumen in', written down at Reading Abbey about 1240.² If the interpretation of Fleetwood Sheppard is correct, the stanzas quoted above refer to the first French expedition of Henry V, and the Battle of Agincourt, as do also the following stanzas from the associated 'Morning Song' ³

O where are the young men that here now should dance O?
Some they are in England and some they are in France O.

The young men of Padstow they might if they wold O,
Have builded a ship, and gilded her with gold O.

The allusion to the 'gray goose feather' presumably is in honour of the prowess of the English archers, and the prevalent belief that St. George fought for and with the English army at Agincourt may be responsible for the incorporation of such stanzas into a song associated with a St. George play

Such a song, being made by the folk, naturally took no heed of the prohibition attributed to King Henry by Holinshed: 'He would not suffer any Dities to be made and sung by Minstrels, of his glorious victorie' But at least one song-writer disobeyed this injunction, and gave us the 'Agincourt Carol', which begins:⁴

Deo gracias Anglia
Redde pro victoria.

Owre kynge went forth to Normandy
With grace and myght of chyalry,
Ther God for hym wrought mervelusly;
Wherefore Englonde may calle and cry,
'Deo gracias.'

The song cannot wholly have displeased the king, however, if it came to his notice, for Holinshed adds: 'He would have the

¹ On the St. George plays see Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, vol 1, chap x, *The English Folk-Play* (Oxford, 1933), pp 170-4

² See Hurry, Jamieson R, *Sumer is icumen in* (London, 1914) This burden is also found in the 'Hal-an-Tow' song performed at Helston, Cornwall, on 8 May

(Baring-Gould, Sabine, et al, eds, *Songs of the West*, London, 1928, p 48) Stanzas on St. George and the goose feather occur as well Compare the 'Furry Day Carol' (*Oxford Book of Carols*, No 49)

³ *A Garland of Country Song*, pp 94-5.

⁴ No 426 a, burden and stanza 1

praise and thanks altogether given to God.' This carol, accompanied in two manuscripts with a finished musical setting, is obviously the work of a talented individual. But it is probably the work of a talented individual who had heard folk-songs on other campaigns if not on this same one; the spirit of the second stanza of the 'Day Song' is echoed in the lines:¹

Than went oure kynge with alle his oste
 Thorwe Fraunce, for alle the Frenshe boste,
 He spared no drede of lest ne moste
 Tyl he come to Agincourt coste,
 Deo gracias

The character of the carols in manuscript as songs popular by destination rather than as real folk-lyrics is further attested by the nature of the variations which occur in different copies of the same piece. The distinctive mark of the true folk-song is its perpetuation by an oral tradition which, operating in an unlettered community and hence released from all control by written copies, in the course of time works profound changes in the wording of any song. The result is that of a piece so transmitted there will be almost as many variants as singers or, in the case of communal pieces like the Padstow song, compact groups of singers. This characteristic is well exemplified in the numerous and wide variants of pieces in Child's ballad collection which have been recorded since its publication. The variants of the carol-texts, much as they often differ from each other, are not to be regarded as products of the same method of transmission, as a little study of their relationships will show.

Of the 474 carols here collected 78 appear in more than one version. The most widely disseminated is one in honour of St John the Evangelist, of which six copies are preserved, two of them in one manuscript.² The remainder, grouped according to the number of extant texts, are as follows:

4 copies: Nos. 21, 114, 125, 132, 149, 150, 157, 234, 239, 322.

3 copies. Nos. 14, 27, 31, 36, 79, 86, 117, 122, 151, 152, 175, 191, 232, 235, 337, 359, 370, 401, 402, 419

2 copies. Nos. 7, 8, 12, 17, 18, 23, 35, 42, 81, 91, 95, 101, 123, 124, 131, 136, 142, 145, 146, 148, 155, 161, 163, 172, 180, 185, 187, 230, 237, 238, 243, 331, 338, 355, 356, 380, 386, 389, 395, 399, 410, 422, 424, 426, 468.

Of about half of these pieces the versions agree so closely as to

¹ Stanza 3

² No. 103, British Museum MS Addit

5665 Lydgate's No. 263 and the first stanza of No. 309 are excepted

show without question that they derive from written copies with no dependence on oral transmission and the consequent lapses of memory and perversions of meaning. The much-copied 'Amice Christi Johannes' belongs to this class

The variations in the others give evidence in general of conscious activity on the part of individuals through whose hands they passed, rather than of uncontrolled oral tradition. That they were at times passed orally from one singer to another is certainly to be admitted, but only oral transmission within a limited group, intelligent and fully aware of the significance of the material, could have preserved such good texts. Almost unique external evidence for such a process is presented by the tradition of the Boar's Head Carol at Queen's College, Oxford.¹ Texts B and C b of this carol are given below: B as printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1521, and C b as recorded in a letter written by a tutor of Queen's College in 1811.²

B

Caput apri differo,
Reddens laudes Domino

The bores heed in hande bring I,
With garlans gay and rosemary,
I pray you all, synge merely,
Qui estis in conuiuio.

The bores heed, I vnderstande,
Is the chefe seruyce in this lande;
Loke, whereuer it be fande,
Seruite cum cantico

Be gladde, lordes, bothe more and
lasse, [stewarde
For this hath ordeyned our
To chere you all this Christmasse,
The bores heed with mustarde

C b

Caput Apri defero,
Reddens laudes Domino

The Boar's head in hand bear I,
Bedeck'd with bays and rosemary,
And I pray you, my masters, be
Quot estis in convivio [merry,

The Boar's head, as I understand,
Is the rarest dish in all this land,
Which thus bedeck'd with a gay
garland
Let us servire Cantico

Our Steward hath provided this
In honour of the King of Bliss,
Which on this day to be served
is,
In Regimens Atrio

The third stanza in the early version probably represents a corruption of a text which was originally in tail-rime like the other stanzas and after which the traditional Queen's College version is patterned.

A circumscribed tradition such as this, from which the irresponsibility of folk-singers is entirely absent, is what seems to lie behind most of the carol-variants. The generally excellent

¹ No 132

² Quoted by Dibdin, T. F., ed., *Ames's*

Typographical Antiquities (London, 1810-19), vol. II, p. 252

state of the Latin in different copies of macaronic carols shows that they had not been loosed into truly popular oral tradition, which would have lost no time in reducing passages in the unknown tongue to gibberish, or in replacing them by vernacular lines, probably irrelevant.¹

The prevailing points of difference between manuscript copies of the carols are substitution of one burden or refrain for another, as elsewhere discussed,² omissions and substitutions of stanzas, and changes in the order of stanzas. The frequency with which such omission and substitution occur in Middle English poetry of all types testifies to the liberties taken with manuscript material as well as the accidents which often befell it. Pieces intended for singing, like the carols, were doubtless intentionally shortened in some cases. On the other hand, to no form of poetry could verses be added more easily than to the carol. Although many of the carols are narrative after a fashion, as a rule they present no close sequence of events like that in a good narrative poem; there is seldom any logical link between stanza and stanza. They offer a constant invitation to versifiers to add, subtract, or transpose, and in the absence of a written copy it would be unusually easy to confuse the stanza-order. That faults of memory are responsible for some of the variations is shown by the fact that the first three or four stanzas of a carol are more usually preserved in the same order in variant versions than are later stanzas. Occasionally lapses from good sense are revealed by comparison with another version to be faults of the ear and not of the eye, but they are not many.

The method of transmission of these carol-texts is thus midway between the uncontrolled oral tradition of folk-song and the exclusively manuscript tradition of long and learned works. The repeated performance of a carol would involve its being committed to memory, and many people who never set pen to parchment doubtless learned some of these carols by word of mouth. But the same pieces, unlike folk-song, were also current in manuscript copies, against which singers who were not illiterate folk-singers could check their repertory. This is

¹ The presence of intelligible Latin in a very few 'Christmas carols' picked up by folk-song collectors in the last few years does not invalidate this assumption. The following first stanza of a 'carol' sung by a gipsy betrays recent acquaintance with Sunday-school hymnody—
Christ is born of maiden fair,

Hark, the heralds in the air,
Thou, adoring, descendant there—
'In Excelsis Gloria'

(Gillington, Alice E., ed., *Old Christmas Carols of the Southern Counties*, London, 1910, p. 15)

² Below, pp. cxxxv–cxxxvii

exactly the type of transmission usual to song which is popular by destination. The text of a modern music-hall ditty lives out its brief existence under conditions which, on a larger scale, are much like those to which the carol-texts were subject. Great numbers of children and other half-educated people (no longer, however, technically a 'folk') learn it orally, and as sung by them it will show many minor variations of wording. But the wide circulation of authoritative copies, in sheet music and phonograph records, prevents any wide variation of the song itself like that which is inevitable in real oral tradition. At the same time professional performers do not scruple to omit stanzas of the original text or to add new ones composed by or for themselves. The activity of some professional class, literate if not learned, is to be seen behind the English carol of the late Middle Ages and 'transition period'. Its more exact identification will be attempted in the following chapter.

All evidence combines to show, therefore, that the carol as a *genre* in written English is popular, that is, one degree removed from traditional folk-song, and yet lower in the scale of education and refinement than the courtly lyric or scholarly Latin poem. This does not imply that there are not considerable variations in the tone and style of the carols, marking what might be called 'degrees of popularity'. The miscellaneous character of the pieces brought together in a single manuscript is often striking, and is best explained, perhaps, by assuming certain differences in their respective 'destinations'. A few examples may be drawn from one volume, Bodleian Library MS. Eng. poet. e. 1.

A piece like the following would appeal to the male half, at least, of the humblest audience which might be assembled in fifteenth-century England:¹

Care away, away, away,
Care away for euermore

All that I may swynk or swet,
My wyfe it wyll both drynk and ete;
And I sey ovght, she wyl me bete;
Carfull ys my hart therfor.

If I sey ovght of hyr but good,
She loke on me as she war wod
And wyll me clovght abovght the hod;
Carfull [ys my hart therfor.]

¹ No. 406, burden and stanzas 1, 2

The sentiment of another carol is such as the simplest man, if his heart be good, might be expected to understand and applaud.¹

I pray yow all with hert and thought,
Amend me, and peyer me novght.

Holy Wrytt sayth nothyng sother,
That no man shuld apeyer other;
Sythen I am [in] God thi broder,
Amend me, and peyer m[e nought]

If thou se I do gretly amys,
And no man wott butt thou of this,
Mak it not so yl as it is,
Amend me, [and peyer me nought]

But it would hardly be a group of peasants who would appreciate the abstract nouns and somewhat literary melancholy of such a complaint as this.²

For pencynesse and grett distresse
I am full woo,
Destitute frome all refute,
Alone I goo

Whylome I present was with my soffreyne,
Ignorawnt I was of dolowr and payne,
For than I lyued
Fro sorow depreued,
Of plesure hauyng habundawnce and deliçe,
But now, forsothe,
Sore hytt me ruthe,
Fortune contrarythe to my device.

And the admonition³

Haue in mynd, in mynd, in mynd,
Secuters be oft onekynd,

would presumably be of primary interest to those whose property was large enough to warrant their thinking about an executor.

A definite piece of testimony as to the class of person to whom the carols appealed is given by Balliol College, Oxford, MS. 354, which contains a large number of them. This manuscript is a commonplace book, once the property of Richard Hill, a London merchant who was sworn at Grocers' Hall on

¹ No 337 b, burden and stanzas 1, 3

³ No 382, burden

² No 439, burden and stanza 1

10 November 1511.¹ This hardly justifies us, however, in labelling the carol 'bourgeois literature', for Hill was evidently a man of very catholic taste. The entries in the book include such widely different pieces as a verse-treatment of the folk-tale of the Boy, Stepmother, and Friar,² and two early poems of Sir Thomas More.³ There are also a number of Latin verses and maxims.

The carol at its best found favour, no doubt, with all classes, 'both more and less', in its own favourite phrase. Undeniably the most successful specimens are those which keep the 'mean estate' which some of them praise, those which are neither vulgar nor stilted. The carols dealing specifically with Christmas festivities are the most satisfying, as they are the most numerous, because of this universality of appeal which reflects the traditional relaxation of social distinctions in the general winter rejoicing, a custom as old as the Saturnalia. Carols commanded a warm reception whether sung by the common people at 'Christmas dinners and brideales and in taverns and alehouses', or 'incontinently after the King's first course' at a palace feast, and, while some smack more of the tavern and others more of the court, most of them would not come amiss to the lips and ears of either company.

¹ See the rather full family record printed from the manuscript by Dyboski, *Songs, Carols, and other Miscellaneous Poems*,

pp. xiii-xv

² *Ibid.*, p. 120, see editor's note, p. xxvii.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 72, 97

CHAPTER V

THE CAROL AND POPULAR RELIGION

1. *The Sanctification of Song and Dance*

THE ultimate origins of the carol are non-Christian. The direct progenitors of the ring-dances of nominally Christian France and England were the dances of the pagan spring and winter festivals. Some of these dances, to be sure, were thoroughly religious in purpose; often they were exercises of propitiation. Even the spring dances of women, with their accompanying licence of amorous song and conduct, probably expressed only a deeper element of worship of the deity of fertility so prominent in primitive religion.¹ But it is a long leap from such religion as this to the formalized, schematic Christianity of the medieval Church with its heavenly and earthly hierarchies, its elaborate ritual, and its enormous social, political, and intellectual activity. The difference, moreover, seemed much greater to the medieval churchman than it does to a modern historian of religions, for to the former all faiths save his own were but abominations and the snares of mankind's great Enemy.

Yet in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in England, the lyric form which grew out of the round dance, the carol, is particularly associated with the service of the Christian religion. Of the surviving specimens by far the greater number—about five out of every six—treat of subject-matter which is either wholly religious or morally didactic in accord with Christian precepts.² It will be helpful for the understanding of the carol texts themselves to reconstruct, as far as possible, the process, by no means an accidental one, which resulted in the widespread use for Christian purposes of a lyric form based on dance-song originally pagan.

The stubborn vitality shown by heathen customs among the people of European countries after their official acceptance of Christianity presented the medieval Church for centuries with a very real problem. As Bede bears witness, it was easier to

¹ See the description of the phallic rites accompanying Easter Week dance of the girls of a Scotch village in 1282, as reported in the *Chronicon de Lanercost* (Edinburgh, 1839), p. 109, also Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, vol. 1, pp. 160-72.

² The following carols are the only ones here collected which have not a religious or didactic character. Nos. 3, 4, 10, 11, 134-7, 141, 390-3, 399-410, 413-22, 424, 427, 430, 432, 433, 438-74.

break the idol-fanes of Britain than to eradicate customs of immemorial standing rooted in elementary human instincts. There were two ways in which the problem could be met, and both were used on many occasions and with varying success. One was direct proscription, the branding of a custom as sin to be punished on earth by the ecclesiastical authority and thereafter by God. The other, in the use of which the Church often showed herself wise and able, was assimilation, the identification of a pagan observance with some rite or practice of Christianity with which it might possess a common element. The merging of the Germanic Yule with the Christian Nativity season is an outstanding instance of this procedure.¹ Both these methods were frequently employed in the Middle Ages against the particular remnants of paganism which most concern the carol—the festival dance and the songs accompanying it

The outright condemnation of popular song and dance was not particularly efficacious, to judge from the number of times that official pronouncements against the practice had to be repeated.² The following passage from the eighth-century *Dicta Abbatis Priminii* is a typical early medieval expression of disapproval.³

Ballationis et saltationis vel cantica turpia et luxuriosa velut sagitta diabolica fugite, nec ad ipsas ecclesias, nec in domibus vestris, nec in plateis, nec in ullo alio loco facire non presumatis, quia hoc de paganorum consuetudine remansit

The conflict between the Church and these dances and songs was especially marked, not merely because the performances themselves were accompanied by wanton words and gestures, but also because of the people's habit of dancing on the eves of church festivals and in the hallowed precincts of the churchyard or even within the edifice itself. The clergy used hymns, psalms, and sermons in attempts to divert their attention, but the parishioners seem often to have preferred the more exciting pastime. Hence the exclusion of such dances from the neighbourhood of churches is specifically directed in a number of decrees. In the middle of the seventh century the Council of Chalon sur Saône ordained as follows:⁴

Valde omnibus noscetur esse decretum ne per dedicationes basilicarum aut festivitates martyrum ad ipsa solemnia confluentes obscoena

¹ Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, vol 1, chap xi

² Twenty-two quotations from ecclesiastical denunciations of song and dance are given by Gougaud, L., O S B, 'La Danse

dans les églises', in *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, vol xv, pp 5-22, 229-45

³ Quoted, *ibid*, p 11

⁴ Quoted, *loc cit*

et turpia cantica, dum orare debent aut clericos psallentes audire, cum choris foemineis turpia quidem decantare videantur Unde convenit ut sacerdotes loci illos a septa basilicarum vel porticis ipsarum basilicarum etiam et ab ipsis atriis vetare debeant et arcere.

But 450 years later, in 1209, a council at Avignon found it necessary to repeat the prohibition,¹ and even in 1435 it was a matter of concern to the Council of Bâle that

Alii choreas et tripudia marum ac mulierum facientes homines ad spectacula et cachinnationes movent²

The efforts of the Church to turn the customs of song and dance to pious ends without eliminating them entirely were rather more successful, they are certainly more interesting. It was a somewhat difficult matter to invest the dance with any degree of sanctity. There was a continuous tradition of disapproval of the dance, running through the Middle Ages, which appears not only in official decrees but also in the discourses of preachers and in a number of their *exempla*. The devil was reported to have shown his power over dancers on several occasions; a most interesting thirteenth-century *exemplum* from an Irish Franciscan collection records such an occurrence.³ It tells how, in accordance with a folk custom, a group of Dacian women on the occasion of a birth made a straw doll,⁴ which they carried in a dance, singing and making lewd gestures. To them suddenly appeared the Devil, responding to their song with such a loud voice that some of them fell dead. The preacher concludes by saying of his hearers:⁵

Certe hic ludere possunt in suis tripudiis, in suis fatuis cantilenis, et

¹ Op cit, p 12, the decree was worded as follows 'Statumus ut in sanctorum vigilis in ecclesie historice [histrice], saltationes, obsceni motus, seu choreae non fiant, nec dicantur amatoria carmina, vel cantilene ibidem . . '

² Quoted Gougaud, op cit, p 13. For several medieval condemnations of the dance see also Coulton, G G, *Five Centuries of Religion* (Cambridge, 1923-), vol II, pp 71-3, 442-4.

The problem did not cease with the Middle Ages, witness the following item of news from France in *The Times* of 24 December 1931 'Manifestations of the Christmas spirit appear to have begun in the Provinces earlier than usual this year. Several of the local clergy in the Morbihan district have been severely manhandled by their infuriated flock, while others have been treated to a choice programme of community catcalling. It appears that

the clergy under the orders of their Bishop have been preaching a series of sermons on dancing in public-houses and its dangers, a practice of which the natives are excessively fond, and public resentment or uneasiness at this condemnation of their idea of innocent amusement took this violent form. An innkeeper who obediently refused to allow any more dancing on his premises promptly had them wrecked.'

³ Little, A G, ed, *Liber Exemplorum ad Usus Praedicatorum* (British Society of Franciscan Studies, vol 1, Aberdeen, 1908), pp. 110-11. For a good example of a vernacular sermon against dancing see Bohme, *Geschichte des Tanzes*, vol 1, pp 94-100.

⁴ This doll is to be identified with the 'Harvest-May' and 'Ivy-Girl' as symbolic of the female principle of fertility, see above, p c.

⁵ Little, op cit, p 111.

absque dubio videre possunt hoc exemplo, quod ludī eorum non sunt eis nisi quedam ad mortem eternam preparatio.

This diabolical taint which it preserved kept the dance from gaining anything like a real foothold in the service of the Church. There are many records of dancing in the church buildings themselves, and the custom has been preserved into modern times in the cathedral of Seville, where the choir boys dance with castanets on certain feast-days.¹ The Dance of Death was actually performed on occasion, as in 1453, by the Franciscans at Besançon.² The dances of the people on fête days were sometimes admitted, and at other times the minor clergy themselves indulged in dancing and other revelry within the church doors, as during the Feast of Fools.³ But the dance was at most tolerated; it was never actually encouraged by ecclesiastical authority and has almost always remained outside the official ritual.⁴

Occasionally a churchman recognized in a literary way that the associations of the dance need not be altogether unhallowed. Honorius of Autun in his *Gemma Animae* discusses the use of the dance as a means of worship by the ancients, its symbolic character with them, as representing the motion of the spheres, and the conversion of the dance by the faithful to the service of the true God. The dance of the Israelites after their deliverance from Pharaoh at the Red Sea, and the performance of David before the ark are cited. A portion may be quoted as showing the likeness of the dance which Honorius had in mind to the carole:⁵

Per choreas autem circuitionem voluerunt intelligi firmamenti revolutionem per manuum complexionem, elementorum connexionem per sonum cantantium, harmoniam planetarum resonantium, per corporis gesticulationem, signorum motionem per plausum manuum vel pedum strepitum, tonitruorum crepitum

A more definitely Christian significance is given the dance in a sermon which is one of the most remarkable monuments of the mediæval movement towards the moralization and allegorizing of casual and worldly acts and circumstances. It has sometimes been attributed to Stephen Langton, who was conse-

¹ Gougaud, op cit, p 243

² Ibid, pp 230-1

³ Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, vol 1, p. 326 For references to Easter ball-games in churches, particularly at Auxerre, see *ibid*, p 128, n 4, and du Cange, *Glossarium*, s. v. 'Pelota (3)'

⁴ The chapter of Wells found it necessary

in 1338 to prohibit dances and games within the cathedral and cloisters (Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, vol 1, p 163, n 1)

⁵ Quoted Gougaud, op cit, p 17 The original is Lib. I, cap cxxxix of the 'Gemma Animae', *Patrologia Latina*, vol clxxii, col 587

crated Archbishop of Canterbury in 1207, but it is more probably the work of a French author.¹ The sermon takes for its text one of the most popular of all medieval dance-songs, that of 'Bele Alis'.² After quoting this in full, the author explains his purpose:

Legimus quod de omni verbo ocioso reddituri sumus rationem in die iudicii, et ideo debemus errantes corrigere, errores reprimere, praua in bona exponere, vanitatem ad veritatem reducere.

He then points out the spiritual symbolism of the carole, not without a phrase of warning as to the originally worldly character of the dance:

Cum dico *Belle Aliz*, scitis quod tripudium primo propter vanitatem inuentum fuit; scilicet, in tripudio tria sunt necessaria, scilicet, vox sonora, nexus brachiorum, et strepitus pedum. Vt ergo possimus cum Domino tripudiare, hec tria in nobis habeamus. vocem sonoram, scilicet, predicationem lectam et gratam Deo et hominibus, nexus brachiorum, scilicet, geminam caritatem, scilicet, dilectionem Dei et Christi; strepitus pedum, s[cilicet], opera concordancia nostre praedicationi ad imitationem Domini nostri Ihesu Christi qui primo cepit bona facere, et post ea docere.

By such ingenuity as this was an attempt made to divert into pious channels a popular interest which most churchmen agreed to be inspired of the Evil One.

Secular song, whether associated with the dance or not, offered a far more promising field for the activities of the moralizing clergy. From the earliest period of Christianity vocal music had occupied an important place in divine worship, reaching its highest development in the Gregorian chant of the Mass. The hymns of the Office, as has been noted, were not far removed from the stanzaic form of popular song. Certainly there was nothing vicious in singing of itself. But the character of the pieces which were current among the people in the Middle Ages was often such as to cause grave concern to the guardians of their morals.

It is probably wise to accept with some reservations the adjectives applied by churchmen to the folk-song or popular song which they report as being sung at festivals. Merely frivolous or (as we should think) harmless love-lyrics were doubtless among the songs which were condemned as

¹ See Lecoy de la Marche, A., *La Chaire française au moyen âge* (Paris, 1886), pp. 91-3. The sermon is preserved in several manuscripts, the text here quoted is from the unpublished version in Trinity

College, Cambridge, MS. B. 14. 39.

² The anonymous song, not the piece by Baude de la Quarière which begins 'Main se leva la bien faite Aelis'.

unprofitable or worse. But the repeated application of such terms as *obscœnus*,¹ *turpis*,² *luxuriosus*,³ *indecens*,⁴ *diabolus*,⁵ can hardly have been wholly unjustified. The erotic character of the May festival, so well expressed in the *Pervigilium Veneris*, survived in songs which celebrated freedom in love and heaped abuse upon husbands and faithfulness in marriage.⁶ The freedom from scruples common to the shepherdess-heroines of many Old French *pastourelles*⁷ might with some reason give alarm to a strict contemporary moralist, however tolerantly it behoves the literary historian to regard it. From mediæval Germany too are preserved a considerable number of *Schamperlieder* with erotic content which justifies their disrepute.⁸ As collectors of folk-song know, oral tradition has preserved more than a few out of what must have been a great body of songs which by their frankness of expression would have offended pious ears, not to mention those songs which show positive immorality of sentiment.⁹ The denunciations of the clergy, although touched with exaggeration, were not empty rhetoric. It is significant that in 1497 the word 'carol' could have a sinful connotation to Laurence Wade, the monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, who translated the life of Thomas Becket into English verse. In the section 'Qualiter euitabat cantilenas dissolutas siue ad lasciuia pertinentes', Wade says of the prelate.¹⁰

And euer hys bord voyde (as the story doth ws shew)
Off all maner off karolles and songes dissolute
Sowndyng to luxury off harpe, pipe, and lute

Secular song was utilized in two ways by those intent on 'turning the depraved into the good'. The original wording of a song was occasionally taken and allegorized, or, much oftener, a worldly song was parodied or imitated in a religious one. The first process is well illustrated by the latter part of the sermon on 'Bele Alis' already quoted, which takes up the *chanson* line by line, explaining the spiritual significance of each phrase. 'Bele Alis', whose name is held to be composed of the privative *a* and Latin *lis*, hence meaning 'without strife', is identified

¹ Decree of Council of Chalon sur Saône, quoted above, pp cxii-cxiii

² *Dicta Primini*, quoted above, p. cxii, 'Red Book, of Ossory', f 70, quoted in *Notes and Queries*, First Series, vol 11, p 385

³ *Dicta Primini*, quoted above, p. cxii

⁴ Ordericus, lib 12, p 881, quoted du Cange, *Glossarium*, s v 'Coraula'

⁵ S Audoenus, lib 2 *de Vita S Elgii*, cap 15, quoted du Cange, *Glossarium*, s v.

'Caraula'.

⁶ Paris, *Origines*, p 45

⁷ Jeanroy, *Origines*, p 21, Jones, W P, *The Pastourelle*, chaps 1, 11

⁸ References to a number of these are given by Bohme, *Geschichte des Tanzes*, vol 1, p 236, n 2

⁹ Cf. Sharp, *English Folk-Song*, pp 102-3

¹⁰ Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 298, f 20 v

with the Blessed Virgin; the five flowers which she plucks in the meadow are the flowers of charity, chastity, constancy, virginity, and humility, and so on. A similar sermon, possibly by the same author, declares the intention of 'spoiling the Egyptians to enrich the Hebrews' by turning light song to a good use. It is a *chanson* on the *mal mariée* theme which is here used as a text, beginning

Sus la rive de la mer,
Fontenelle 1 sordait cler.

(&c)

The river is shown to stand for the Virgin, the fountain for Christ, and so on through the poem. But it is to be remembered, says the preacher, that the song, taken literally, is vain and sinful.¹

The thirteenth-century English sermon which embodies one of the earliest scraps of Middle English dance-song² proceeds in the same fashion. The couplet there taken as text is called one of many dance-songs 'pat litil ben wort', and, after invoking the same Scriptural authority as the sermon on 'Bele Alis',³ the author brings forward a spiritual interpretation of the English lines.

Atle wrastlinge my lemman 1 ches,
and atte ston-kasting 1 him for-les

A sentence or two will show the style:⁴

Wrastlinge is a manere of feite[n]ge, and sikirlike ne comid no man to his loue ne to his blisse, but he be god champiun & manlike feite agein huse 3 fomen: þo ben þe deuel of helle, his owene sinfule fles, and treȝe-cuvenant to werld . . . Bi þe 'ston' is vnderstondin þe harde herte of man and of womman, þat lat in Godis word atte ton ere & vt atte topir. . .

Sermons such as these had probably no more than a limited effect against the subversive tendencies of popular song, for it would be too much to expect the common man to work out a pious symbolism for every verse which was trolled. More widespread and more successful was the practice of composing religious songs on the model of the secular pieces which it was hoped to displace. The religious carol, as represented in the texts here collected, is to be regarded as a product of this kind of activity. Some notice of its history will therefore be helpful to a study of the origins of the carol *genre*.

The influence of the popular lyric on the Latin *cantilena* has

¹ Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire française au moyen âge*, pp. 197-8

² See above, pp. xxxiv-xxxv

³ Matthew xii. 36

⁴ The entire sermon is printed by Forster, Max, *Anglia*, vol. xlii, pp. 152-4

already been touched upon ¹ Interesting testimony as to the practice of writing sacred Latin words to fit the music of profane popular songs is given by the 'Red Book of Ossory', in which are written, in a fourteenth-century hand, sixty Latin lyrics, several being preceded by lines of English and Anglo-Norman songs, to the tunes of which the Latin words were to be sung ² These bits are sufficient to show the amorous and popular character of the songs, e.g.:

Do, do, nightyngale synges ful myrie
 Shal Y neuere for thyn loue lengre karie
 Haue God day my lemon &c
 Heu alas par amor
 Qy moy myst en taunt dolour

A memorandum states that the Latin pieces were composed by the Bishop of Ossory for the minor clergy of his cathedral church, 'ne guttura eorum et ora deo sanctificata polluantur cantilenis teatralibus turpibus et secularibus'. The bishop may have had to deal with conditions resembling those which led an English priest to forget himself during Mass. The story, as related in an Irish book of *exempla*,³ tells how the priest, having allowed to run in his mind the burden of a song sung the preceding night by a group of dancers outside the church, greeted the faithful, not with the prescribed 'Dominus vobiscum', but with the words 'Swete leman dñm ore'

Evidence for the writing of vernacular religious lyrics on the pattern of love-songs is rather scarce in the British Isles before the emergence of the carol in fourteenth-century manuscripts ⁴ On the Continent, however, it was an established practice as early as the thirteenth century ⁵ About two hundred French *chansons pieuses* are preserved from this period, of which many are obvious imitations of *pastourelles* or other secular pieces. Among the most successful are those of Gauthier de Coincy, monk of Soissons, and author of the enormously popular *Miracles de Nostre Dame*. Some of these religious poems show the influence of the courtly school,⁶ but others are

¹ Above, pp lxxxviii–xcii

² *Notes and Queries*, First Series, vol. II, p. 385, Seymour, St. John D., *Anglo-Irish Literature 1200–1582* (Cambridge, 1929), pp. 73–5, 96–8. The bishop must have been the famous Richard de Ledrede, a Franciscan, who held the see from 1317 to 1360.

³ Little, *Liber Exemplorum*, p. III. The original source of the story is in the *Gemma Ecclesiastica*.

⁴ e.g. Brown, Carleton F., ed., *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century* (Oxford, 1932), Nos. 54, stanza 1, 63, stanzas 1, 4, 90, 91.

⁵ Gastoué, Amedée, *Le Cantique populaire en France*, pp. 68 ff. See also de Smidt, J. R. H., *Les Noëls et la tradition populaire* (Amsterdam, 1932), pp. 12–19.

⁶ e.g. the religious poems of Thiebaut de Champagne.

nearer to the truly popular lyric in their form and manner. Such a piece as the following, in the form of a *ballette*, is plainly an imitation of popular song:¹

Ave Maria, j'aim tant
La beguine s'est levee
de vesture bien patee:
au moustier s'en est alee,
Jhesu Crist va regretant
Ave Maria, j'aim tant.

In Germany the time of the Reformation brought the greatest activity in adapting popular song to religious purposes, Luther himself being the author of some of the best known pieces.² But the method was well known to the two centuries preceding, as is shown by religious parodies preserved from the fourteenth century. A good example is a May-song written to a secular and popular melody:³

Ich weiss mir einen meien	Den meien, den ich meine,
in diser heiligen zit,	daz ist der suesse gott,
Den meien, den ich meine,	der hie uff diser erden
der ewige froide git:	leidt vil menigen spott.

The fifteenth century, the time of greatest production of religious carols in England, was also marked in Germany by the writing of devotional songs in popular measures. Many of these closely resemble the carols in subjects and spirit, and occasionally in form. One such is the following 'Winacht lied' by Heinrich von Loufenberg, author of a large quantity of religious poetry in the vernacular:⁴

In enem krippfly lag ein kind,
do stund ein esel vnd ein rind,
Do by wz ouch die maget clar,
maria, die dz kind gebar.
Jhesus der herre min,
der wz dz kindelein.

These German songs were for the most part the work of

¹ Printed by Bartsch, Karl, 'Geistliche Umdichtung weltlicher Lieder', in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vol viii, p 578, stanza 2. Bartsch points out a similar refrain in a *pastourelle* (ibid., p 579) Jeanroy (*Origines*, p 482) thinks the first lines here quoted are a parody of 'Aelis main s'est levée'

² e.g. 'Von himel hoch da kom ich her' to the secular tune of 'Aus fremden Landen komm ich her' (Bohme, *Altdeutsches Lieberbuch*, p 623), and the more controver-

sial 'Nun treiben wir den Papst heraus', to the tune of 'So treiben wir den Winter aus' (ibid., p 740) Dance-tunes were especially favoured for such use (See Schikowski, John, *Geschichte des Tanzes*, Berlin, 1926, p 53)

³ Bohme, op cit., p 689, stanza 1

⁴ Wackernagel, Philipp, ed., *Das deutsche Kirchenlied* (Leipzig, 1864, &c.), vol II, p 533, stanza 1 and burden. Other poems by Heinrich are printed, ibid., pp 528-611

professed religious men, like Heinrich, rather than of devout laymen like the courtly poets of the south of France who wrote *dansas d'Amors de Nostra Dona* and similar pious adaptations of polite love-songs. That songs written for the people by men in religious orders were actually taken up and sung by the people is shown by the reference in the *Limburg Chronicle* under the date of 1370 to a leprous monk of the Rhineland who is praised as the best maker of songs in the world. It records that 'was er sang, das sangen die Leute alle gern, und alle Meister piffen, und andere Spielleute fuhrten den Gesang und das Gedicht' ¹

But the greatest flowering of religious popular song took place in thirteenth-century Italy. Towards the end of the preceding century there had sprung up a popular zeal for devotional singing, fostered by the organization of musical fraternities calling themselves *laudesi*. These guilds were of the greatest service, not merely to religion, but to the cause of vernacular poetry as well; being composed of layfolk, they naturally preferred to sing in their own tongue rather than in the Latin of the church ritual.² The result was that in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries thousands of *laude* were composed and sung, varying widely in form and content, but alike in their popular character. Like the English carol, the Italian *lauda* occupies the middle ground between folk-song and learned lyric; it is the production of an individual author, but directed to an audience without special education or refinement, and patterned upon the songs with which such an audience would already be familiar. The *ballata* form remained a favourite with later writers of *laude* as with Jacopone da Todi.³ A fourteenth-century *lauda* on the power of death illustrates the similarity in form, spirit, and subject-matter which exists in many cases between lyrics of this sort and the later English carol.⁴

Chi vuol lo mondo disprezzare
sempre la Morte dee pensare

La Morte è fiera et dura e forte,
rompe mura e passa porte,
ell' è sì comune sorte
che verun ne può scampare

¹ Quoted by Böhme, *Altdeutsches Liederbuch*, p. xxxii

² Ippoliti, *Dalle Sequenze alle Laudi*, pp. 11-16, Underhill, Evelyn, *Jacopone da Todi* (London, 1919), pp. 216-17

³ See above, p. xlvii

⁴ Levi, Eugenia, ed., *Lirica Italiana Antica* (Florence, 1905), p. 40, *ripresa* and first and last stanzas. Compare carols Nos. 356, 368, 371, on similar themes

Peccatori, or ritornate,
li peccati abbandonate,
della Morte ripensate,
non vi trovi folleggiare.

The burden, the dance-song stanza, the simplicity of language, and the didactic purpose are alike in both *genres*

2. *The Franciscans and the Carol*

The early history of the *lauda* is so closely associated with the beginnings of the Franciscan Order that it forms a natural introduction to a tradition of that religious body which is of particular interest for the history of the English carol. This is the tradition of vernacular religious song, begun by St Francis himself and kept alive in his order even in those later days when the first flush of zeal had yielded to the laxness and corruption which made the Minorites the targets for so much satire and abuse. Subordinate, yet complementary, to the friars' principal mission of preaching, it has left its records in various times and places, some of which there will be occasion to notice here, and gives Franciscanism a claim to consideration as an important force in the shaping of the medieval lyric.¹

Neither the great revival of popular religious fervour in thirteenth-century Italy nor the accompanying production of popular sacred poetry was literally initiated by Francis of Assisi, but the impetus which both received from the genius of the man himself and from the organizing of his followers into the Order of Friars Minor in 1209 was so great that their history is often begun with his conversion. It is not impertinent to note that the great mission of Francis was 'popular by destination' and not 'by origin'; he was a prophet to the people, and not of the people; he was no Italian Piers Plowman. Of gentle birth, and having ample means, he turned from the life of a sophisticated young bachelor and soldier to a way of poverty and asceticism so extreme that it set him apart from those to whom he preached almost as much as his previous prosperity. His exhortation to his followers to become 'ioculatores Dei' has a more profound significance than is always attached to it: besides urging upon them the practice of religious song it recognizes the slightly spectacular quality inherent in many actions of the Saint himself no less than in the more ludicrous

¹ Cf. Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C., *The Romanticism of St Francis* (London, 1915), p. 185 'There can be little doubt that the

singing of hymns in the vernacular owed its popularity, if not its origin, at least in Italy to the friars'

practices of the literally-minded Brother Juniper. This mildly spectacular character of the friars' ways (still to be felt when one meets a sandalled Franciscan in the streets of a New World city) was one of the secrets of their mighty influence with the people of many lands who had become indifferent to the routine religion of the parish church.

Francis himself had the gift of composing songs out of the fullness of his heart, and his youthful acquaintance with the poetry of the worldly troubadours stood him in good stead. It was just after he had composed the beautiful 'Song of Brother Sun' that he gave his disciples the charge of sacred minstrelsy. The *Speculum Perfectionis*¹ tells how he sent for Brother Pacifico, who was so talented that he had been called 'rex versuum' in the world, and desired him to mingle the singing of *laude* with his preaching. 'For', he said, 'what are the servants of God if not his minstrels who ought to stir and incite the hearts of men to spiritual joy?'

The greatest of the early Franciscan singers was Jacopone da Todi, whose *laude* have already been cited for their frequent use of dance-forms. Jacopone's poems are far finer than the ordinary popular lyric; they are often highly subjective, philosophical, contemplative, or concerned with specific incidents of the poet's material or spiritual life.² This did not keep them from being enthusiastically adopted and sung by companies of *laudesi*, many of which were connected with the Third Order of St Francis.³ They were widely imitated, and many *laude* have been attributed to Jacopone of which the true authors remain unknown.

The *laude* continued in favour throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, new ones constantly being composed and the old ones held in memory and passed from singer to singer. The models were still, as with Jacopone, the worldly and amorous songs of the people; their melodies were used and their words often closely parodied.⁴ Continually circulating among the people, preaching that repentance which is so often the theme of the *laude*, threatening, amusing, teaching, and denouncing, were the friars, Dominicans among them, of course, though less prominent than the Minorites.⁵ The theatrical

¹ Ed. Sabatier, Paul (British Society of Franciscan Studies, vols. xiii, xvii, Manchester, 1928-31), cap. c.

² See the excellent biography by Evelyn Underhill, *Jacopone da Todi, Poet and Mystic*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁴ Monnier, Philippe, *Le Quattrocento* (Paris, 1920), vol. II, p. 188.

⁵ It is interesting to note the Franciscans taking a hand in the suppression of exactly the sort of festive dances that so disturbed the medieval church councils. The *Annales Minorum* record the efforts of two

methods of Fra Bernardino da Siena, who mingled with his preaching the telling of tales, the singing of songs, even the imitation of animals, show how the friars succeeded in bringing to the common people of Italy a religion freed from the chill of the cloister and the puzzle of Latin, a religion of which the *laude* were the lyrical expression.¹

In France, as in Italy, the Franciscans were prominently identified with religious poetry in the vulgar tongue. Two may be mentioned by name, Nicholas Bozon in the fourteenth century, and Jehan Tisserant in the fifteenth.² The sermons of the former are accompanied by vernacular stanzaic poems which resemble the *chansons pieuses*. A number of religious poems bearing his name are written in MS. 8336 of the Philipps Library at Cheltenham, as well as a satirical piece likening woman to a magpie.³ Tisserant, a learned theologian and confessor to Queen Anne of Brittany, is called by Gastoué 'le vrai fondateur du cantique populaire'.⁴ He is the first known author of *noëls*. Songs of his composition were so welcomed by the people, for whom they were designed, that some of them have continued to be sung even into modern times. One of his compositions, at least, was sung at the beginning of his sermons in true early Franciscan fashion.⁵

There is good reason, therefore, to suspect the hand of the friars in the development of the English carol of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The first Franciscans landed in England in 1224 and speedily attained popularity and influence comparable to those which they enjoyed in Italy.⁶ The first of their number to make his appearance in extant English poetry is Thomas of Hales, author of 'A Luue Ron' (about 1275), didactic verses which the author directs to a maiden who had

late fifteenth-century Minorites in this direction. Michael de Barga was a zealous preacher to shepherds and country folk 'Tempore Bacchanalium per domos & plateas discurrens, puellas a choreis insanusque ludis revocabat, quosque comperiebat per ludicra et lubrica dies illos exigere, ad sobrietatem & severitatem retrahebat' (vol. xiv, p. 230). Bernardinus Feltrensis was a similar reformer 'Condemnavit quosdam ludos inhonestos, & publica spectacula, ad quae nemo deinceps ausus est accedere' (ibid., p. 397). The anecdote which follows tells how a young man who persisted in leading the girls to dance in spite of the friar's warning died a miserable death for his sin.

¹ Monnier, *Le Quattrocento*, vol. II, pp. 191-203.

² Gastoué, *Le Cantique populaire*, pp. 82-4, 109.

³ For a description of and extracts from this manuscript see Meyer, Paul, 'Le MS. 8336 de la Bibliothèque Philipps', in *Romana*, vol. XIII, pp. 497-541.

⁴ *Le Cantique populaire*, p. 86. For a short biography of Tisserant by Ubald d'Alençon, see *Études franciscaines*, vol. VII, pp. 538-44.

⁵ It is headed in the manuscript copy 'S'ensuit le dicte en François de [Fr]ere Jehan Tisserant, le quel il fait chanter à son sermon' (Gastoué, op. cit., p. 235).

⁶ See Hutton, Edward, *The Franciscans in England* (London, 1926), Sever, John, *The English Franciscans under Henry III* (Oxford, 1915).

desired him to make a love-song This poem expressly acknowledges the purpose, the same which will appear later in the religious carol, of turning a liking for song into profitable ways of piety ¹

Þis rym, mayde, ich þe sende
open and wiþ-vte sel,
Bidde ic þat þu hit vntrende
& leorny bute bok vych del,
Her-of þat þu beo swiþe hende
& tech hit oþer maydenes wel.

Hwenne þu sittest in longynge,
drauh þe forþ þis ilke wryt,
Mid swete stephne þu hit singe,
& do al so hit þe byt

More extensive is the known English poetry of the Franciscan William Herebert, who died in 1333 His works are contained in the same manuscript² as some of the poems of Nicholas Bozon, and one of them, printed by Professor Brown under the title 'Make Ready for the Long Journey',³ is a free translation of a piece by Bozon This poem, following the verse-form of its Anglo-Norman original, comes close to the carol-form; a three-line 'burden' is repeated after each stanza, but its place at the beginning of the piece is taken by an independent couplet The remainder of Herebert's work consists for the most part of English translations of Latin hymns, antiphons, and other portions of the service ⁴

The famous Kildare collection of Anglo-Irish poems, dating from about 1300, is the work of Franciscan friars.⁵ It contains a lullaby which is certainly to be regarded as a forerunner of the lullaby carol in English. This piece is written in long couplets, and, while it has not a genuine burden, repeats 'Lullay, lullay, little child', at the end of each stanza in a fashion which shows imitation of the recurring burden of real folk-lullabies. The first stanza runs.⁶

¹ Brown, Carleton F., ed., *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century*, p. 74, ll. 193-8, 201-4

² Philipps Library, Cheltenham, MS 8336

³ Brown, Carleton F., ed., *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century*, No. 23

⁴ Printed, in part, *ibid.*, Nos. 12-25; catalogued by Brown, *Register of Middle English Religious Verse* (Oxford, 1916-20),

vol. 1, pp. 485-6. Professor Brown comments well on the significance of Herebert's work as pointing to the use of vernacular song by the friars. (*Religious Lyrics*, p. xiv)

⁵ Preserved in British Museum, MS Harley 913, printed in part by Heuser, W., *Die Kildare-Gedächte* (Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik, vol. xiv, Bonn, 1904)

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 174

Lollaī, lollaī, ltil child, whi wepistou so sore?
 Nedis mostou wepe, hit was ȝarkid þe ȝore
 Euer to lib in sorow and sich and mourne euere,
 As þin eldren did er þis, whil hi alues were.
 Lollaī, [lollaī], ltil child, child, lolai, lullow,
 In to vncuþ world icommen so ertow

A lullaby in the same measure and of the same tone, in which the child is specifically the infant Jesus, is to be found in a later fourteenth-century manuscript, a commonplace book compiled by Friar Johan de Grimestone in 1372.¹ This volume contains a large number of English religious poems, among them several carols.² One of these uses as its burden the first line of the lullaby in the Kildare MS.;³ another,⁴ also a lullaby carol, reappears in shortened form in three later manuscripts. The collection also includes a verse dialogue between Mary and her crucified Son which is without question the material whence were made the three versions of carol No. 157, by cutting the non-stanzaic poem into four-line stanzas and adding a burden.⁵

The interesting little piece which has for its burden the lines beginning 'Honnd by honnd we schulle ous take',⁶ one of the earliest English carols and the earliest 'Christmas carol' extant,⁷ was probably used by a friar in connexion with his preaching. It was written down before 1350 among some Franciscan sermon notes which also contain other rhyming lines in English.⁸

The name which most firmly connects English carol-writing with the Friars Minor is that of James Ryman, whose work has several times been mentioned. Ryman has fared rather badly at the hands of critics,⁹ and there is perhaps little to attract the casual modern reader in the 166 pieces contained in the manuscript to which his name and the date 1492 are set.¹⁰ But we should not be too hasty in assuming that these pedestrian poems were equally uninteresting to the author's

¹ National Library of Scotland, MS Advocates 18 7 21. The lullaby is printed by Brown, *Religious Lyrics*, No 65. The contents of the manuscript show Grimestone to have been a Franciscan (*ibid*, pp xvi-xvii).

² Nos 149 a, 155 a, 271

³ No 155 a

⁴ No 149 a.

⁵ Brown, *op cit*, No 37

⁶ No 12

⁷ Cf Brown, *op cit*, p xii

⁸ Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 26, see

Brown, *op. cit.*, p 272

⁹ e.g. Chambers, *Early English Lyrics*, p 292

¹⁰ Cambridge University Library MS. Ee 1 12, printed by Zupitza, J., in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, vol. lxxxix, pp. 167-338. The colophon containing Ryman's name does not specifically refer to 39 of these poems, but, with the exception of a narrative song on the 'false fox' with a strong folk-flavour, they are identical in style with the others and are almost certainly Ryman's

contemporaries. One of Ryman's carols,¹ shortened but otherwise not much altered, appears in the remarkable little volume printed by Richard Kele about 1550 and entitled *Christmas carolles newly Inprynted*, which, being issued as an article of commerce and not as a missionary effort, presumably includes only songs of some popular appeal. At any rate Ryman's body of verse, dull as much of it is, provides valuable testimony as to the methods which he and doubtless other carol-writers followed in producing songs of this type. His working over of the 'Laetabundus' prose is a good example.² Of the 166 pieces 119 are in carol-form. Ryman is thus responsible for a quarter of all the extant English carols of date earlier than 1550. He tried his hand at almost every device of style used in other carols and appears to have invented a few of his own. He used Latin freely, particularly in his burdens, and several times composed a series of carols in the same strain and using the same burden, either in identical form or with slight variations.³ In a number of poems he used a stanza rimed like rime-royal without a burden, while to others on similar themes and in the same stanza-form he added burdens, thereby adapting them for performance as carols.⁴ Ryman, like Herebert, is to be regarded as a conscientious, rather uninspired Franciscan, engaged in turning religious and profitable matter into vernacular songs in order to appeal to the people. His use of the carol-form is doubtless the result of observation of the popularity of the carol at the time he was writing, and there is every reason to believe that he meant his work to be more than a pious literary exercise—that he designed his poems to be sung by his preaching brothers and their audiences.

Ryman's carols are the latest before 1550 for which Franciscan authorship can be shown, but a purpose in all respects like that which prompted the friar-authors of medieval carol, *lauda*, or *noël*, led an Irish Franciscan of the seventeenth century to compose popular religious lyrics, some of them for Christmas, modelled on secular song. This friar, Luke Wadding, Bishop of Ferns and cousin of the famous compiler of the *Annales Minorum*, borrowed the melodies of such English and Irish songs as 'Fortune my foe', or 'I do not love cause thou art fair', for the verses of his *A Pious Garland*, which ran through five or six editions. The occasion of their composition was the same

¹ No 81 A

² See above, pp lxxix-lxxx

³ e.g. Nos 207-11, 295-9

⁴ Compare, e.g., Nos 258, 156 with their neighbours in the manuscript, printed by Zupitza, op cit, pp 262, 264-7

as that which stirred medieval religious men—the menace to the people's faith and morals of 'erotic and licentious' songs, which the pious numbers were designed to replace.¹

Apart from this external evidence of the friars' activity in the realm of popular religious poetry to which the carol belongs, there are signs of strong Franciscan influence on the subject-matter and spirit of the carols. The tempering of the austerity of Christianity by the appeal to tender emotion and personal love for Christ, the invocation of pity for His sorrow in the cradle and suffering on the cross, which is particularly to be noted in the lullaby and Crucifixion carols, are part of the legacy of Francis to the centuries which followed his ministry. An excellent expression of this religious attitude is to be found in the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, attributed in the Middle Ages to the great Franciscan St. Bonaventure, but not actually from his hand, being addressed by a Friar Minor to a Poor Clare.² This work enjoyed an enormous vogue in England as in other countries, and an English version made in the early fifteenth century by Nicholas Love, a Carthusian prior, is extant in twenty-three manuscripts.³ The emphasis which it lays upon the humanity of Christ, the suffering which He underwent, and the duty of the Christian to feel compassion for Him is strikingly similar to a corresponding emphasis in some of the carols.⁴ The religion informing most of the sacred carols is in large measure a Franciscan Christianity.

In the ranks of the followers of St. Francis, therefore, the authors of many of the anonymous carols may conjecturally be placed. Unquestionably there were members of other religious orders who wrote carols; John Audelay, more gifted if less prolific as a carol-writer than Ryman, was a chaplain, resident in an Augustinian house.⁵ Audelay, however, was enough of a disciple of Francis to compose a carol in his honour,⁶ and he

¹ Grattan Flood, W. H., 'Noels anglo-irlandais', in *Études franciscaines*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 651-3. The article also notes another Irish Franciscan who wrote a similar piece, Archbishop MacCaghwell of Armagh.

² *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. 'Bonaventure, Saint'.

³ Ed. Powell, Lawrence F., *The Mirror of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ* (London, 1908).

⁴ Compare e.g., carols Nos. 157, 159, 160, 162, 163 with the chapter 'Of the passioun of our lord Jesu criste' (Powell, op. cit., pp. 216 ff.) which begins 'At the bygynnyng

thou that desirest to haue sorwefull compassioun / thorow feruent inward affeccioun / of the peynefull passioun of Jesu / thou moste in thy mynde depart in manere for the tyme the myzt of the godhede fro the kyndely infirmyte of the manhede'.

Compare also the lullaby carols with such a passage as this (Powell, op. cit., p. 53): 'For as we mowen suppose he weped ofte sithes / as othere children done / to schewe the wretchednesse of mankynde that he verayly took'.

⁵ See above, pp. xx-xxi.

⁶ No. 310.

was certainly touched by the Franciscan missionary spirit. The mendicant friars, and particularly the Minorites, were probably the most active group of carol-writers and carol-singers, the 'professional class' whose interest and activity propagated and preserved the texts of the carols.¹ The words of the carols frequently imply performance after the fashion of minstrelsy, with their 'Lith and listen', or 'A new song I will begin', although it seems to be assumed that the audience will join in after learning its part. Wright regarded two of the principal carol manuscripts as minstrels' song-books,² and a more recent writer on the Sloane MS. is positive that it contains the work of laymen.³ But, as Sir Edmund Chambers points out,⁴ the overwhelming proportion of sacred pieces rules the ordinary minstrel out entirely. The contents of the carol manuscripts would never have brought the minstrels the disrepute which they suffered among stern moralists. The carols which the most squeamish taste could find objectionable are few indeed, and of those few, several have a turn which shows them to be the work of some graceless clerk.⁵ On the other hand, it is not probable that many of the carols which we have represent the activity of wandering scholars of the fellowship of the Goliards. The only definitely Goliardic verse in carol-collections is the well-known drinking song 'Meum est propositum', which had a wide general circulation.⁶ Nor does the feud between clerk and layman, so cherished by the Goliards, find expression in the carols; in them the common man is urged to rejoice in the grace which is his through the merits of Christ or to repent of his sins, but he is not treated with contempt. In short, the purpose which is obviously that of the carols in general, the presentation of religion and morality in a popular and enjoyable form, was that of no other class of medieval society so much as that of the mendicant friars.⁷

¹ See above, p. cviii.

² *Percy Society Publications*, vol xxiii, p v, *Warton Club Publications*, vol iv, p 3

³ Burne, Charlotte S., 'Mediaeval Christmas Carols' in *Newberry House Magazine*, vol xi, pp 473-82. Her comment on No 168 is typical of much of the unsound and imaginative 'popular' criticism of the carol which is in print

'No scholar or student was he who sang thus. He took it on trust that "clerkes readen in their boke" the histories he recited, and he, and the rough fighting men who listened to him did not approach them from the point of view of a cloistered poet.'

⁴ *Early English Lyrics*, p 292.

⁵ e.g. the song of 'Jankyn', No 457. The likening of the singer to a merchant in No 416 would point more to a friar than a minstrel, friars are satirized as merchants of this type in a song printed by Wright, Thomas, ed., *Political Poems and Songs* (London, 1859), vol 1, p 263. Compare also Chaucer's Friar, whose

tipet was ay farsed ful of knyves
And pinnes, for to yeven faire wyves

(C T, A 233-4)

⁶ Printed by Wright, *Warton Club Publications*, vol iv, p. 92

⁷ This purpose is obviously the same as that which is responsible for most of the

3. *The 'Christmas Carol'*

The two related aspects of the carol's history which have just been discussed, its character as religious imitation of secular song, and its intimate association with Franciscanism, have a definite bearing upon the specialization of the carol as a Christmas song. The form began to be associated with the Nativity season almost as soon as it appeared in English, and, as more and more carols were sung at that time, and the mediæval round dance was left behind, the word 'carol' itself came to connote singing at Christmas rather than singing to a dance-measure. The large proportion of carols on the Nativity, the Epiphany, and the intervening feast days, represents the response of the carol-writers to the challenge which the popular Christmas customs presented to their special veneration for the season. Christmastide, as the representative of the older pagan winter feast, was one of the chief occasions of popular rejoicing, and hence of those outbreaks of dance and song which so troubled the clergy.¹ It was on Christmas Eve that the famous carollers of Kolbigk disturbed the service with their revelry. And in England, where Christmas was decidedly the greatest popular feast, it was also a time when ribald songs were much in evidence. The concern of a good churchman at this situation is shown by a passage from the fifteenth-century compilation of Thomas Gascoigne:²

Nativitas Domini nostri Jesu Xti. Ideo vos omnes pro quorum salute Xtus venit, cavete et fugite in hoc sacro festo viciosa et turpia, et præcipue cantus inhonestos et turpes qui libidinem excitant et provocant, et memoriam turpibus imaginacionibus maculant, et laedunt, et ymagines imprimunt in mente, quas expellere difficillimum est

Gascoigne goes on to tell of his personal knowledge of a distinguished man who was unable to free his mind from the

mediæval English drama, and the alleged connexion of the Gray Friars with the Coventry plays naturally comes to mind. The Italian Franciscans were at least indirectly concerned with the *sacri rappresentazioni* which developed out of the dialogue form of *lauda*. There is undoubtedly an important relation between carols and mystery-plays as part of the same movement of popular religion (although the work of William J. Phillips, entitled *Carols their Origin, Music, and Connection with Mystery-Plays*, hardly demonstrates it). The subject is touched upon in an article (consisting largely of parallel passages) by Taylor, George C., 'The Relation of the English Corpus Christi

Play to the English Mystery-Play', in *Mod. Lang. Assn. Trans.*, 1901, offers a '...

See also the remarks on the literary activities of the mendicant friars by Brown, Beatrice D., ed., *The Southern Passion* (Early English Text Society, Original Series, No 169, London, 1927), pp. xciii-cx.

¹ See the long series of ecclesiastical prohibitions of pagan rejoicing at Christmas time cited by Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, vol. II, pp. 290-306.

² Rogers, J. E. T., ed., *Loci e Libro Veritatum, Passages Selected from Gascoigne's Theological Dictionary* (Oxford, 1881), p. 144.

memory of a lewd song which he heard on Christmas, and died of the resulting melancholy.

Naturally enough, such songs were infrequently written down, but a few chance survivals indicate that there was plenty of scope for sanctifying activity in the Christmas song of the late Middle Ages. The morality play of *Mankind*, preserved in the Macro MS. of about 1475, makes the enemies of Mankind join in a 'Crystemes songe' which Nought introduces with a couplet similar to many occurring in the carols:¹

Now I prey all þe yemandry þat ys here,
To synge with ws with a mery chere.

The song itself, while not erotic, is a triumph of coarseness. The *Christmas carolles* printed by Richard Kele include two pieces which are sufficiently ribald. One,² the burden of which parodies a phrase of the Paternoster, may be the work of some satirically inclined religious, but the other³ is wholly secular and popular. The fact that these two were published by a reputable printer like Kele in close company with the most pious kind of carol shows that even as late as 1550 the singing of loose songs at Christmas was regarded as a matter of course by many laymen. Hence the Christmas season must have been a time of special effort on the part of the 'minstrels of the Lord' to introduce into the festivities the more wholesome mirth of their carols.

An interesting passage from a tract on the *Ave Maria* by Wyclif shows that the reformer knew both kinds of Christmas song and that, whatever his grievances against the friars, he at least grudgingly approved the use of religious dance-songs in preference to those of 'harlotrie'.⁴

I gesse wel þat 3onge wymmen may sumtyme daunsen in mesure to haue recreation and liztnesse, so þat þei haue þe more pou3t on myrþe in heuene & drede more & loue more god þer-by, & synge honeste songis of cristis incarnacion, passion, resurexion & ascencion, & of þe 10ies of oure lady, & to dispise synne & preise vertue in alle here doynge; but now he þat kan best pleie a pagyn of þe deuyl, syngynge songis of lecherie, of batailis and of lesyngis, & crie as a wood man & dispise goddis maieste & swere bi herte, bonys & alle membris of crist, is holden most merie mon & schal haue most þank of pore & riche; & þis is clepid worschipe of þe grete solempnyte of cristismasse; & þus for þe grete

¹ Furnivall, F. J., and Pollard, Alfred, W. eds., *The Macro Plays* (Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. xci, London, 1904), p. 13.

² No. 461.

³ No. 460.

⁴ Matthew, F. D., ed., *The English Works of Wyclif hitherto Unprinted* (Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 74, London, 1880), p. 206.

kyndenesse & goodnesse pat crist dide to men in his incarnacion we dispisen hym more in outrage of pride, of glotonye, lecherie & alle manere harlotrie

But the celebration of Christmas with godly song and rejoicing was a Franciscan tradition quite independent of the need for reform of popular customs. St. Francis himself took a particular interest in the feast of the Nativity and in devotion to Christ as the Babe of Bethlehem.¹ The long-accepted legend that he first instituted the custom of the Christmas crib at Grecia in 1223 testifies to this interest. Although recent investigation has shown that the crib was in occasional use in the eleventh century or earlier, Francis and his followers did help to make more popular this manner of honouring the Christ-Child.² The emphasis on the humility and poverty of the Divine Infant, which Nativity carol and *noël* so often exhibit, is characteristic of Franciscanism, which embraced humility and poverty as the highest of virtues. The ox and the ass, which appear so frequently in medieval Nativity poetry and art, owe their recognition in part to the love of dumb creatures which Francis preached and for which he is particularly remembered.³ Two of the *laude* of Fra Jacopone da Todi celebrate the Nativity in the fashion of the later English carols, one of them ending with an exhortation to sing like that so often found in the English pieces:⁴

uomini iusti,—che sete endusti,
venite a cantare . .

The particular devotion to the Virgin for which many Franciscans were noted was an additional reason for the attention given the Nativity by poets of the order.

The English religious carol, as preserved in manuscripts of the pre-Reformation period, far from being the spontaneous product of the popular joy at the Christmas season which sentimentalizing writers would like to make of it, is rather one weapon of the Church in her long struggle with the survivals of paganism and with the fondness of her people for unedifying entertainment. It stands removed from true folk-song by one more degree than does the carol *genre* as a whole; it is a pious

¹ See Miles, Clement A., *Christmas in Ritual and Tradition* (London, 1913), p. 36

² Gougaud, L., 'La Crèche de Noël avant Saint François d'Assise', in *Revue des sciences religieuses*, vol. II, pp. 26-34

³ Cf. *Speculum Perfectionis*, cap. cxiv: 'Quod [Franciscus] volebat suadere Im-

peratori ut faceret specialem legem quod in Nativitate Domini homines bene providerent avibus et bovi et asino et pauperibus'

⁴ *Le Laude*, ed. Ferri, No. lxiv, the other Nativity *lauda* is No. lxv

imitation of secular popular song which is itself a development from folk-song. That it was such a successful aid in the cause of religion, that the people accepted and sang the pious carol, even when written by so ungifted a poet as Ryman, speaks well for the close contact with the people and the showmanship of those who introduced it. These were qualities for which the friars were famous; without doubt more of their number than have left any written trace both composed and sang many carols like those here collected.

CHAPTER VI

THE BURDENS OF THE CAROLS

THE burden makes and marks the carol. The presence of an invariable line or group of lines which is to be sung before the first stanza and after all stanzas is the feature which distinguishes the carol from all other forms of Middle English lyric. Its originally choral character and its function in dance song have already been described. But the burdens of the English carols, like the *refrains* of the Old French *chansons*, have an intrinsic interest which is not wholly dependent on their importance for the structure of the pieces which they accompany. They are worth a brief examination for their own sakes, best made by isolating them to some extent from their associated stanza-texts.

Such an isolation is justified by the quasi-independent character of the burden of a carol, a trait which is not shared by the refrain, when there is one. The refrain, as defined in this essay, is a repeated element which forms part of a stanza, in the carols usually the last line. The burden, on the other hand, is a repeated element which does not form any part of a stanza, but stands wholly outside the individual stanza-pattern. The refrain is a member of the stanza; the burden is a member only of the carol as a whole. It is hardly necessary to say that in this work 'burden' is never used in its other sense of an under-song, words to be sung simultaneously with the stanza-text.

Both burden and refrain derive ultimately from choral repetition, and when a recurrent element of this sort has been incorporated into literary poetry, it is often difficult to say whether it is essentially interior or exterior to the stanza. Such is the case, for example, with the 'Cras amet qui nunquam amavit . . .' of the *Pervigilium Veneris* or with the *refrains* of many of the lyrics in Old French. But in the English carol before 1550 there are few cases in which the character of a repeated line or lines can be in doubt. The usual arrangement in the manuscripts shows that the distinction was well recognized. The burden is almost invariably written at the head of the piece; in Balliol College, Oxford, MS. 354 it is sometimes marked 'fote'.¹ Its repetition after every stanza is usually

¹ Not 'foot' in the sense of under-song, but equivalent to 'chorus' or 'burden' as here used, *OED*, s.v. 'Foot', 21 b. Compare Huloet's *Dictionnaire* (revised by John

assumed without written indication, but not infrequently the first few words and '&c.' will be found. A refrain, on the contrary, is ordinarily written in full with the stanza of which it forms a part. As most of the refrain-lines in carols occur as the *caudae* of tail-rime stanzas, they are often written to the right of the bracket enclosing the other lines of the stanza, in the customary way of treating the tail-rime form.¹

It is plain that a burden is less closely tied to a given carol than is a refrain. Removal or damage of a refrain-line, in either oral or written transmission, is immediately obvious; the rime-pattern of the stanza is disturbed. Omission of the burden, while fundamentally more serious in that it changes the piece from a carol to an ordinary poem or song, yet may be superficially less noticeable, for no rime-pattern of a stanza is affected thereby. Conversely, it is fairly easy to make a carol of a song without a choral element by adding a burden to it. Neither is there any difficulty in substituting for one burden another of a rhythmic form which accommodates itself to the melody of a given piece.

Examination of the extant texts shows that such changes were actually made, although not with striking frequency. The transformation of a song without a burden into a carol is to be seen in No. 191. This charming and thoroughly artful little English-Latin poem is found in substantially the same form in two thirteenth-century manuscripts.² In the fifteenth century it reappears, made over into a carol, the last five lines of each original stanza being dropped and the burden 'Enixa est puerpera' prefixed.³

We may infer that the same thing has taken place with No. 123, of which the A-version has a burden and the B has not, and in No. 125, where A alone of the four texts has a burden. In the later A-text of No. 123 the redactor has substituted a Latin refrain, 'Deo Patri sit gloria', for the English lines of B ending in '. . . Marie', and has added a burden of the type which embodies the refrain:

Alleluya, alleluya,
Deo Patri sit gloria.

Higgins, London, 1572) 'Foote of a dittie, or verse, whiche is often repeated Versus intercalaris. *Refrainces de balades*'

¹ e.g., No 185 B, Bodleian Library MS Arch Selden B 26, f. 10 v facsimile in *Early Bodleian Music*, No. 11

² British Museum MS Egerton 613, f.

21, Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. B 14 39, f. 24 v

³ Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 1393, f. 69 v Wells, *Manual*, p. 532, wrongly describes the piece as 'with music', it is not so written

In the case of No 125, the three texts without a burden probably represent the original form of the piece. The 'bob-and-wheel' stanza used is not frequent in carols, and the burden which appears in the Sloane MS. 2593 seems ill fitted. It was probably added by some one who wished to make a carol out of what was already a very good song for the Epiphany.

The texts yield no certain evidence for the loss of a burden from a carol without its replacement by another, except Wiat's No 468 B. In No. 152 c stanzas from a carol alternate with stanzas from a Latin hymn. No. 79 B may be an instance, but it is possible that the third and fourth lines of the stanza were used as a burden rather than as a refrain.

The substitution of one burden for another occurs in a few cases which may be noted without any attempt to determine which burden is the earlier. No. 122 exhibits three different burdens in as many manuscripts:

A Nowel, nowel, nowel.

B Nowel, el, el, el,
Now is wel that euere was woo

C Conditor alme siderum,
Eterna lux credencium.

No. 35 appears in two versions with different burdens.

No. 157 presents an interesting case of a carol with different burdens in different versions. In B it begins as follows:

(Burden) 'Mary modyr, cum and se:
Thi Son is naylyd on a tre.

(Stanza 1) 'His body is wappyd all in wo,
Hand and fot; he may not go,
Thi Son, lady, that thou louyst soo,
Nakyd is naylyd vpon a tre'

In C:

(Burden) Nowel, el, el, el, el, el, el, el,
el, el, el, el, el, el, el, el!

(Stanza 1) 'Mary moder, cum and se.
Thi Sone is naylyd on a tre,
Hand and fot; he may not go;
His body is woundyn al in woo.'

In A:

(Burden) Gaudeamus synge we
 In hoc sacro tempore,
 Puer nobis natus est
 Ex Maria virgine

(Stanza 1) 'Mary moder, come and se
 Thy Sone is nayled on a tre,
 Hande and fote, he may not go,
 His body is wrapped all in wo'

These three versions represent the work of three different carol-writers bent on the same object, the turning into a carol of a sacred poem not in carol form. Their material was some text of the verse dialogue between Jesus and the Virgin which appears in Friar Johan de Grimestone's commonplace book,¹ a non-stanzaic piece in couplets, beginning.

Maiden and moder, cum and se
 Thi child is nailed to a tre,
 Hand and fot, he may nouth go,
 His bodi is wonden al in wo.

The individual whose work C represents simply added a 'Noel' burden, the writer of A the more elaborate Latin-English lines. The author of B, however, took the first two lines of the poem to serve as a burden, and replaced them in the stanza with the weak and redundant third and fourth lines quoted above. It is to be noted that the three versions show different methods of breaking the original material up into stanzas; C is in four-line monorime stanzas (except stanza 1), B in regular four-line tail-rime stanzas, and A in similar tail-rime stanzas (except stanza 1).

Frequently one line of a couplet burden will differ in variants when the other line remains the same, or a line may be omitted or repeated in one version. The repetition or omission is probably due in many cases to the demands of the musical settings which are not written down. In No 18, for example, one of the few carols for which music is preserved in two manuscripts, the words of the burden:

[N]owel, nowel, nowel!
 To vs is born owr God Emanuel,

are to be sung once according to the music in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O 3 58, and twice according to that of Bodleian

Library MS. Arch Selden B. 26. When a line appears in the burden of one text of a carol and not in that of another, it is usually a conventional phrase like 'Now syng we all in fere', which is joined with 'Alma redemptoris mater' in the burden of No. 234 D, but is missing in A, B, and C.¹

The greater part of those carols with burdens preserved in more than one version, show none of these variations; in about two-thirds of the total number the burdens of the several texts are identical or vary only in a word or two.²

There are a number of burdens which are found attached to more than one carol. Repetitions of 'Noel' and 'Alleluia' to form a burden are found in several pieces. Ryman's practice of using the same burden for several carols has been noted. Other burdens which do double duty are the following.³

Man, be glad in halle and bour,
This tyme was born our Sauyour (Nos 16, 27 A)

Nowel syng we now al and sum,
For Rex Pacificus is cum (Nos 21 C, 29)

Lullay, lay, lay, lay,
My dere modyr, lullay (Nos 142 a, 149 b)

Mary modyr, cum and se:
Thi Son is naylyd on a tre. (Nos 157 B, 158)

Syng we to this mery cumpane,
'Regina celi, letare' (Nos 185 B, 186)

Single lines which are found in the burdens of two wholly different pieces are the following.⁴

Timor mortis conturbat me (Nos 369, 370)

Man, asay, asay, asay. (Nos 184, 359)

Amice Christi Johannes. (Nos 103, 104)

Care away, away, away. (Nos 406, 470)

Gramersy myn owyn purs (Nos 390, 391)

Do well, and drede no man. (Nos 354, 387)

By far the most common form taken by the burdens of the carols is the couplet. This predominance of the couplet burden

¹ Cf also Nos 185, 237.

² In 42 of the 65 Nos 7, 8, 17, 27, 36, 42, 81, 91, 95, 114, 117, 124, 132, 136, 145, 150-2, 155, 161, 163, 172, 175, 180, 187, 230, 232, 235, 238, 239, 331, 338, 355, 356, 380, 386, 389, 395, 399, 410, 422, 426

³ In some cases with slight variations Compare also Nos 41 and 183

⁴ Omitting those lines which are only a series of ejaculations like 'A, a, a, a,' or set expressions like 'Syng we, syng we'.

may be regarded as a distinctive feature of the carol form, for in no other type of lyric with burden or refrain is the couplet so common. The burden of a single line, so frequent in medieval French lyrics and in traditional folk-song, is of exceptional occurrence in the carols.¹ That it was not regarded as a good form by carol-writers is shown by the number of cases in which a single line borrowed from Latin hymnody is made into a couplet by the addition of a conventional phrase.² Burdens of more than two lines are far more numerous, but still form only about a fourth of the total number.³ The ten-line burdens of Nos. 263 a and 458, and the thrice-repeated quatrain of No. 464 are the farthest removed of any from the simplicity of a burden adapted for dance-song.

The linking of burden and stanza by rime, a practice common in French *chansons à danser* and in the Italian *ballata*, is frequent also in the carols. It is usually found in carols in tail-rime stanzas, the *caudae* riming with each other and with the couplet burden. Audelay uses a special device for the linking of stanza and burden, which is also found in a few carols other than his. This is the addition to the stanza of an invariable tag or phrase of a few words which rimes with the burden and serves as a transitional element. Audelay's carol to St. Anne has such tags:⁴

(Stanza 1) Swete Saynt Anne, we the beseche,
 Thou pray fore vs to Oure Laday
 That heo wel be oure souls leche
 That day when we schul dey;
 Herefore we say.

(Burden) The moder of Mary, that merceful may,
 Pray fore vs both nyght and day

These are plainly survivals from the dance-song prototypes of the carol, where such tags served as cues to the chorus to join in the burden.

It would not be surprising to find that the carol, deriving its form ultimately from folk-song for the dance, and doubtless often sung to the melodies of secular dance-song, occasionally borrowed a burden entire from the same source. In the nature of things a burden of dance-song would have wider circulation

¹ Nos. 14 b and c, 93, 122 A, 149 d, 157 C, 191 A, 220-6, 234 A, B, and C, 236, 237 A, 243 b, 366. The division of burdens into lines is a matter in which editors do not always agree, some which I divide have been

printed elsewhere as one line.

² e.g., Nos. 21 A, B, D, 234 D.

³ There are 111 in all, including those in which the burden is a couplet repeated.

⁴ No. 311.

and greater vitality than the stanza-text; the latter might be known only to the leader who sang the solo part, whereas the burden, repeated after every stanza by the entire chorus, would inevitably be fixed in the memories of many. Burdens, more than any other part of folk-song, lay ready to the hand of the mediæval song-writer who composed for the people songs in the style of those they already knew.

The burden of No. 440, perhaps the earliest of all the carols here collected, is regarded by critics generally as borrowed outright from folk-song.¹ Whether any others are similarly taken over is less certain. The following are the only ones which seem to the present writer to be possible survivors from folk-song. Like 'Blow, northerne wynd', they are mostly associated with love-songs:

Hey now, now, now! (No. 93)

Com home agayne,
Com home agayne,
Min owine swet hart, com home agayne,
Ye are gone astray
Owt of your way;
There[fore] com h[o]me agayne (No. 270)

Care away, away, away,
Care away for euermore (No. 406)

Hey, howe!
Sely men, God helpe yowe (No. 409)

This day day dawes,
This gentill day day dawes,
This gentill day dawes,
And I must home gone
This gentill day dawes,
This day day dawes,
This gentill day dawes,
And we must home gone. (No. 432)

Who so lyst to loue,
God send hym right good spede. (No. 442)

So well ys me begone,
Troly, lole,
So well ys me begone,
Troly, loly. (No. 446)

¹ See ten Brink, B, *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur* (Strassburg, 1877-93), vol. 1, p. 382.

Greene growith the holy,
 So doth the iue,
 Thow wynter blastys blow neuer so hye,
 Grene growth the holy. (No 448)

[Nou] sprɪ[nke]s the sprai,
 Al for loue icche am so seek
 That slepen I ne mai (No 450)

Rybbe ne rele ne spynne yc ne may
 For joyghe that it is holyday (No 452)

Alas, ales, the wyle!
 Thout Y on no gyle,
 So haue Y god chence
 Ala[s], ales, the wyle
 That euer Y cowde daunce! (No 453)

Were it vndo that is ydo,
 I wold be war. (No 455)

Yow and I and Amyas,
 Amyas and yow and I,
 To the grenewode must we go, alas!
 Yow and I, my lyff, and Amyas. (No. 463)

Vp, son and mery wether,
 Somer draweth nere. (No 469)

There are more than a few burdens, however, with wording which suggests imitation of folk-song, either direct or, in the case of religious carols, by imitation of secular popular song based on folk-song. One group of such burdens is made up of those composed in part of sound of onomatopoeic or exclamatory value. A number are Latin, for example:¹

A, a, a, a,
 Nu[n]c gaudet ecclesia.

The same line is combined with English words in

A, a, a, a,
 Yet I loue wherso I go,²

but usually in English burdens of this sort the exclamatory syllable is 'Hey' or 'aye', as in

Hey, hey, hey, hey!
 The borrys hede is armyd gay³

¹ No 114, similar burdens are those of Nos. 188, 232, 313, 429

² No 414

³ No 135

It occurs even with a carol having no suggestion of joviality ¹

Hay, hay, hay, hay!
Thynke on Whitson Monday

There can hardly be any doubt that the mediæval Englishman often stamped his feet in a round dance in time with a 'hey, hey' of this sort. Similar use of the 'o' sound is less successful 'Po, po, po, po,' ² might go well enough, but there is only artificiality in Ryman's

O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O,
O Deus sine termino ³

The imitation of the sounds of musical instruments in burdens is a kind of onomatopoeia more in evidence in French song than in English. Many a *chanson* uses a phrase like 'Don, don farilari don', ⁴ or 'Trairi deluriau, deluriau, delurièle', ⁵ and the sound of the drum is imitated in many a soldier song and even in the *noël* ⁶. But the shepherd's pipe alone is represented in the burdens of the carols, and that only in one which begins with 'Tyrle, tyrlo'. ⁷

Of a less elementary nature, but still closely related to the choral use of the burden in the dance, are those burdens which allude directly to the dancing group. Of these other lands have left far richer store than England, and those which do remain in English are principally to be found in traditional folk-song. There is but one example among the carols, the burden of No 12 ⁸

Honnd by honnd we schulle ous take,
And joye and blisse schulle we make,
For the deuel of elle man haght forsake,
And Godes Sone ys maked oure make

These pious lines are plainly an imitation of the burden of some song for a round dance; the first two lines may be taken over unchanged from a secular piece.

There are a large number of burdens, however, which mention the singing group. These are mostly exhortations to sing and be merry, and, while they are probably not close imitations of folk-song, they do imply the communal performance of the

¹ No. 425, on the execution of Archbishop Scrope

² No 134

³ No 284

⁴ Gérold, *Chansons populaires*, No xxxvi

⁵ Tiersot, Julien, *Histoire de la chanson*

populaire en France (Paris, 1889), p 153.

⁶ 'Guillô, pran ton tamborin,' in de Smidt, *Les Noels et la tradition populaire*,

p 223

⁷ No 79 A

⁸ But compare No 453

carols which remained even after they were dissociated from actual dancing. In some it is merely the natural holiday spirit which is expressed, for example:¹

Make we mery, bothe more and lasse,
For now ys the tyme of Crystymas

But more often, in keeping with the religious purpose of the carols, it is made plain that it is godly mirth which is to be enjoyed:²

Nowe lete vs syng and mery be,
For Crist oure Kyng hathe made us fre.

One such line is frequently combined with a Latin line to form a burden, thus:³

Now be we glad and not to sad,
For verbum caro factum est

The burdens of the lullaby carols form a class by themselves. Their characteristic feature is a free use of the soothing onomatopoeia 'lullay'. This is, of course, in imitation of real folk-lullabies; a similar sound was used by those first-century nurses whom Persius reports as singing to their charges:⁴

Lalla lalla lalla, aut dormi aut lacte,

and doubtless by many generations before them. The frequent appearance of such soothing sounds in a form of verse which has been so closely associated with social dance as the carol-burden may seem a little strange, even when it is recalled that a round dance about the Christmas crib has been a common feature of Continental celebrations.⁵ The burden as a feature of lullabies has no doubt a long history of its own, quite independent of the dance. But the ultimate reason for its being is a need similar to that responsible for the dance-burden: the need for periodic repetition. The situation is neatly put by Tiersot in his discussion of the popular *berceuse*:⁶

Cette condition première, [de la berceuse] c'est la régularité du rythme, la monotonie du dessin mélodique, dont le retour périodique et incessant . . . calme les nerfs et provoque le repos. Si déjà l'enfant parle, il faut en outre que les vers, par leur peu de signification, ne tiennent pas son attention en éveil: une série de syllabes formant des semblants

¹ No 11

² No 55

³ No 38

⁴ *Scholæ*, III, 16, in Allen, F. D., *Remnants of Early Latin* (Boston, 1908), p. 94

⁵ Especially in the *Kindelwrege* of

fifteenth-century Germany. See Miles, *Christmas in Ritual and Tradition*, p. 111

⁶ *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France*, p. 133

de mots, . . quelques paroles sans suite, des images très simples surtout, avec force diminutifs, et cela répété indéfiniment, . . voilà ce qui convient à la berceuse.

The burdens of the lullaby carols show just these qualities in greater or less degree, keeping a likeness to a real lullaby even when the matter of the stanzas is literary and religious dialogue, suggesting neither cradle nor dance. The song of the mothers of the Innocents in the Coventry Plays has a burden with the proper monotony and slightness of idea.¹

Lully, lulla, thow littell tine child,
By, by, lully, lullay, thow littell tyne child,
By, by, lully, lullay.

In a few pieces the subject of the stanza-text also intrudes into the burden, displacing the simple 'lulling' sounds, for example.²

Lullay, my chyld, and wepe no more,
Slepe and be now styll,
The Kyng of Blys thi Fader ys,
As it was hys wyll.

In one carol the opening formula of the *chanson d'aventure* type has been isolated and made into a burden.³

The many carols of prevailingly moral or sententious content are provided with burdens which reflect, or perhaps rather set, the tone of the entire piece, even as 'Noel' strikes the note proper to a song of joy, or 'lullay' that for a slumber-song. No type of burden is better suited to these moralizing carols than one which states aptly the point of all its teaching, which embodies in an easily remembered couplet a sentiment which can appropriately be repeated after each stanza. Audelay recognized this, for example, when he wrote his defence of the established order with the heading 'Fac ad quod venisti'.⁴ After the exposition of each stanza comes, first the tag 'I say all gate' then the burden.

Hit is the best, erele and late,
Vche mon kepe his oun state.

Such a combination of sententious content and striking and compact expression constitutes the peculiar merit of the popular proverb, and it is not surprising to find that a number

¹ No. 112. Similar are Nos 142 a, 143,
144, 146 A, 149, 153

² No 151 A. Similar are Nos 145, 147.
³ No 150

⁴ No 347

of carol-burdens embody expressions which served the Middle Ages as proverbs or bywords. One burden explicitly acknowledges the borrowing:¹

An old sawe hath be fownd trewe
'Cast not away thyn old for newe'

The currency of some of these apophthegms is attested by their preservation in other bits of contemporary writings. Two mildly cynical carols on the power of money have burdens embodying the line 'Gramercy my own purse'.² The same sentence appears as the refrain of a poem similar in sentiment but in the more literary eight-line refrain stanza, printed with other proverbial and miscellaneous lore at the end of Wynkyn de Worde's 1496 edition of *The Boke of St. Albans*.³ It is interesting to see the famous rallying-cry of John Ball's followers in the rebellion of 1381 doing duty, slightly adapted, as the burden of a quite uninflamatory carol on the narrative of the Fall.⁴

Now bething the, gentilman,
How Adam dalf and Eue sp[an]

Two other proverbs used as watchwords of the same insurrection appear in carol-burdens, they are written into the letter to the rebellious leaders of Essex which is well known for its allusion to the hero of *Piers Plowman*. The doggerel containing them is as follows:⁵

Iohan þe Mullere haþ ygrounde smal, smal, smal;
þe Kynges sone of heuene schal paye for al
Be war or ye be wo;
Knoweþ þour freend fro þour foo;
Haueth ynow, and seith 'Hoo';
And do wel and bettre, and fleth synne,
And sekeþ pees, and hold þou þerinne,
and so biddeþ Iohan Trewman and alle his felawes

The third line of the above begins the burden of a carol against pride:⁶

Man, be war er thou be wo
Think on pride, and let hym goo

¹ No 346

² Nos 390, 391

³ Reprinted by Ritson, *Ancient Songs* (1877), p. 152

⁴ Walsingham, Thomas, *Historia Brevis*, in Camden, William, *Anglica, Normannica, Cambrica, a Veteribus Scripta* (Frankfort,

1603), p. 275, describes Ball's preaching to an assembly at Blackheath on the text 'Whan Adam dalf and Eve span, who was than a Gentleman?' The carol is No 336.

⁵ Sisam, Kenneth, ed., *Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose*, p. 161

⁶ No 355, compare No. 325.

The fifth occurs in the burden of a carol on the covetousness of men in high stations:¹

Forsothe, I hold hym well and withowt woo
That hath ynowgh and can say 'Whoo!'

The second line of the burden of a carol of worldly counsel,²

Bewar, sqwyer, yeman, and page,
For seruyse is non erytage,

had wide currency as a proverb. It was apparently an established practice for a carol-writer to utilize as the burden of a piece some common moral or prudential saying suited to his purpose and at the same time accepted by the people to whom he addressed his song.³ A few carols have burdens taken from similar maxims of the Latin Scriptures. That of No. 351, for example, is from Psalm lxi 10:

Diusie si affluent,
Nolite cor apponere.

The burden, in the carols here collected, is more than an irrelevant exclamatory chorus, such as it often is in folk-song, where its structural importance wholly overshadows its meaning. Like the carols themselves it is usually popular by destination rather than by origin, it may use folk-material, but seldom without adapting it to meet the requirements of a missionary purpose. Most of the burdens were probably written by the same hands that produced the associated stanza-texts, and so well do they sum up the matter of the stanzas that a classification of the carols by subjects could almost be made from examination of the burdens alone.

¹ No 350.

² No 381

³ On the importance of the proverb in

medieval thought see Huizinga, J., *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1927), pp 209-10

THE TEXTS

ALL the texts here presented have been newly edited from the original manuscripts and printed sources described in the Bibliography, with the exception of items from the Huntington Library, which have been edited from rotograph copies kindly supplied by the authorities of that institution, and of two items from a manuscript which has been destroyed (Nos. 79 B, 112) Reference is made to two other variant texts which I have not seen in the original manuscripts (Nos 263 k, 309 j)

Emendation is as sparing as possible The original spelling has been retained throughout, except that þ and ȝ have been transliterated into their modern equivalents and i and j are printed according to modern practice. Punctuation, capitalization, and division of words follow modern usage and have been supplied by the present editor. Manuscript abbreviations are expanded in italics, and words and letters supplied by the editor are enclosed in square brackets.

Erasures, scribal corrections, and minor palaeographical peculiarities are not recorded. Neither has it seemed worth while to record the errors in transcription, frequent in some texts, of previous editors The record of previous publications in the Notes confines itself in general to unmodernized texts with some pretensions to scholarship.

The method of numbering the texts is patterned on that of Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads* Each distinct carol is given a serial number. Variant versions of significant dissimilarity are indicated by suffixed capital letters and are printed in full Versions consistently close to the text chosen as the best are represented by notes of those variant readings which affect the meaning, mere differences in spelling being ignored In such cases the several texts are indicated by suffixed lower-case letters. The texts designated by A or a are those which are fullest, or, in cases of equal or nearly equal length, those which seem best in sense and style.

I

British Museum MS Addit. 5665

XVI cent.

f. 19 v.

O radix Jesse, supplices
 Te nos inuocamus,
 Veni vt nos liberes
 Quem iam expectamus
 O radix Jesse, sup[pl]ices
 Te nos inuocamus;
 Veni vt nos liberes,
 Quem iam expectamus

f. 20 r

[1]

O of Jesse thow holy rote,
 That to thi pepill arte syker merke,
 We calle to the; be thow oure bote,
 In the that we gronde all owre werke

MS heading In die natiuitatis stza 2, l 2 written at the foot of the page, with insertion indicated by carets

[2]

Thy laude ys exalted by lordes and
 kynges, f. 19 v
 No man to prayse the may suffice,
 Off the spryngith vertu and all gode
 thynges,
 Come and delyuere vs fro owre malice

[3]

Off the may no malice growe,
 That thou thyselue arte pure gode-
 nesse,
 In the be rotedde what we showe,
 And graunte ows blisse after owre
 decesse.

2

British Museum. MS Addit 5665

XVI cent.

f. 20 v

O claus Daud inclita,
 Dans viam in portis,
 O claus Daud inclita,
 Dans viam in portis,
 Educ nos de carcere,
 Educ nos de carcere
 Et de vmbra mortis

f. 21 r.

[2]

We be in prison, vn vs haue f. 21 v
 mynde,
 And lose vs fro the bonde of synne,
 For that thou locest no man may bynde,
 For that thou locest no man may bynde,
 And that thou locest may no man
 bynde

[1]

O Daud, thow nobell key, f. 21 v.
 Cepter of the howse of Israell,
 Thow opyn the gate and geff vs f. 22 r
 way,
 Thou open the gate and geff vs way,
 And saue vs fro owre fendys felle

[3]

Lord, bowe thyn yere, to the we calle,
 Delyuere thou vs fro wyckednesse,
 And bryng vs to thy joyfull halle,
 [And bryng vs to thy joyfull halle]
 Where euer ys lyff withowten dess-
 tresse.

MS heading In die natiuitatis

MS marks burden Chorus Below it is Smert

A repetition of the burden is indicated by. O claus vt supra

After stza 2 is written Troulouffe Jhon After stza 3 Smert Ric⁹

The word Chorus is written before the musical notation of the middle part which enters
 with stza 1, l 4

3

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1 12. By James Ryman (?), c. 1492.
f 58 v.

Farewele, Aduent; Cristemas is cum,
Farewele fro vs both alle and sume

[1]

With paciens thou hast vs fedde
And made vs go hungrie to bedde,
For lak of mete we were nyghe dedde;
Farewele fro [vs both alle and sume]

[2]

While thou haste be w^{ith}in oure howse
We ete no puddynges ne no sowce,
But styngkng fisshe not worthe a lowce;
Farewele [fro vs both alle and sume]

[3]

There was no fresshe fisshe ferr^e ne nere,
Salt fisshe *and* samon was to dere,
And thus we haue had hevy chere;
Farewele [fro vs both alle and sume]

[4]

Thou hast vs fedde w^{ith} plaices thynne,
Nothing on them but bone and skynne;
Therefore oure loue thou shalt not
wynne;
Farewele [fro vs both alle and sume]

[5]

W^{ith} muskilles gaping affure the mone
Thou hast vs fedde at nyght *and* none,
But ones a wyke, and that to sone;
Farewele [fro vs both alle and sume.]

[6]

Oure brede was browne, oure ale was
thynne,
Oure brede was musty in the bynne,
Oure ale soure or we did begynne;
Fare[wele fro vs both alle and sume]

[7]

Thou art of grete ingratitude
Good mete fro vs for to ex- f. 59 r
clude,
Thou art not kyende but verey reude,
Farewele [fro vs both alle and sume]

[8]

Thou dwellest w^{ith} vs ayenst oure wille,
And yet thou gevest vs not oure fille,
For lak of mete thou woldest vs spille,
Farewele [fro vs both alle and sume]

[9]

Aboue alle thinge thou art a meane
To make oure chekes bothe bare *and*
leane,
I wolde thou were at Boughton Bleane!
Farewele [fro vs both alle and sume.]

[10]

Come thou no more here nor in Kent,
For, yf thou doo, thou shalt be shent,
It is ynough to faste in Lent,
Farewele [fro vs bothe alle and sume]

[11]

Thou maist not dwelle w^{ith} none ea-
state,
Therfore w^{ith} vs thou playest chekmate
Go hens, or we will breke thy pate!
Farewele [fro vs both alle and sume]

[12]

Thou maist not dwell w^{ith} knyght nor
squier;
For them thou maiste lye in the myre;
They loue not the nor Lent, thy sire;
Farewele [fro vs both alle and sume.]

[13]

Thou maist not dwell w^{ith} labouring
man,
For on thy fare no skille he can,
For he must ete bothe now *and* than,
Fare[wele fro vs both alle and sume.]

[14]

Though thou shalt dwell w^{ith} monke *and*
frere,
Chanon *and* nonne ones euery yere,
Yet thou shuldest make vs better chere,
Fare[wele fro vs both alle and sume]

[15]

This tyme of Cristes feest natall
 We will be mery, grete and small,
 And thou shalt goo oute of this halle;
 Farewele [fro vs both alle and sume]

stza 1, 1 4 MS fare wele fro &c
 stza 6, 1 4 MS fare &c
 stzas 7, 8, 15, 1 4 MS fare wele &c

[16]

Aduent is gone; Cristemas is cume;
 Be we mery now, alle *and* sume;
 He is not wise that wille be dume
 In ortu Regis omnium.

stzas 2, 3, 5, 9, 10, 1 4 MS. fare wele &c.
 stzas 12, 13, 1 4 MS fare &c

4

Bodleian Library Douce fragments f 48.

XVI cent.

f 3 v

Farewell, Aduent, *and* haue good daye!
 Chrystmas is come, nowe go thy way

[1]

Get the hence! What doest thou here?
 Thou hast no loue of no beggere,
 Thou makest vs fast with euyll chere,
 With 'Farewell, Aduent'

[2]

Thou takest on the more than doth the
 Lent;
 Thou dwellest so long that thou art
 shent;

.

stza. 2, 1. 2. Thou] Orig. Theu.

5

Bodleian Library. MS. Arch. Selden B 26.

XV cent.

f. 8 r

Go day, go day,
 My lord Syre Cristemasse, go day!

[1]

Go day, Syre Cristemas, *our* kyng,
 For euery man, both olde *and* yynge,
 Ys glad *and* blithe of *your* comynge;
 Go day!

[2]

Godys Sone so moche of myght
 Fram heuen to erthe down is lyght
 And borne ys of a mayde so bryght;
 Good day!

[3]

Heuen *and* erthe *and* also helle,
 And alle that euer in hem dwelle,
 Of *your* comynge they beth ful snelle;
 Good day!

[4]

Of *your* comynge this clerkys fynde:
 Ye come to saue al mankynde
 And of here balys hem vnbynde;
 Good day!

[5]

Alle maner of merthes we wole make
 And solas to oure hertys take,
 My semely lorde, for youre sake;
 Good day!

Under the words of the refrain is written Chorus.

6

British Museum MS Addit 5665.

XVI cent

f 8 v

'Nowell, nowell, nowell, nowell '
 'Who ys there that syngith so,
 Nowell, nowell, nowell '
 'I am here, Syre Cristesmasse '
 'Wellcome, my lord *Ser Cristesmasse*,
 Wellcome to vs all, bothe more f 9 r.
 and lasse,
 Com nere, nowell '

[1]

Dievs wous garde, byewsser, tydynges
 Y yow bryng
 A mayde hathe born a chylde full yong,
 The weche causeth yew for to syng
 Nowell,*nowell,nowell,nowell,* f 9 v
 Nowell, nowell, nowell, nowell,
 Nowell, nowell

MS. heading In die natiuitatis

[2]

Criste is now born of a pure f 8 v.
 mayde;
 In an oxe stalle he ys layde,
 Wherefor syng we all atte a brayde
 Nowell, [nowell, nowell, nowell,
 Nowell, nowell, nowell, nowell,
 Nowell, nowell]

[3]

Bevvex bien par tutte la company,
 Make gode chere *and* be ryght meiy,
 And syng wth vs now joyfully.
 Nowell, [nowell, nowell, nowell,
 Nowell, nowell, nowell, nowell,
 Nowell, nowell]

7

A

Bodleian Library. MS Douce 302.

By John Audelay, XV cent.

f. 28 r

Welcum, Yole, in glod aray,
 In worchip of the holeday

[1]

Welcum be thou, Heuen Kyng, f. 28 v.
 Welcum, ibore in hon mornynge,
 Welcum to the now wil we syng,
 Welcum, Yole, for euer *and* ay.

[2]

Welcum be thou, Mare myld,
 Welcum be thou *and* thi child,
 Welcum, fro the fynd thou vs schilde,
 Welcum, Yole, fore euer *and* ay.

MS heading In die natalis domini

[3]

Welcum be ye, Steuen *and* Jone,
 Welcum, childern euerechone,
 Welcum, Thomas, marter allon,
 Welcum, Yole, for euer *and* ay.

[4]

Welcum be thou, good New Yere,
 Welcum, the xii days efere,
 Welcum be ye all that bene here,
 Welcum, Yole, for euer *and* ay.

[5]

Welcum be ye, lord *and* lady,
 Welcum be ye, al this cumpane,
 Fore Yolis loue now makis mere!
 Welcum, Yole, fore euer *and* ay

burden, l 1 MS Wwelcum

B

British Museum MS Sloane 2593.

XV cent

f. 32 r

Wolcum, Yol, thou mery man,
In worchepe of this holy day

[1]

Wolcum be thou, Heuene Kyng,
Wolcum, born in on morwenyng,
Wolcum, for hom we xal syng
Wolcum, Yol

[2]

Wolcum be ye, Stefine *and* Jon,
W[o]lcum, Innocentes euerychon,
Wolcum, Thomas, marter on,
Wolcum, Yol

[3]

Wolcum be ye, good Newe Yere,
Wolcum, Twelthe Day bothe in fere,
Wolcum, seyntes lef *and* dere,
Wolcum, Yol

[4]

Wolcum be ye, Candylmesse,
Wolcum be ye, Qwyn of Blys,
Wolcum bothe to more *and* lesse,
Wolcum, Yol.

[5]

Wolcum be ye that arn here,
Wolcum alle, *and* mak good chere,
Wolcum alle another yere,
Wolcum, Yol.

8

a

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet. e r.

XV cent.

f 22 r.

Make we myrth
For Crystes byrth,
And syng we Yole tyl Candelmes.

[1]

The fyrst day of Yole haue we in mynd
How God was man born of owr kynd
For he the bondes wold onbynd
Of all owr synnes *and* wykednes

[2]

The second day we syng of f 22 v.
St[e]vene,
That stoned [was] *and* steyyd vp even
To God, that he saw stond in hevyn,
And crowned was for hys *provesse*.

[3]

The iii day longeth to Sent Johan,
That was Crystys darlyng, derer non,
Whom he betok, whan he shuld gon,
Hys moder der for hyr clenness

[4]

The iii day of the chyldren yong
That Herowd to deth had do *with*
wrong,
And Crist thei covd non tell *with* tong
But *with* ther blod bar hym wytnesse.

[5]

The v day longeth to Sent Thomas,
That as a strong pyller of bras
Held vp the Chyrch, *and* sclayn he was,
For he stod *with* ryghtwessnesse.

[6]

The viii day tok Jhesu hys name,
That saved mankynd fro syn *and* shame,
And circumsysed was for no blame
But for *ensampl*e of meknesse.

[7]

The xii day offerd to hym kynges iii
Gold, myr, *and* cence, thes gyftes free,
For God, *and* man, *and* kyng was he
Thus worschyppeyd thei hys wor-
thynges.

[8]

On the xl day *cam* Mary myld
Vnto the temple with hyr chyld
To shew hyr clen that neuer was fylde,
And therwith endyth Crystmes.

stza. 5, 1 2 pyller] MS pyr pyller. *The entire stanza is struck through in MS*

b *British Museum*. MS Sloane 2593, ff 33 v., 34 r. XV cent.

stza 1, 1 1 haue we] we han 1 2 God was man born] man was born al of
1 3. the bondes wold] wold the bondes 1 4 synnes] synne
stza 2, 1 2 stoned [was] *and* steyyd] stonyd was *and* fid 1 3 To God, that he
saw] with cryst ther he wold
stza 3 1 1. iii] threde. 1 2 derer non] derest on 1 3 Whom he betok]
to hom he tok 1 4 moder der] dere moder hyr] his
stza 4, 1 1 iii] forte 1 2 with herowdes wretthe to deth were throng 1 3.
And] of non] not tell] speke 1 4. hym] omits
stza 5, 1 1 v] fyfte longeth to] halwyte 1 2 That as a strong] ryth as
strong as 1 3 the chyrch] his kyrke he] omits 1 4 with] faste in
stza 6, 1 1 viii] eytende 1 3 no] non 1 4 ensampl of] insaump [*MS.*
damaged] *and*
stza 7, 1 2 *and* cence] incens 1 3 was] is 1 4 Thus worschyppeyd thei]
And thus thei worchepyd
stza 8, 1 1 On] omits. xl] forty. 1 4 therwith] herewith

9

Huntington Library. MS HM 147.

c 1500

f. 113 r.

Welcum, welcum, welcum,
Christe, redemtor omneum

[1]

Now ys cum owre Saueowre,
And now hathe Mare borne a flowre,
To all this wordill a grete soccowre,
Ceh terreque *Domini*.

[2]

Now be the Juys fallyn in fyghte
Of Seynt Stevyn, that nobull knyghte;
Because he sayde he saw a syghte,
Lapidauerunt *Stephanum*.

[3]

Seynt Johan, that was a martyr fre,
On Crystes lappe aslepe lay he;
Of hevyn he saw the preuete;
Aduocatur *conuiuio*.

[4]

Erode, that was so full of syne,
Let sle the chuldryn of Israell kyn
Of too yere age *and* eke withyn
In Bethelhem *conuiuio*

[5]

Seynte Thomas, that was a *marter* good,
Ther came knyghtes bothe ferse *and*
woode,
They steryde his brayne *and* schede his
blode,
Sic passus est *martyrium*

[6]

Ther came three knyghtes with rache
presens,
Offryde golde, myrre, frankeandsence,
Offryng with grete honnowre *and* re-
uerens,
Adorauerunt *puerum*

stza 5, 1 4 *martyrium*] MS *martyrium*.

10

British Museum MS Addit. 14997.

4 October 1500

f 44 v

Hay, ay, hay, ay,
Make we mere as we may

[1]

Now ys Yole comyn *with* gentyll chere;
Of merthe *and* gomyn he has no pere,
In euery londe where he comys nere
Is merthe *and* gomyn, I dar wele say

[2]

Now ys comyn a messyngere
Of yore lorde, *Ser* Nu Yere,
Byddes vs all be mere here
And make as mere as we may.

stza 1, 1 1 MS gentyll g chere

At end In die dominica prima post festum sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regis henrici septimi post conquestum anglie sextodecimo illa res erat scripta primo.

[3]

Therefore euery mon that ys here f 45r
Synge a caroll on hys manere;
Yf he con non we schall hym lere,
So that we be mere allway

[4]

Whosoeuer makes heve chere,
Were he neuer to me dere,
In a dyche I wolde he were,
To dry hys clothys tyll hyt were day

[5]

Mende the fyre, *and* make gud chere!
Fyll the cuppe, *Ser* Botelere!
Let euery mon drynke to hys fere!
Thys endes my caroll *with* care away.

11

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354.

XVI cent.

f 223 v.

Make we mery, bothe more *and* lasse,
For now ys the tyme of Crystymas.

[1]

Lett no man cum into this hall,
Grome, page, nor yet marshall,
But that sum sport he bryng *with*hall,
For now ys the tyme of Crystmas

[2]

Yff that he say he can not syng,
Sum oder sport then lett hym bryng,

At end. Explicit

That yt may please at thys festyng,
For now ys the tyme of Crystmas

[3]

Yff he say he can nowght do,
Then for my loue aske hym no mo,
But to the stokkes then lett hym go,
For now ys the tyme of Crystmas.

12

a

Bodleian Library. MS. Bodley 26.

c. 1350

f 202 v

Honnd by honnd we schulle ous take,
And joye *and* blisse schulle we make,
For the deuyl of elle man hagt for-
sake,
And Godes Sone ys maked oure make

[1]

A child is boren amo[n]ges man,
And in that child was no wam;
That child ys God, that child is man,
And in that child oure lif bygan.

[2]

Senful man, be blithe and glad
 For your mariage thy peys ys grad
 Wan Crist was boren,
 Com to *Crist*, thy peis ys grad;
 For the was hys blod ysched,
 That were forloren.

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 honnd by honnd thanne
 schulle ous take *et ceterum quod superius dictum est* stza 2 honnd by honnd thanne
 schulle ous take *and joy and blisse* schu[ll]e we make &c stza 3 honnd by honnd *et*
ceterum quod prius

stza 2, 1 2 your] MS thour

[3]

Senful man, be blithe *and* bold,
 For euene ys bothe boght *and* sold,
 Euereche fote
 Com to *Crist*, thy peys ys told,
 For the he yahf a hondrefo[l]d
 Hy lif to bote

stza 3, 1 5 he] MS ye

b Lord Tollemache, *Helmvingham Hall, Suffolk* Helmvingham Hall MS LJ I 7
 p 287 XIV cent (stza 3)

stza 3, 1 3 Euereche] for euery 1 4 Thank thou hym, thi pay is told 1 5
 the] lytyl yahf] yeuyth 1 6 Hys] *And* to] also to

13

British Museum MS Addit 5665.

XVI cent

f 39 v

Proface, welcom, wellcome
 This tyme ys born a chylde of grace,
 That for vs mankynde hathe take,
 Proface
 This day is born a childe of f 40 r
 grace,
 That for vs mankynde hathe take,
 Proface

[1]

A kynges sone and an emperoure
 Ys comyn oute of a maydynys toure,
 With vs to dwelle with grete honowre,
 Proface

MS heading de natuirtate.

[2]

This holy tyme of Cristesmesse f. 39 v
 All sorwe *and* synne we shulde relese
 And caste away all heuynesse,
 Proface

[3]

The gode lord of this place entere
 Seith welcome to all that now apere
 Vnto suche fare as ye fynde here,
 Proface

[4]

Wellcome be this New Ere,
 And loke ye all be of gode chere
 Oure Lorde God be at oure denere!
 Proface

burden, 11 3, 6, stza 1, 1 3 vs] MS vus

14

a

Bridgwater Corporation Muniments, 123
 recto

XV cent.

Letabundus exultet fidelys chorus,
 Alleluia.

[1]

Now well may we myrthys make,
 For Jhesu mankynd hath take
 Of a mayden withoutyne make,
 Gaudeamus.

[2]

A kyng of kynges now forth ys browghth
Off a maydyne that synnyd nowghte,
Nether in ded nether in thowghhte,
Res miranda

[3]

An angell of counsell now ys bore
Off a mayde, as Y sayd before,
To saw all that was forlore,
Sol de stella

[4]

That sonne hath neuer downe-goynge,
And thys lyght no tyme lesyng,
Thys stere ys euermore scheinyng,
Semper clara

[5]

Ryghht as the stere browghht forght a
beme,
Oute of the wych commyghth a mar-
velose streme,
So dud that mayde witlowtyn weme,
Pari forma

At head MS Holy holy holy holy holy *and* yffy yffy

At end MS Holy holy *and* yfy yffy holy yffy Holi stza. 5, l 4 Pari] MS para

b *Bodleian Library*. MS Arch Selden B 26, f 10 r XV cent

c *British Museum* MS Addit 5665, ff 36 v, 37 r XVI cent (burden and stanzas 1-3)

burden b Alleluya c Alleluya, alleluya.

stza 1, l 1 well] c *omits* 1 2 [hesu] b c vs Jhesus mankynd] b c manhode

1 3 b c Only for our synnes sake 1 4 b Alleluya, Alleluya c de virgine Maria.

stza 2, l 1 A] c The 1 2 maydyne] b c maide 1 3 Nether . nether] c Nere . nere

stza 3, l 1. An] c The now] b this day c that day ys] c was bore] b c borne

1 2 c As prophesye sayde befor as] b *omits* 1 3 To] b c For to. all] b c *omit*.

stza 4, l 2 And thys] b Nother his 1 3 Thys] b The

stza 5, l 1 browghht] b bryngeth 1 2 Oute of the wych] b Of whom ther 1 3.

dud that] b childe the withowtyn] b withoute

MS heading c de natiuitate

b marks second Alleluya Chorus

c has Alleluya after stza 1, l. 2 (not written in stzas 2, 3) and after stzas 2, 3, l 4

15

Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C. 506

XV cent.

f 31 v

[1]

Now euery man at my request
Be glad *and* mery all in this fest

This holy tym oure Lord was born
To saue mankynd, that was forlorn,
As sayd prophetes her befor,
Therfor be glad all in this fest.

16

British Museum MS Sloane 2593.

XV cent

f 27 r

[1]

Man, be glad in halle *and* bour,
This tyme was born our Sauyour

In this tyme a chyld was born
To saue tho sowle that wern forlorn,
For vs he werde garlond of thorn;
Al it was for our honour

[2]

The eytende day he was schorn f 27 v.
To fulfyll the lawe that was befor,
Of meknesse he blew his horn
.

[3]

On Good Fryday was don *on* rode;
The Juwes spyltyn his herte blode,
Mary his moder be hym stode.
Ye *ben* our help *and* our socour

[4]

On Esterne Day he *gan* vp ryse
To techyn hem that wern *onwyse*

stza. 2, 1 3 he] MS be.
stza. 5, 1. 4. MS Ye *ben* &c

Jhesu, for *your* woundes five,
Ye *ben* our [help and our socour]

[5]

On Halwyn Thursday he *gan* vpsteye
To his Fader that sit on heye.
Jhesu, for *your* curteysye,
Ye *ben* [our help and our socour]

[6]

On QwytSunday he *gan* doun sende
Wyt *and* wysdam vs to amende
Jhesu, bryng vs to that ende
Withoutyn delay, our Sauyour.

stza. 4, 1 4 MS Ye *ben* our &c

17

a

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. MS. 233.

XV cent.

f 95 v.

Be merye, be merye,
I pray you euerychon

[1]

A pryncypal poynth of charyte
It is so mery for to be,
In hym that is but on.
Be merye

[2]

He that is but on in blys
To vs haue sent hys Son, iwys,
To saue vs fro our fon.
Be merie

[3]

Mary, for *your* Sonys sake,
Saue them all that mery make
And lengest holdyn vppon
Be mery.

[4]

For thei that make mery here
And gladness, *and* in very goode cher,
To blys than mote thei gon.
Be mery

b. Trinity College, Cambridge MS O 3 58, recto XV cent (burden and stanzas
1, 2, one stanza not in a, 3)

stza. 1, 1 2. so] *omits* for] *omits*
stza. 2, 1 1 He] For he 1. 2 haue] hath. 1 4. *omits*
After stza. 2 b has the following stanza

For of a maydyn a child was born
To saue mankende, that was forlorn.
Man, think thereon

stza. 3, 1 1. Mary] Now mary youre] thi 1 2 mery] merthe 1 3 holdyn
vppon] holdy on 1 4. *omits*

18

a

Trinity College, Cambridge MS O 3 58.

XV cent.

recto

[N]owel, nowel, nowel!

To vs is born owr God Emanuel

[1]

In Bedlem this berde of lyf

Is born of Marye, maydyn and wyf,

He is bothe God *and* man, I schryf;

Nowel, nowel!

Thys Prince of Pees xal secyn al stryf

And wone wyth vs perpetuel

[2]

This chyld xal bey vs wyth hys bloyd

And be naylyd vpon the royd;

Hys raunsum pasyth al erdly goyd,

Nowel, nowel!

Allas, qwat wyth dar be so woyd

To sle so jentyll a jowel?

[3]

Be hys powste he his emprys

Schal take fro helle at hys vprys

And saue *mankende* vpon this wys,

Nowel, nowel!

Thus tellth vs the *prophecys*,That he is *kyng* of heuen *and* helle

[4]

This maydenys Sone to hys empere

Schal stey to heuene be his powere,

Hys Holy Gost vs alle xal lere,

No[*wel*,] no[*wel*']

Thei and the Fadyr in feere

Schul *rengne* o God, this leue I weel

[5]

Pray we this chyld wyth good entent

In our deyng he vs *present*Onto hys Fadyr *omnipotent*,

Nowel, nowel!

The *ferste* tydyng of this testament

Browth to vs Seynt Gabryel

b *Bodleian Library* MS Arch Selden B 26, f 27 v. XV cent (burden and stzas 1-3).

burden, l 1. *omits one* Nowel, *repeats entire burden*

stza. 1, l 1 this berde] that child l 3. I schryf] take schrift l 4 now.

l 5 Thys] *omits* secyn] sesestza 2, l 2. the] a l 4 *omits*

stza. 3, l 1 he his emprys] this child shal ryse l 2 Fro helle he shal take his
empryse l 3 vpon] in l 4 *omits*. l 6 Here be forne as they dyde tell

19

Trinity College, Cambridge MS. O. 3. 58.

XV cent

recto

Now may we syngyn as it is,

Quod puer natus est nobis.

[1]

This babe to vs that now is bore,

Wundyrful werkys he hath iwrowt;

He wil not lese that was ilore,

But baldly ayen it bowth.

And thus it is,

Forsothe, iwys,

He askyth nouth but that is hys.

[2]

This chaffare louyd he rith weel.

The prys was hey *and* bowth ful dere,

Qwo wold suffre and for vs feele

As dede that prince withowtyn pere?

And thus it is,

[Forsothe, iwys,

He askyth nouth but that is hys]

[3]

Hys raunsum for vs hath ipayd,
Of resoun than we owyn to ben hys,
Be mercy askyd, and he be prayd,
We may be rith kalange blys

And thus it is,

[Forsothe, iwys,
He askyth nouth but that is hys]

[4]

To sum purpos God made man
I leue weel to saluacyoun,
Qwat was his blood that fro hym ran

But defens ayens dampnacyoun?

And thus it is,

[Forsothe, iwys,
He askyth nouth but that is hys]

[5]

Almythy God in Trynyte,
Thy meicy we pray wyth hool herte
Thy mercy may al woo make fle,
And dangerous dreed fro vs do sterte
And thus it is,
[Forsothe, iwys,
He askyth nouth but that is hys]

stza 2, l 4 withowtyn] MS was owtyne

20

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354.

XVI cent.

f 227 v

Now syng we right as it is,
Quod puer natus est nobis

[1]

This babe to vs now is born,
Wonderfull werkes he hath wrowght
He wold not lesse that was forlorn,
But agayn he hath vs bowght
And thus it is,
Forsoth, ywys,
He asketh nothyng but that is his

[2]

A duffull deth to hym was mente
Whan on the rode his body was spred,
And as a theff he was ther hente,
And on a spere his liff was lede.
And thus it is,
Forsoth, ywys,
He asketh nothyng but that is his

MS marks burden fote

stza. 1, l 2. Wonderfull] MS worderfull.

[3]

'Man, why art thou vnkynd to me?
What woldest thou I did for the
more?
Geve me thy trew harte, I pray the,
Yff thou be dampned it ruthe me
sore'
And thus it is,
Forsothe, ywis,
He asketh nothyng but that is his.

[4]

'Man, I love the, whom loveste thou?
I pray the, torne to me agayn,
And thou shalt be as welcom now
As he that never in syn was seyn'
And thus it is,
Forsoth, ywys,
He asketh nothyng but that is his

At end Explicit.

21

A

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

XVI cent.

f. 222 v

To blis God bryng vs all *and* sum,
Christe redemptor omnium

[1]

In Bedlem, in that fayer cyte,
A chyld was born of Owre Lady,
Lord *and* Prynce that he shuld be,
A solis ortus cardine.

[2]

Chyldren were slayn grett plente,
 Jhesu, for the love of the,
 Lett vs neuer dampned be
 Hostes Herodes ympie

[3]

He was born of Owr Lady
 Wit'howt wembe of her body,
 Godes Son that syttyth on hye,
 Jhesu saluator seculi

stza 1, 1 4 solus] MS solus

[4]

As the son shynyth thorow the glas,
 So Jhesu in her body was,
 To serue hym he geve vs grace,
 O lux beata Trinitas

[5]

Now ys born owr Lord Jhesus,
 That mad mery all vs,
 Be all mery in thys howse,
 Exvltet celum laudibus

At end Explicit

B

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet. e 1.

XV cent.

f. 35 v.

To blys God bryng vs al *and* sum,
Christe redemptor omnium

[1]

In Bedlem, that fayer cyte,
 Was born a chyld that was so fre,
 Lord *and* Prince of hey degre,
Iam lucis orto sidere.

[2]

Jhesu, for the lowe of the
 Chylder wer slayn grett plente
 In Bedlem, that fayer cyte,
 A solis ortus cardine

[3]

As the sune schynyth in the glas,
 So Jhesu of hys moder borne was,
 Hym to serue God gyffe vs grace,
 O lux beata Trinitas

[4]

Now is he owr Lord Jhesus,
 Thus hath he veryly vysyt vs,
 Now to mak mery amo[n]g vs;
 Exultet celum laudibus

C

Trinity College, Cambridge MS O. 3 58

XV cent.

recto

Nowel syng we now al *and* sum,
 For Rex Pacificus is cum.

[1]

In Bedleem, in that fayr cete,
 A child was born of a madyn fre
 That xal a lord *and* prynce be,
 A solis ortus cardine

[2]

Childryn were slayn ful greth plente,
 Jhesu, for the loue of the,
 Qwerfore here sowlys sauyd be,
 Hostis Herodes impie

[3]

As sunne schynyth thorw the glas,
 So Jhesu in his modyr was;
 The to serue now graunth vs gras,
 O lux beata Trinitas

[4]

Now God is comyn to wurchebyn vs;
 Now of Marye is born Jhesus,
 Make we mery amongys vs;
 Exultet celum laudibus

stza. 1, 1 4. cardine] MS cardine -e

D

Cambridge University Library. MS. Ee. 1. 12.

c. 1500

f. 11r

Synge we now both all and sum
Christe redemtor omnium

[1]

In Bethelem, that fayre cite,
 Born was thys chylde so fayer *and* fre,
 That Lorde *and* Kyng shal ever be,
 A solis ortus cardine

[2]

Ryght as the son shynyth on the glasse,
 So Cryste Jesu in Owr Lady was,
 Hym to sarue God sende vs grace,
 O lux beata Trinitas

At end in a later hand which has interlined several words in the carol itself Holy holy.
 The burden is written again at the foot of the page with its melody [Sy]nge we now
 all *and* sum, *Christe* redemtor omnium

[3]

Cheldren were slayne grete plente,
 Jesu Crist, alle for the loue of the,
 Lorde, helpe vs yf thy wyl it be
 Hostis Herodes impie

[4]

Now ys he boren of Owr Lady,
 The Son of the Fader that sytthyt an
 hye,
 For owr synnys cry we all mercy,
 Jesu saluator seculi

22

Trinity College, Cambridge MS. O. 3 58

XV cent.

recto

Now make we merthe al *and* sum,
 For Cristemesse now is icom,
 That hath no pere.
 Syng we alle in fere.
 Now joye *and* blysse,
 Thei xul not mysse
 That makyth good chere

[1]

Now God Almythy doun hath sent
 The Holy Gost to be present,
 To lyth in Mary, maydyn verament,
 That bar Goddys Sone with good entent.

[2]

Now Goddes Sone omnypotent,
 In Mary mylde he hath hent
 Flesch *and* blood, for he hath ment
 Man to restore ayen to his rent.

[3]

To mylde Marye our hert be bent,
 That blysfyl lady so be bent
 To prey for vs we be not schent
 To Jhesu Crist, here Sone so jent.

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 2: that hath no pere Syges
 &c stza 3 that hath no pere &c

23

A

National Library of Scotland. MS Advocates 19. 3. 1.

XV cent.

f. 59r.

Jhesus, almyghty Kyng of Blys,
 Assumpsit carnem virginis.

[1]

As Holy Kyrke makys mynd,
 Intrauit ventris thalamum;
 Fro heyuyn to erthe to saue monkynd
 Pater misit Filium.

[2]

Of Mary mylde Cryste wolde be borne,
Sine virili semine,
To saue monkynd, that was forlorne
Prime parentis crimine.

[3]

To Mare come a messenger,
Ferens salutem homini,
Sche awnswerd hym with mylde chere,
'Ecce ancilla Domini.'

[4]

'Mekely on the tho Holy Goste,
Palacium intrans vteri,
Of al thyng meknes is moste
In conspectu Altissimi.'

[5]

When he was borne that made all thyng,
Pastor creator omnium,
Angelles thei began to syng,
'Veni, redemptor gentium'

[6]

Thre kynges come on goid Twelfth Day,
Stella mycante preuia;
To seche that chylde thei toke tho wey,
Portantes sibi munera

[7]

A sterne forth ladde theis kynges all,
Inquirentes Dominum;
Lying in an asse stall,
Invenerunt puerum.

[8]

For he was Kyng of Kynges heghe,
Rex primus aurum optulit,
And also Lorde and Kyng ful ryght,
Secundus rex thus pertulit

[9]

For he was God, mon, and Kyng, f 59 v.
Mirra mortem retulit;
He hus all to heuyn bryng
Qui mortem cruce voluit.

stza 6, l 1 Twelfth] MS xii At end &c Explicit

B

British Museum MS Harley 275
f. 146 v.

Joy we all now yn this feste,
For verbum caro factum est

[1]

Jhesus, almyghty Kyng of Blys,
Assumpsit carnem virginis;
He was euer and euermore ys
Consors paterni luminis.

[2]

All Holy Church of hym makes mynd
Intrauit ventris thalamum;
From heuen to erthe to saue mankynd
Pater misit Filium.

[3]

To Mary came a messenger,
Ferens salutem homini,
And she answered with myld chere,
'Ecce ancilla Domini'

4008

XV cent

[4]

'The myght of the Holy Goste,
Palacium intrans vteri,
Of all thyng mekenesse is moste
In conspectu Altissimi'

[5]

When he was borne that made all thyng,
Pastor creator omnium, f 147 r.
Angellis then began to syng,
'Veni, redemptor gentium'

[6]

Thre kynges came the twelfth day,
Stella nitente preuia;
To seke the Kyng they toke the way,
Baiulantes munera.

[7]

A sterre furth ledde the kyngis all
Inquirentes Dominum;
Lyggyng in an ox stall
Inuenerunt puerum.

C

[8]

For he was Kyng of Kynges ay,
Primus rex aurum optulit,
 For he was God *and* Lord verray,
Secundus rex thus pertulit

stza 6, 1 1 twelfth] MS xii

[9]

For he was man, the thyrd kyng
Incensum pulcrum tradidit,
 He vs all to his blys brynge,
Qui mori cruce voluit.

stza 8, 1 2 *aurum*] MS *auris*.

24

British Museum MS Sloane 2593

XV cent.

f. 4 v.

Eya, *Jhesus* hodie
Natus est de uirgine

[1]

Blyssid be that mayde Mary,
 Born he was of here body,
 Godis Sone that syttit on hy,
Non ex uirili semine.

[2]

In a manjour of an as
Jhesu lay *and* lullyd was,
 Harde peynis for to pas
Pro peccante homine

stza 3, 1 1 dyuerse] MS dyuesse

[3]

Kynges comyn fro dyuerse londe
With grete yyftes in here honde,
 In Bedlem the chuld they fonde,
Stella ducte lumine

[4]

Man *and* chylde, bothe eld *and* ying,
 Now in his blysfyl comyng
 To that chylde mow we syng,
 'Gloria tibi, Domine'

[5]

Nowel, nowel, in this halle,
 Make merye, I prey you alle,
 Onto that chylde may we calle
Vllo sine crimine

stza 4, 1 1 MS. thing.

25

British Museum. MS Sloane 2593.

XV cent

f. 11 v.

Al the meryere is that place
 The sunne of *grace hym* schynyt in.

[1]

The sunne of *grace hym* schynyt in
 In on day *quan* it was mor[we],
Quan our Lord God born was
Withoute wem or sorwe.

[2]

The sunne of *grace hym* schynyt in
 On a day *quan* it was pryme,
Quan our Lord God born was,
 So wel he knew his tyme

[3]

The sunne of *grace hym* schynyt in
 On a day *quan* it was non,
Quan our Lord God born was
And on the rode don

[4]

The sunne of *grace hym* schynyt in
 On a day *quan* it was vndy[rn,]
Quan our Lord God born was
And to the herte stongyn.

26

British Museum MS. Addit 40166 (C 3)

XV cent

f 12 v

O, O, O, O!

Exultet mundus gaudio

[1]

All this worlde was ful of grace

When Goddes Son yborne was

Bytwyxe an ox and an as,

Positus in presepio

[2]

Withoute payne other loue

Mary bare oure Sauyoure,

To hym we owth to do honoure,

Presulus in iulio.

[3]

Mary was but thirte[n] [yere]

When scho Goddes Son bere;

He ys a lorde without pere,

Gaude, mater, Filio.

[4]

Nere that chylde had be bore, f 13 r

Mon and womon had be lore,

Angels songon hym before,

Primo in seruicio

[5]

He ys wordy to be a kyng

That of nowth hath made all thyng,

Fro heuen to vrthe, wthoute lesyng,

Scandens motu proprio

[6]

Mary moder, mayden of grace,

Quene of heuyn and solace,

Helpe vs to se God in the face,

Quo sedet in solacio.

stza 3, l 1 thirteen] MS xiii^m The end of the line is missing because of a small hole in the leaf

27

A

British Museum. MS. Sloane 2593

XV cent *

f 24 r.

Man, be glad in halle and bour,

This tyme was born our Sauyour

[1]

In this tyme Cryst haght vs sent

His owyn Sone in present

To dwelle wth vs uerement,

To ben our helpe and socour

[2]

In this tyme ros a sterre cler

Ouer Bedlem, as bryght as fer,

In tokenyng that he hadde non per,

Lord God, Kyng, and Emperour

[3]

In this tyme it is befalle

He that deyid for us alle,

Born he was in assis stalle

Of Mary, that swete flour

[4]

In this tyme kemyn thre kynges; f 24 v

He kemyn fro fer wth ryche thynges

For to makyn here offerynges

On here knen wth gret honour.

[5]

In this tyme prey we

To hym that deyid on the tre,

On vs haue mercy and pete

And bryng vs alle to his tour

B

British Museum MS Royal 20 A 1

XV cent.

f 120 r

Mane, be glad in halle and bowre,
This time is bore oure Sauour.

[1]

Al on this tyme God hath ows ysent
Hys ovne Sone on a present,
To dwelle wyt ous in verement,
To be owre help *and* oure socoure

[2]

Al on this tyme hit ys byfalle
He that deyde for vs alle,
Ybore he was in a asse stalle,
Al of Marie, that swete flow[r]
burden, 1 2 time] MS. ttime

[3]

Al on this tyme there were thre kynges,
Well rychelliche they browte offrenge
To presentyn wyt that swete thenge
T[h]at ys oure aldyre Sauour.

[4]

Al on this time a sterre wel bryt,
He mete wyth scheperdeis on a nit,
He tewte hem the wey ful rit
To scheche God owre Sauowre

[5]

Al on this time hit was a sterre wel clere,
God made lyt wytowtow pyre,
And God made goon and Kynge
And Empe[ro]wre]
stza 5, 1 2 wytowtow] MS wyt wytowtow

C

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354.

XVI cent

f. 220 r.

Make we mery in hall *and* bowr,
Thys tyme was born owr Savyowr

[1]

In this tyme God hath sent
Hys own Son to be present,
To dwell *wyth* vs in verament,
God, that ys owr Savyowr.

[2]

In this tyme yt ys befall:
A child was born in an ox stall
And after he dyed for vs all,
God, [that ys owr Savyowr]

[3]

In this tyme an angell bryght
Mete in sheperdes vpon a nyght,
He bade them go anon ryght
To God, that ys our Saviowr

[4]

In this tyme now *pray* we
To hym that dyed for vs on tre
On vs all to haue pytee,
God, that ys owr Saviowr.

At end Explicit.

28

British Museum. MS Sloane 2593.

XV cent

f 28 r.

Man, be merie as bryd on berie,
And al thi care let away

[1]

This tyme is born a chyld ful good,
He that vs bowt vpon the rod;
He bond the deuyl, that is so wod,
Til the drydful domysday.

[2]

Quan the chyld of meche myght
 Wold be born of Mary bryght,
 A tokene he sente to kyng *and* knyght,
 A sterre that schon bothe nyght *and*
 day

[3]

The sterre scon as bryght as fer
 Ouer al the world bothe fer *and* ner,
 In tokene he was *wythoutyn* per,
And pereles he xal lastyn ay

stza 3, 1 2 world] MS wolrd

stza 5, 1 1. twelfth] MS xii

[4]

The eighth day he was circumsise
 For to fulfyll the *profecye*[s],
 The *profetes* *wyth* wordes wyse
 Hym present *wyth* ryche aray.

[5]

The twelfth day come *kynges* thre
 Out of the est *wyth* herte fre,
 To worchepyn hym thei knelyd on kne
Wyth gold *and* myr *and* francincens

stza 4, 1 1 eighth] MS viii.

29

Bodleian Library MS. Arch Selden B 26

XV cent.

f 7 r

Nowel syng we bothe al *and* som,
 Now Rex Pacificus ys ycome.

[1]

Exortum est in loue *and* lysse
 Now Cryst hys grace he gan vs gysse,
 And *wyth* hys body vs bought to blysse,
 Bothe all and sum

[2]

De fructu ventris of Mary bryght
 Bothe God an[d] man in here alyght,
 Owte of dysese he dyde vs dyght,
 Bothe alle *and* summe.

[3]

Puer natus to vs was sent,
 To blysse vs bought, fro bale vs blent,
 And ellys to wo we hadde ywent,
 Bothe alle *and* summe

[4]

Lux fulgebit *wyth* loue *and* lyght,
 In Mary mylde his pynon pyght,
 In here toke kynde *wyth* manly myght,
 Bothe alle *and* summe.

[5]

Gloria tibi ay and blysse.
 God vnto his grace he vs wysse,
 The rent of heuen that we not mysse,
 Bothe alle *and* summe

30

Bodleian Library MS Arch Selden B 26

XV cent

f. 14 v.

Nowel, nowel, nowel,
 Nowel, nowel, nowel¹

[1]

Owt of your slepe aryse *and* wake,
 For God mankynd now hath ytake
 Al of a maide *wythout* eny make,
 Of al women she bereth the belle.
 Nowel¹

[2]

And thorwe a maide faire *and* wys
 Now man is made of ful *grete* pris,
 Now angelys knelen to mannys *seruys*,
And at this tyme al this byfel.
 [Nowel¹]

[3]

Now man is brighter than the sonne,
 Now man in heuen an hye shal wone;
 Blessyd be God this game is begonne,
And his moder emperesse of helle.

[Nowel!]

[4]

That euer was thralle, now ys he fre,
 That euer was smalle, now grete is she,
 Now shal God deme bothe the *and* me
 Vnto his blysse yf we do wel

Nowel!

[5]

Now man may to heuen wende,
 Now heuen *and* erthe to hym they bende,
 He that was foo now is oure frende,
 This is no nay that Y yowe telle

Nowel!

[6]

Now, blessyd brother, graunte vs grace
 A domesday to se thy face
 And in thy courte to haue a place,
 That we mow there synge nowel

Nowel!

31

a

Bodleian Library. MS Arch Selden B 26

XV cent

f. 15 r

Make we joye nowe in this fest,
 In quo *Christus natus est*
 Eya!

[1]

A Patre vnigenitus
 Thorw a maiden is com to vs
 Synge we to here and sey, 'Welcome!
 Veni redemptor gencium'

[2]

Agnoscat omne seculum
 A bryght sterre thre kynges [made] come
 For to seke with here presens
 Verbum supernum prodiens

[3]

A solis ortus cardine,
 So myghty a lord was none as he,
 For to oure kynde he hath yeue gryth,
Adam parens quod polluit

[4]

Maria ventre concepit,
 The Holy Gost was ay here with
 In Bedleem yborne he ys,
Consors paterni luminis

[5]

O lux beata Trinitas!
 He lay bytwene an oxe *and* asse.
 Thou moder *and* maiden fre,
 Gloria tibi, Domine

b Bodleian Library MS Eng. poet. e 1, ff 32 v, 33 r XV cent

c. British Museum MS Addit. 5665, ff 28 v, 29 r XVI cent (burden and stzas 1, 2)

burden, 1 1 nowe] b omits Make we joye nowe] c Now make we joye 1 3 b c omit
 c repeats entire burden

stza 1, 1 2 c in yong maydens cam till vs Thorw] b to 1 3 to here] b of hym
 c to hym

stza 2, 1 2 thre] b omits c in b c have made 1 3 seke] b take 11 3, 4 c
 substitutes stza 3, 11 1, 2, and adds Veni redemptor gencium

stza 3, 1 2 was] b c is 1 3 For] b and kynde] b lord yeue] b omits 1 4 b omits
 stza 4, 1 3 In] b of hyr in yborne] b now born

stza 5, 1 1 O lux] b Olme 1 2 He] b That and] b an a 1 3 Thou] b By hys
 and] b omits MS heading c de natiuitate

32

Bodleian Library MS. Arch. Selden B 26

XV cent

f 23 v

An heuenly songe, Y dere wel say,
Is sunge in erthe to man this day

[1]

This is the songe that ye shul here
God is come fram his empere
And is made man with hye desire
This day

[2]

He toke oure kynde al of a mayde,
By oxe and asse he was ylayde,
Nowe is fulfilled that Scripture sayde
This day

[3]

Ay Y wonder this in my mynde
That he that alle may loose and bynde
Wolde be layde by beestis vnkynde
This day

[4]

He is a lorde, and by nature
A maydnys breest he soke ful pure,
Heuen and erthe beth in his cure
This day.

33

Bodleian Library. MS Arch Selden B 26

XV cent.

f 28 r

Laus, honor, *virtus*, gloria,
Et tibi decus, Maria.
Laus, honor, *virtus*, gloria,
Et tibi decus, Maria

[1]

A songe to syng Y haue good ryght,
And myrth to make in this presens,
For now ys borne a baron of myght,
Mundum pugillo continens

[2]

This babe was borne on Youle nyght,
In Bedlehem of Oure Lady,
The name of hym is called ryght
Verbum Patris Altissimi

[3]

That nowe is come pees for to make
Bytwene the Fader of Hevyn and vs,

burden, 1 2 Maria] MS maria

And nowe for that childys sake
Exultet celum laudibus

[4]

Oure synne to slee he toke the way
Into the worle fro heuyn riche blysse,
And therfore bothe nyght and day
Resultet terra gaudis.

[5]

The childe fellyd alle the fendys pride
And with harde yren bonde hym in
cloos,
And with the blode of his dere syde
Solut a pena misero[s]

[6]

Nowe Jhesu Cryst, that come so styлле
Into the wombe of Mary fre,
We praye the, yf hit be thy wylle,
Mane nobiscum, Domine

34

Bodleian Library MS Arch Selden B 26

XV cent

f 28 v

Iblessid be that Lord in mageste
Qui natus fuit hodie.

[1]

That Lord that lay in asse stalle
Cam to dye for vs alle,
To mak vs fre that erst were thralle,
Qui natus fuit hodie.

[2]

Wel mowe we glad *and* mery bee,
 Sith we were thralle *and* now be free,
 The fende oure foo he made to flee
 Qui natus [fuit hodie]

[3]

And, sith oure foo is fled fro vs,
 We mowe wel synge *and* say ryght thus

MS heading (or signature) Childe

Siza 1 is repeated in MS, apparently in error. The repeated text varies as follows.
 1. 1 That] This 1 2 Cam] Come 1 4 Qui natus &c
 stzas 2, 3, 1 4 MS Qui natus &c

'Welcome he be, this Lorde Jesus
 Qui natus [fuit hodie]'

[4]

Nowe blessyd be this Lord benynge
 That nolde his cruelle dethe resynge,
 But for mankynde to dye endynge,
 Qui natus fuit hodie

35

A

Bodleian Library MS. Ashmole 1393.

XV cent.

f. 69 v

Gloria tibi, Domine,
 Qui natus es de virgine

[1]

A litil child ther is iboie,
 Ysprong owt of Jesses more
 To saue all vs that were forlore,
 Gloria tibi, Domine.

[2]

Jhesus, that is so full of might,
 Ybore he was abowte mydnyght,
 The angel song w~~ith~~ all here myght,
 'Gloria tibi, Domine.

burden, 1. 2 MS marks chorus

[3]

Jhesus is that childis name;
 Maide *and* modir is his dame;
 And so owre sorow is turnyd to game
 Gloria tibi, Domine.

[4]

Thre kynges ther cam with here presence
 Of mirre *and* gold *and* frankencense,
 As clerkes sing in here sequence
 Gloria tibi, Domine

[5]

Now sitte we down vpon owre knee
 And pray that child that is so fre,
 And with gode herte now sing we,
 'Gloria tibi, Domine.'

B

Balliol College, Oxford. MS. 354.

XVI cent.

f. 231 v

All this tyme this songe is best.
 'Verbum caro factum est'

[1]

This nyght ther is a child born
 That sprange owt of Jessis thorn;
 We must synge *and* say therfor,
 'Verbum caro factum est'

[2]

Jhesus is the childes name,
 And Mary myld is his dame,
 All owre sorow shall torn to game.
 Verbum caro factum est

[3]
 Hit fell vpon high mydnyght:
 The sterres shon both fayre *and* bright,
 The angelles song *with* all ther myght,
 'Verbum caro factum est'

[4]
 Now knele we down on owr kne,
And pray we to the Trynyte
 Owr helpe, owr socowr for to be,
 Verbum caro factum est

At end. Explicit

36

a

Cambridge University Library MS. Ii. 4. 11
 f. 169 v

XV cent.

Puer nobis natus est
 De virgine Maria

[1]
 Lystenyt, lordyngus more and lees
 I bryng you tydyng of gladnes,
 As Gabriel beryt wytnes,
 Dicam vobis quia.

[2]
 I bryng yow tydynges that [ben] fwul
 gowde
 Now es borne a blyesful fowde
 That bowt us alle upon the rode
 Sua morte pia
 stza 1, 1 2 tydyng] MS tydynd

[3]
 For the trespas of Adam
 Fro ys Fadur Jhesu ho cam,
 Here in herthe howre kende he nam
 Sua mente pia

[4]
 Mayde modur, swete virgine,
 Was godnys may no man diuine,
 Sche bare a schild wyttowt pyne,
 Teste profecia.

[5]
 Mari modur, that ys so fre,
 Wyt herte mylde Y pray to the
 Fro [the] fend thou kepe me
 Tua prece pia

stza 4, 1 3 wyttowt] MS wytt wot

b *British Museum* MS. Harley 5396, f. 280 v. XV cent (burden and stzas. 1-4)

c *Public Record Office* Chancery Miscellanea, Bundle 34, File 1, No. 12, f. 11
 XV cent (burden and stzas. 1-3, 5).

MS heading (*in later hand*) b A Christmas Caroll
 stza 1, 1 1 Lystenyt, lordyngus] b Be glad lordynges bethe. c lordyng sbe glad
 bothe 1 2 tydyng] b, c tydynges gladnes] c grete gladnesse 1 3 beryt] b me
 beryth c berus 1 4 c causa dico qu[ia]
 stza 2, 1 1 b c have ben fwul] b c omit 1 2 Now es] b Mary hath c to nyth
 was a blyesful] c his blessud
 stza 3, 1 2 Fro ys Fadur Jhesu] b For the fadyr of heuyn c Fro the fader of. 1 3
 b here to myrth he us bygan howre] c omits 1 4 b Teste proscia c de virgine
 Maria

stza 4, 1. 1 swete] b clene

ll 2-4 b

That bare a child withouten syn
 Kepe vs all fre hell pyn,
 De virgine Maria

stza 5 c

Mare moder, meke and mylde,
 Pray for vs al to the childe
 That he vs fro the fynde childe
 Tua prece pia.

Signature(?) b Wylyam northie of yorke.

37

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet e 1.
f 18 v

XV cent

Aye, aye, this is the day
That we shal worship euer *and* aye
[1]

A ferly thyng it is to mene,
That a mayd a chyld haue borne
And syth was a mayden clene,
As prophetes sayden herbeforne
Iwys, it was a wonder thyng
That thowrow an aungelles gretying
God wold lyght in a mayden yying,
With aye,
Aye, aye, I dar well say,
Her maydenhed yede no[t] away

[2]

Hys moder was a mayden myld,
As Holy Kyrke wytnese *and* we;
Withovten weme she bar a chyld,
And so ded neuer non but she
A farly thyng it schuld befall,
But God hath all women thrall
In peynes to ber her chylderne all,
With aye,
Aye, aye, I dar wel say,
She felt non of that aray

[3]

Hys byrth was know that ylk nyghth
In all the lond thorow *and* thorow,
Thedyr thei yedyn to se that syghth,
To Bethlem, that fayer borow
An angell bad that thei shuld go f 19 r
He seyde that betwenne beestys two
Godes Sonne seker ye fynd so,
With aye,
Aye, aye, I dar well say,
In a crybe thei found hym ther he lay.

stza 5, l 10. twelfth] MS xii

[4]

Thre kynges ovght of Ynde lond,
Thei cum to seke that ferly fode
With ryche *presantes* in ther hond;
A sterre styffely afor hem yode
A ferly thyng it was to se
That sterre was mor than other thre,
Yt held the course to that contree,
With aye,
Aye, aye, I dar wel say,
Thei ded not mysse of redy way.

[5]

Whan thei *with* that lady mett,
Thei fond hyr chyld vpon her kne,
Full curtesly thei her grett
And present hym with yeftys thre
As kyng thei yeffe hym gold so rede,
Myrre *and* sense to hys manhede,
Of hyr offryng thus we rede,
With aye,
Aye, aye, I dar wel say,
The[i] worshepyd hyme on the twelfth
day

[6]

Mary moder, maydyn myld,
To the we cry, to the we call
Thou be owr socur *and* owr sheyld;
Vs thou saue fro myschevys all
Thou pray thi Sone, that Prynce f 19 v
of Pees,
Of all owr synnes he vs relees
Ovght of this world whane we shal cees,
With aye,
Aye, aye, so that we may
Wend *with* hym at domysday

38

Bodleian Library MS Eng. poet e 1
f 19 v

XV cent

Now be we glad *and* not to sad,
For *verbum caro factum est*

[1]

This may I preve *withovgh*ten lete
Whan Gabriell Owre Lady grett,

On hys kne he hym sett
So myldly
'Thou shalt *conseyve* this sam day
Saluatorem mundi'

[2]

A sterre shoghne thorow Godes grace,
 As Godes avne wyll yt was,
 The shepperdes saw *in* that place
 Angelles two,
And hem among thei song a song
 'Gloria *in excelsis* Deo'

[3]

The chyld was born vpon Yole day,
 As prophettes to vs gan say,
 Hys moder sang, 'Lullay, lullay,'
 Into the est,
 Therfor mankynd *wit*hovghten end
 Syng, 'Verbum caro factum est'

stza 3, l 1 vpon] MS vpon I

[4]

And than, be tokenyng of a starre,
in kynges ther *cam* fio fare
And offeryd frankyngcens *and* myrre
 To Cryst so fre,
 Than thei sayd *with* mery chere,
 'Mane nobiscum, Domine'

[5]

Therfor pray we euerychone
 To that barne that tym was born,
 He saue vs all fro shame *and* schorne,
 In pes *and* rest,
 And all mankynd *wit*hovghten end
 Syng, 'Verbum caro factum est'

39

Bodleian Library. MS Eng. poet. e 1
 f 21 r

XV cent

Make we mery in this fest,
 For *verbum caro factum est*

[1]

Godes Sonne, for the loue of mane
 Flesshe *and* blode of Mary he nam,
 As *in* the gospell seyth Sent Johan
 Verbum caro factum est

[2]

Of joy *and* myrth now mowgh we syng
 God *with* man is now dwellyng,
 Holy Wrytt makyth now shewyng.
 Deus homo natus est

[3]

God *and* man hath shewyd hys chyld
 That hath vs bovght fro the develysh
 wyld,
 Hym to worshyp now be we myld,
 Congaudete m[*ih*.]

[4]

This chyldes moder, euermore
 Maydyn she was, after *and* befor,
And so sayd the prophett in hys lore,
 Verbo prophesye

40

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet e 1
 f 27² v

XV cent.

All that leue in Cristen lay,
 Worschup euery Cristmes Day.

[1]

A man was the fyrst gylt,
And therfor he was spylt;
 The profycy was neuer fulfylt
 Thyl on the Cristmes Day.

[2]

The fyrst day that lely sprong,
 Jhesu Crist be us among,

stza 1 l 3 fulfylt] MS spylt

[3]

It was dyrk, it was dym f 28 r
 For men that leuyd in gret syn;
 Lucyfer was vs al *with*in
 Thyl on the Cristmes Day

[4]

Ther was wepping, ther was woo,
 For euery man to hel gan goo,
 It was lityl mery thoo
 Thyl on the Cristmes Day

41

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet e 1

XV cent

f 29 r

Nowel, el, el, el, el¹

I thank it a maydyn euery del

[1]

The fyrst day wan Crist was borne,
 Ther sprong a ros owt of a thorne
 To saue mankynd, that was forlorne,
 I thanke it a maydyn euery dyll

[2]

In an ox stall the chyld was fownd,
 In por clothyng the chyld was wond,
 He soferyd many a dedly wond,
 I thanke [it] a ma[y]d[yn] euery
 dy[ll]

[3]

A garlond of thornys on his hed was sett,
 A scharp sper to his hart was smet,

stzas 2, 3, 1 4 A tear in the MS has obliterated parts of these lines.

The Jewys seydyn, 'Take the that!'
 I tha[nke it] a may[dyn] euery dyl[l]

[4]

The Juwys dedyn cryyn her f 29 v
 perlament
 On the day of jugment,
 They werryn aferd thei [s]huld hem
 sche[n]t;
 I thanke it a maydyn euery dyll

[5]

Tho the peler he was bow[n]dyn,
 Tho his hart a sper was stunggyn,
 For us he sofered a dedly wondyn,
 I thanke it a maydyn euery dyll

42

a

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet e 1

XV cent

f 53 r

O meruelous *and* blessed natruite
 Off Goddes Sonne in diuinite

[1]

Welcome be thys blissed feest
 Off Jesu Christ in Trinite,
 That is reformer of owr reste,
 Lovyng peace *and* charite

[2]

In tyme off peace thys chyld was borne,
 As it was shewed in propheye,
 To save mankynd, that was forlorn,
 Fore Kyng off Peace he is trulye

[3]

Born mervelously he was, f 53 v
 Full off blysse *and* diuinite,
And she a mayd neuer the lesse,
 And so was neuer nonne but she

[4]

In his byrth holy was knytt
 God *and* man in his degre,
 Moder *and* mayd together were sett
 Forth in mans hart euer to be.

[5]

Therfore praye we to that Lord
And to his moder, mayden fre,
 To mak vs wisse in wark *and* word
 To prayse *and* please the Trinite

b. *Huntington Library. Christmas carolles newlye Inprynted* (Richard Kele),
 pp [28, 29] c 1550. (burden and stzas. 1-3, 5)

burden, 1 1. meruelous, blessed] *transposes*

stza 1, 1 2 Of goddes sonne in dyuynyte 1 4 Lovyng] Longe

stza 2, 1 2 it] *omits*
 stza 3, 1 2 blysse] grace 1 3 mayd] mayden
 stza 5, 1 1 we] *omits* 1 2 moder, mayden] mother that mayden 1 3.
 wark *and* word] worde *and* ded 1 4 the Trinite] his deyte
 The repetition of the burden is indicated in b as follows stzas 1, 2, 3 O blessed &c.
 stza 4 O maruelous &c At end. Finis

43

British Museum MS Lansdowne 379

XVI cent.

f 38 r

Tydynges, tydynges that be trwe
 Sorowe ys paste, and joye dothe
 renwe

[1]

Qwhereas Adam cawsed be synne
 Owre nature thus to be mortall,
 A mayden Son dothe nowe begyn
 For to repayse vs from that fall,
 And that ys trwe.
 The name of hym ys Cryste Jhesu

[2]

Sum of oure kynde hathe hadd suche
 grase

That syn hys byrthe they dyd hym se,
 Bothe Sonne and mother fase to fase

Above the burden is written Jhesus

In the chefe cyte calde Jure.

And that ys trwe:

Bothe kynges and shepardes they yt
 knwe

[3]

The prophettes therof ware nothyng
 dysmayde,
 Of that tydynges before that they
 hadde tolde,
 For nowe yt ys fall ryghthe as they
 sayde
 A clen mayde hathe born a kyng.
 And that ys trwe,
 For he ys born to ware the purpull
 hwe.

44

Bodleian Library MS. Eng poet e. 1

XV cent.

f 52 v

Blyssid be that lady bryght
 That bare a chyld off great myght,
 Withouten peyne, as it was right,
 Mayd mother Marye

[1]

Goddys Sonne is borne,
 His moder is a maid,
 Both after *and* before,
 As the prophycy said,
 With ay!

A wonder thyng it is to se,
 How mayden *and* moder on may be,
 Was there [neuer] nonne but she,
 Maid moder Marye.

[2]

The great Lord off Heaven
 Owr *seruant* is becom,
 Thorow Gabriels stevyn
 Owre kynd haue benom,

With ay!

A wonder thyng it is to se,
 How lord and *seruant* on may be,
 Was ther neuer nonne but he,
 Born off maid Marye

[3]

Two sons togyther, they
 Owght to shyne bryght;
 So did that fayer ladye
 Whan Jesu in hir light,
 With ay!
 A wo[n]der thyng is fall
 The Lord that bought fre *and* thrall
 Is found in an assis stall
 By his moder Marye.

[4]

The sheperdes in her region, f. 53 r
 Thei lokyd *into* heaven,
 Thei se an angell *commying* down,
 That said *with* myld steven,
 With ay!
 'Joy be to God Almyght,
 And pece in therth to man is dyte,
 For God was born on Chrysmes nyght
 Off his moder Marye

[5]

Thre kynges off *great* noblay,
 Whan *that* child was born,
 To hym they tok the redy way
 And kneled hym befor,
 With ay!
 Thes in kynges cam fro fare
 Thorow ledyng off a stare
 And offered hym gold, encence, and
 mure,
 And to hys modere Mary.

stza 5, l 1 noblay] MS. nollay

45

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354.

XVI cent

f. 178 r

Now let vs syng, both more *and* lesse,
 Of Cristes *commying*, 'Deo gracias'

[1]

A virgyn pure,
 This is full sure,
 Gabriell dide her grete,
 And all her cure,
 I am full sure,
 Euer dyde endure
 Deo gracias.

[2]

A babe was born
 Erly by the morn
 And layd between the ox *and* the asse,
 The child they knew
 That was born new,
 On hym thei blew
 Deo gracias.

[3]

An angell full sone
 Sang fro abone,
 'Gloria in excelsis'
 That lady alon
 Myght mak no mone
 For love of on.
 Deo gracias

[4]

This babe vs bowght
 Whan we were browght
 Into gret thought *and* dredfull case,
 Therfor we syng,
 Both old *and* yonge,
 Of Cristes *commyinge*,
 'Deo gracias'

At end. Explicit

46

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354.

XVI cent.

f. 221 r.

Now syng we wyth joy and blys,
 'Puer natus est nobys'

[1]

Mary, flowr of flowers all,
 Hath born a chyld in an ox stall
 That Lorde *and* Prynce ys ouer vs all,
 Puer natus est nobis

[2]

He was born on Owre Lady
 Withowt weme of her body,
 Godys own Son truly,
 Puer natus est nobis

[3]

By an apull of a tre
 Bownd men all made were we.
 That child was born to make vs fre,
 Puer natus est nobis.

[4]

That chyld was don on the rode,
Wyth hys flesshe *and with* hys blod,
For owr helpe *and* for owr gud,
Puer natus est nobis

[6]

He shall cum down at domysday
With bloody wovndes, I you say,
As he dyed on Gud Fryday,
Puer natus est nobis

[5]

The thirde day he rose *and* to hevyn
went,
Wytt *and* wysedom he vs sent
For to kepe his cumaundment,
Puer natus est nobis

[7]

Now pray we to that Hevyn Kyng
To send vs all his dere blessing,
Shryft *and* hosyll at owr endyng;
Puer natus est nobis

stza 5, l. 1. i thirde] MS 11^{de}

At end Explicit.

47

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354.

XVI cent.

f. 227 r

Syng we with myrth, joye, *and* solas
In honowr of this Cristemas

[4]

A newe-made sterre, more large *and*
clere
Than other sterres, than dide appere,
Fro Caldey the felosafer in fere
Into Bedlem yt brought,
Ther it dide stond
Still till that they fonde
Hym that they sowght

[1]

Glorius God had gret pyte
How longe mans sowle in payn shuld be;
He sent his Son to mak vs free,
Which for manus sake
Off a maydyn pure
Agaynst nature
Owr flesshe dide take

[5]

The kynges brought *ther* offrynge,
Gold that betokneth a worthy kynge,
I[n]sens presthode, myr burynge
For his manhode.
The angell com,
Bade *them* go home
Not by Herode

[2]

In Bedlem owr Saviowr
Withowt fode in a manjowre
Was born (hit was his plesure)
Bestes amonge.
Angelles hevynly
Made armonye
And joyfull songe.

[6]

Trust in God, man, *and* in non other;
Mistrust hym not, he is thy brother,
Thow hast a mediatrix of his moder;
Syke for thy synne,
Crye marcy;
He will not denye,
Thy sowle to wyne.

[3]

The eighth day he was circonsid,
Leste Moyses lawe shuld be dispised,
A name to hym they haue devised
'Call hym Jhesus.'
For Gabryell
His moder dide tell
That it shuld be thus.

MS marks burden fote The repetitions of the burden are indicated as follows: stzas.
1, 3, 5, 6 syg stza 2 syge stza 4 syng we *with* myrthe
stza 3, l. 1. i eighth] MS 11th. 1 6 dide] MS dide did At end Explicit

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354

f. 229 r.

Synge we all, for tyme it is
Mary hath born the flowr-de-lice

[1]

For his love that bowght vs all dere,
Lystyn, lordynges that ben here,
And I will tell you in fere

Wherof com the flowr-de-lyce.

[2]

On Cristmas nyght whan it was cold,
Owr Lady lay amonge bestes bolde,
And ther she bare Jhesu, Josepff tolde,
And therof com the flowr-de-lice.

MS marks burden fote.

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 syng we stzas 2, 3 syg
stza 4 syg we At end Explicit

48

XVI cent

[3]

Off that berth witesse Seynt Johan
That it was of myche renown,
Baptized he was in flom Jordan,
And therof cam the flowr-de-lice

[4]

On Good Fryday that child was slayn,
Betyn with skorges, and all to-flayn,
That day he suffered myche payn,
And therof com the flowr-de-lice

49

XVI cent.

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354.

f 221 v.

Verbum Patris hodie
Processit ex virgine

[1]

The Son of the Fader of Hevyn Blys
Was born as thys day, I will not mys,
Man from thraldom to releve and lose,
Processit ex virgine

[2]

He was born of a virgyn pure,
Not knowyng a man, as I you sure,

stza 3, 1 3 ys] MS ytt stza 4, 1 1 glad] MS ghad At end Explicit.

But all only by hevynly cure,
Processit ex virgine.

[3]

Gabryell the angell dyde grett
Mary knelyng in her closett;
Now ys fulfilld that sayd the profett
Processit ex virgine

[4]

Man, be glad, thou hast a cavse why
To thanke owr Lord God, that ys on hye
For the to sofer and for to dye
Processit ex virgine.

50

XVI cent

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354

f. 229 v

I pray you, be mery and synge with
me
In worship of Cristys nativite

[1]

Into this world this day dide com
Jhesu Criste, bothe God and man,
Lorde and servaunt in on person,
Born of the blessid virgyn Mary

[2]
 He that was riche *withowt* any nede
 Appered *in* this world *in* right pore wede
 To mak vs that were pore indede
 Riche *withowt* any nede trewly

[3]
 A stabill was his *chambre*, a crach was
 his bed,
 He had not a pylow to lay vnder his hed,

MS marks burden fote
 The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1, 2, 4 I pray
 At end Explicit

With maydyns mylk that babe was
 fedde;
 In pore clothis was lapped the Lord
 Almyghty.

[4]
 A noble lesson here is vs tawght
 To set all worldly riches at nawght,
 But *pray* we that we may be theder
 browght
 Wher riches ys everlastyngly

51

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354

XVI cent.

f 230 v

Wassail, wassayll, wassail, syng we
 In worshiþe of Cristes natiuite

[1]
 Now joy be to the Trynyte,
 Fader, Son, *and* Holy Gost,
 That on God is in Trynite,
 Fader of Hevyn, of myghtes most.

[2]
 And joy to the virgyn pure
 That euer kepte her vndefiled,
 Grundid in *grace*, *in* hart full sure,
 And bare a child as maydyn myld.

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 wassail &c stza. 2
 wassayll stzas 3-5: wassail At end. Explicit.

[3]
 Bethelēm *and* the sterre so shen,
 That shon in kynges for to gide,
 Bere witness of this maydyn clene;
 The kynges in offred that tide.

[4]
 And sheperdis hard, a[s] wretyn is,
 The joyffull songe that ther was songe.
 'Gloria in excelsis'
With angelles voys it was owt ronge.

[5]
 Now joy be to the blessidfull child,
 And joy be to his moder dere;
 Joy we all of that maydyn myld,
 And joy haue they that mak good
 chere.

52

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354.

XVI cent

f. 241 v.

Now syng we, syng we,
 'Gloria tibi, Domine'

[1]
 Cryst kepe vs all, as he well can,
 A solis ortu[s] cardine,
 For he ys both God *and* man
 Qui natus est de virgine.

[2]
 As he ys Lord both day *and* nyght,
 Venter puelle baulat,
 So ys Mary moder of myght,
 Secreta que non noverat

[3]

The holy brest of chastyte
Verbo concepit Filium,
 So browght before the Trinite
Vith castytatis lyllyum

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by *syng we*
 stza 2, 1 2 *Venter* MS *ventus*
 stza 4, 1 4 *The first letter has been destroyed by a tear in MS*
 At end *Explicit*

[4]

Between an ox *and* an asse
Enixa est puerpera;
 In pore clothyng clothed he was
[Q]ui regnat super ethera

53

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492

f. 43 r.

Ther is a chielde, a heuenly childe,
 Iborne this nyght of Marie myelde.

[1]

This chielde is, was, and ay shall be
 One in Godhede, in persones thre
 There is a childe, [a heuenly childe]

[2]

This chielde is named Criste Jhesus
 That nowe is borne for loue of vs
 There is a chield, [a heuenly childe]

[3]

Mortall nature this chielde hath take
 Of oure thraldome vs free to make
 There is a chield, [a heuenly childe]

[4]

This chielde is God and man also,
 Now borne to bringe vs out of wo
 There is a chield, [a heuenly childe]

[5]

His Fader is God of Heven Blis,
 And virgyne Mary his moder is
 There is a chield, [a heuenly childe]
 stza 1, 1 3 MS *There is a childe &c*
 stzas. 6-9, 1 3. MS. *There is &c*

[6]

Fro heven to erthe this chielde come is
 To suffre dethe for mannys mys
 There is [a chield, a heuenly childe]

[7]

On Good Friday vppon the 10ode
 To save mankyende he shed his bloode.
 There is [a chield, a heuenly childe]

[8]

This chielde was dede and in f 43 v.
graue laye
 And rose ayene on the thirde daye
 There is [a chield, a heuenly childe]

[9]

By his grete myght to blis he stide
 And sittith on his Faders right side
 There is [a chield, a heuenly childe]

[10]

Whenne he shalle come and jugement
 make,
 To blis with hym this chielde vs take
 There [is a chield, a heuenly childe]
 stzas 2-5, 1 3 MS *There is a chield &c*
 stza 10, 1 3 MS *There &c*

54

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1 12

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 76 r.

Mary so myelde of hert *and* myende
 Hath borne a childe to save man-
 kyende

[1]

Mary so myelde and good of fame,
 By vertu of the Holy Goost,
 Hath borne a chielde, Jhesus by name,
 To save mankyende, the whiche was
 lost

[2]

Marie so myelde in hert *and* myende,
 As Gabriell to her belight,
 Hath borne a chielde to save man-
 kyende,
 The Son of God and King of Myght.

[3]

Marie so myelde, that quene of *grace*,
 Hath borne a chielde (Scripture seith
 soo)
 To bringe mankyende out of that place
 Where is bothe peyne and endeles woo

[4]

Mary so myelde in worde and thought
 Hath borne a chielde, Jhesus soo good,
 The whiche ayene mankyende hath
 bought
 On the roode tree *with* his hert bloode

burden, l 1 Mary] MS Marry

[5]

Mary so myelde in dede and wille
 Hath borne a chielde that made alle
 thing,
 To whom al thing obeyeth by skille
 As to theire prince, theire lorde f 76 v.
 and king

[6]

Mary so myelde, so pure and clene,
 Vnto hir chielde, that hath no pere,
 By hir mekenes she is a meane
 That we shalle come to heven quere.

[7]

Mary so myelde, moder and may,
 Hath borne a chielde by hir meke-
 nesse
 That shall bringe vs at domesday
 Fro thralldom, peyn, woo, and dis-
 tresse

55

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12.
 f 85 v

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

Nowe lete vs syng and mery be,
 For Crist oure Kyng hathe made us
 fre

[1]

Now for to syng I holde it best,
 And lete alle care and sorowe goo,
 For Crist oure Kyng nowe in this fest
 Was born to bryng us owte of woo

[2]

Thatte blessyd chylde tok flesshe *and*
 bloode,
 By vertu of the Holē Gost,
 Of Mary myld, thatte meyde so goode,
 To saue mankynde, the whiche was
 lost

[3]

When he was born of thatte f 86 r
 myld meyde,
 That blessyd Lord and Heuen Kyng,
 As long beforē prophetys hadde seyde,
 With on accorde angelles didde syng.

[4]

The angelles than seide, 'Joy mot be
 To God aboue in heuen blys,
 And peas to man, for alle thatte he
 Hath offendid and done amys.'

[5]

The shepherdes than kepyng there folde
 Hurd fulle sweete songe and sawe
 grete light
 When God and man, as prophetes told,
 Was mekely born vppon thatte nyght.

[6]

Syth man ys take ayen to grace
 And brought ayen to joye and blys,
 Lete us alle make myrthe *and* solace,
 And lete us thanke oure Lorde of thys.

56

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 86 r

Mirabile misterium

The Sone of God ys man becum,
Mirabile

[1]

The Faders Sone of Heuen Blys,
Thatte is the loide of every cost,
Of a pure meyde man becum ys
To saue mankynd, the whiche was lost.
Mirabile.

[2]

An angelle came to thatte meyde so fre
And seide, 'Haile, Mary, fulle f 86 v
of grace,
The Lord of Alle now is with the
In hert, in wombe, and every place.'
Mirabile.

[3]

He seide alsoo, withowten bost,
Vnto thatt meyde, thatt angelle
than,
'By vertu of the Holi Gost
Thowe shalt conceyue bothe God *and*
man'
Mirabile.

stza 1, l 5 MS. Mirabile &c

[4]

And so withowten manys sede,
By vertu of the Holy Gost,
Sche hath conceyuyd and born indede
The Sone of God of myghtes most.
Mirabile.

[5]

The glasse is more pure and itte wasse
Thorughe the which the sone did
schyne,
So ys this meyde throughe whom did
passe
The Sone of God by grace dyuynne
Mirabile

[6]

Aaron yerde, withowte moystowre,
Thatte longe was sere, a flowre hathe
born,
So sche hath born oure Sauyowre
To saue mankynde, thatt was forlorn
Mirabile

[7]

A stone was kutte owte of an hylle
Withowten helpe of manys honde,
A meyden pure in dede *and* wylle
Hath born the lord of euery londe
Mirabile

stza 4, l 5 MS Mirabile misterium

57

British Museum. MS. Addit 5665

XVI cent.

f 33 v.

Tydynges trew ther buthe come newe;
Blessed be Jhesu.
Tydynges trew ther buthe come *new;
Blessed be Jhesu. *f. 34 r.

[1]

Tydynges trew tolde ther ys trewe
Jesu to be born of a mayde,

[2]

Tydynges trew an angell bryght f. 33 v
Song, how ther ys sprong a lyghth
To all that leuen aryghth,
Blessed be Jhesu

MS. heading de natiuitate

58

British Museum MS. Addit 5665.

XVI cent.

f 34 v

Nascitur ex virgine,
Sine virili semine
Nascitur ex virgine,
Sine viri*li semine

*f 35 r

[1]

A childe ys born of a mayde
In redempcion of vs all,
MS heading de natuirtate

Worshipe we both nyght *and* day,
For vs was born in a oxe stall.

[2]

We buthe muche bounde to God f 34 v
Allmyght,

That sende his Sone *with* gode entent
To be born of a mayde that ys bryght,
That all mankynde shall noght shent.
Signature Smert

59

British Museum MS Addit 5665.

XVI cent.

f. 52 v.

Blessed mote thou be, swete Jhesus,
Qui hodie natus es nobis
Blessed mote thou be, swete Jhesus,
Qui hodie natus es *nobis *f 53 r.

[1]

By thi burthe, thou blessed Lord,
Ys made of variaunce now on acorde;
Therfor we may shyng this

MS heading de natuirtate
stza. 2, 1. 3 vs] MS *vus*

Blessed mote thou be, swete Jhesus,
Blessed mote thou be, swete Jh[es]us,
Qui hodie [natus es nobis]

[2]

Vpon this heygh blessed day f 52 v.
Jhesu in hys moderes armys lay;
Wherefor to hym lete vs all say
Blessed mote thou be, swete Jhesus,
[Blessed mote thou be, swete Jhesus,
Qui hodie natus es nobis]

Signature Smert

60

Bodleian Library. Douce fragments f 48.

XVI cent

f 4 r.

In the honour of Christes byrth
Syng we al with joye and myrthe

[1]

In this tyme of Chrystmas,
Bytwyxt an oxe and an asse,
A mayden delyuered was
Of Christ, her dere Son dere

2]

The husbnde of Mary,
[Sant] Joseph, stode her by
And sayde he was ready
To serue her if nede were.

f 4 v.

[3]

When she her deare Sonne se,
She set him on her kne
And song, 'Hydder to me—
Cum basse thy mother, deare '

[4]

On her lap she him layde,
And with her pappe he playde,
And euer sang the mayde,
'Come basse thy mother, dere.'

[5]

With lypes collyng,
 His mouth ofte she dyd kysse
 And sayd, 'Sweetehert myne,
 I pray you, make good chere'
 stza 5, 1 3 sayd] Orig fayd.

[6]

To this chylde let vs pray
 That borne was on this day
 Of Mary, the mylde may,
 To graunt vs all good chere
 At end Finis

61

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12
 f. 44 r

By James Ryman, c 1492.

The Sone of God alone
 Hath made vs free echeone

[1]

The Faders Sonne of Heven Blis
 Of a pure [mayde] man bcome is
 To forgeve man, that did amys,
 By his mekenes allone

[2]

Bothe yonge and olde we were forlorn
 For synne that Adam did beforne,
 Till of a mayde this chielde was born
 To make vs fre alone

[3]

Moder Mary and virgyne pure
 Clothed hym wth mortall vesture
 And closed hym in her clausure
 Of chastite allone.

[4]

When he was thirti winter olde,
 For xxx plates he was solde
 To the Jewes wikked and bolde f 44 v
 By fals Judas alone

stza. 4, 1 1 thirti] MS xxxth

[5]

Vpon his hede a crowne of thorne
 The Jewes sette than wth grete scorne,
 And wth scourges his flesshe they torne
 For our trespas alone.

[6]

The Jewes thanne of wikked moode
 Nayled his bodye on the roode
 Wheron he shed his precious bloode
 To make vs free alone

[7]

He was dede and in his graue leyde
 And rose ayene, as Scripture seide,
 On the thirde day and to blis steide,
 Both God and man alone

[8]

Now beseche we this King of Grace
 That we may haue a dwelling place
 And eur to see his glorious face
 In heven blis echeone

stza 7, 1 3 thirde] MS m^{de}

62

Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 1. 12
 f 45 v

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

The Sone of God is man become
 Pro salute fidelium

[1]

The Sonne of God and King of Blis,
 Whoos joye and blis shall neur mys,
 Of a pure mayde man become is
 Pro salute fidelium.

[2]

What tyme Adam, oure first parent,
 Had geve consent to the serpent,
 As man [to] die was his entent
 Pro salute fid[elium]

[3]

Whenne he was xxx winter olde,
 For xxx plates he was solde
 By fals Judas to Jewes bolde
Pro salute fidelium.

[4]

Vppon his hede a crowne of thorne
 The Jewes sette thanne *with* gret scorne,
 And *with* scourges his flesshe was torne
Pro salute [fidelium]

[5]

The Jewes than of wikked moode
 Nayled his body on the roode
 Wheron he shed his *precious* bloode
Pro salute fidelium
 stza 4, 1 4 MS *Pro salute &c*

[6]

He was dede and in his graue leyde,
 And the thirde day, as *Scripture* seyde,
 He rose ayene and to blis steide
Pro salute fidelium.

[7]

He toke *with* hym withoute delay f 46 r.
 Moder Marie, wyfe and may,
 The whiche incessantly doth pray
Pro salute fidelium

[8]

That Lorde and King by his grete myght
 Cause vs to dwell in blisse so bright
 That fro blis into Mary light
Pro salute fidelium
 stza 6, 1 2. thurde] MS *inde.*

63

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee 1 12.
 f 104 r

By James Ryman, c 1492.

The Sone of God in tione
 Hath take mankynde alone.

[1]

The Sone of God so full of myght
 Came downe fro heuen trone
 And into Mary he dyd lyght
 To saue mankynde alone.

[2]

He that of nought al thyng wrought
 than
 (I take wnesse of Jhon)
 Withowte syn he is made a man
 To saue [mankynde alone]

[3]

As the sonne beame goith through the
 glasse
 And hurt to itt dothe none,
 Throughe meyde Mary so did he passe
 To saue [mankynde alone]

[4]

Bothe withowte peyn, woo, and dolowre,
 In flesshe, in felle, and bone,
 Thatt meyde hath born oure Sauy[o]wre
 To saue [mankynde alone]
 stzas 2-5, 1. 4. MS To saue c^o.

[5]

For syn mankynde in helle was f 104 v
 cast,
 And confort it hadde none,
 Till Crist Jhesus came atte the last
 To saue [mankynde alone]

[6]

In derknes, peyn, dolowre, and woo
 Olde faders made grete mone,
 Callyng for Crist (*Scripture* seyeth soo)
 To [saue mankynde alone.]

[7]

Prophetes prechyd, as seyeth *Scripture*,
 In tyme full longe agone
 Thatt Crist scholde come and take
 nature
 To [saue mankynde alone]

[8]

Kutte of the hill withowte manys hond,
 Crist is the corner stone,
 Born of a meyde, I vnderstond,
 To [saue mankynde alone]
 stzas 6-8, 1 4. MS To c^o.

64

Bodleian Library Douce fragments f 48.

XVI cent.

f 1 v

Come to Bethleem, and ye shal se
Puer natus est hodie.

[1]

A woman, a mayd in thought *and* deede,
A fayrer with eyen myght no man see,
With her *virgin* paps her babe did fede,
Puer natus est hodie

[2]

The chyldes name is called Jesus,
Gabryel sayde it shulde so be,
Joye we togyther, and syng we thus.
'Puer natus est hodie.'

[3]

To make vs rych pore was he than,
With mekenes and humylytie;
Doutles he is bothe God and man,
Puer natus est hodie

[4]

Kynges *and* prynces of this dyd here,
Togyther they came a mayden to see
Lullyng her babe, her blessed Son dere;
Puer natus est hodie

[5]

N[o]w, blysful mayde that bare that
byrthe,
Pr[ay] thy Son that we may hym se,

.
.
.

Heading in original A caroll of the byrth of Chryst
The first words of siza. 5, ll 1, 2 are damaged by small holes in the original The continuation of the carol is lost.

65

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee. 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 24 r.

Ecce quod natura
Mutat sua iura.
Virgo parit pura
Dei Filium.

[1]

Bothe yonge and olde, take hede of this
The cours of nature chaunged is,
A mayde that neur did amys
Hath borne oure Sauyoure

[2]

What tyme mankynde had done amys
And for his mys was put fro blis,
A roose, a valent floure, wis,
Crist made springe of a thorne.

[3]

Criste hath made springe oute of f. 24 v.
a thorne
A mayde that hym mekely hath borne,

Beyng bothe afigure *and* beforne
As pure as lilly floure.

[4]

As a swete floure berith his odoure
This mayden myelde of grete honoure
Withouthen maternall doloure
Oure Sauyour hath borne.

[5]

Vpon a nyght an aungell bright
From blis downe light, sayng full right,
'Thurgh Goddes myght a worthy wight
Hath borne oure Savyoure.'

[6]

Than kinges three fro ferre cuntre
In her degre came for to se
This King so free of magestee
That in Bedleme was borne

66

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12
f 23 r.

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

Ecce *quod* natura
Mutat sua iura
Virgo parit pura
Dei Filium

[1]

Beholde *and* see how that nature
Chaungith here lawe a mayden pure
Shalle bere a chielde, (thus seith f 23 v
Scripture)
Jhesus, oure Sauyours

[2]

Beholde, the flease of Gedeon
Wexed wete, that no dewe fel on,
Beholde, the yerde of Aaron
Vnmoysted bare a floure.

[3]

The prophete Isay seith thus
'A mayde shall bere a childe to vs
Whose name shall be called Jhesus,
Oure helpe *and* our socour

[4]

'A yerde shall goo oute of Jesse rote
Wherof a floure shall ascende full soote'
This floure is Crist, oure helth *and* boote,
This yerde, Mary, his bour

[5]

Seynt Mathew seith in the gospell,
'A mayde shall bere Emanuell,
That is to sey, God *with* vs to dwell,
That louely paramour.'

[6]

Forsoth, to vs is borne a chielde,
A sonne is yeven to vs full myelde
Of virgyne Marie vndefielde
To cease oure grete langoure.

[7]

This is the stone cutte of the hille, f 24 r.
Criste borne of Marie vs vntille
Without synne in thought, dede, *and*
wille
To save vs fro dolour

[8]

This chielde shall be the Prince of Peas,
Whose kingdome shall euir encrease,
Wherof the peas shall neur ceas
But encrease day and houre

[9]

Seynt Anselme seith, 'So Criste did pas
Thurgh Marie myelde, as his wille was,
As the sonne beame goth thurgh the glas,
That mayde full of honoure'

67

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12.
f 74 v

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

Right as the aungell tolde it is,
That nowe is borne the King of Blis

[1]

The prophesy fulfilled is
Of the prophetes now alle *and* sume,
For why the Faders Sonne of Blis
To save mankyende is man bcome
And why is this, but for oure mys,
That now is borne the King of Blis?

[2]

His loue to vs was so feruent
That he came downe, that Lorde so
good,
Fro blisse into this vale *present*
And of Mary toke flesshe *and* blode.
And why was this, but for oure mys,
That now is borne the King of Blis?

[3]

And so oure nature he hath take f 75 r.
 To his Godhede *wit*houten synne
 And hath brought vs oute of that lake
 That oure parent had brought vs in
 And why was this, but for oure mys,
 That nowe is borne the King of
 Blis ?

[4]

By vertu of the Holy Goost,
 Into here wombe that downe did light,
 The Sonne of God of myghtes moost
 She hath brought furth, that mayden
 bright
 And why was this, but for oure mys,
 That nowe is borne the King of
 Blis ?

[5]

As the sonne beame goth thurgh the glas,
 And as a floure berith his odoure,
 So Crst of her conceyved was
 And borne of her *wit*houte doloure.
 And why was this, but for oure mys,
 That nowe is borne the King of
 Blis ?

[6]

Beholde *and* see the lowe dence
 Of Criest, that is so high in trone,
 To take nature for oure offence,
 The whiche offence did neur none
 And why was this, but for oure mys,
 That nowe is borne the King of Blis ?

[7]

When he was borne, that Lorde *and*
 King,
 Oute of thraldome to bringe man-
 kyende,
 'Joye be to God,' aungelles did synge,
 In Holy Scripture as we fyende
 And why was this, but for oure mys,
 That nowe is borne the King of Blis ?

[8]

Now beseche we this King of Grace
 For to graunte vs a place in blis
 And hym to se there face to face
 There joye and peas shall f 75 v
 neur mysse
 And why is this, but for oure mys,
 That nowe is borne the King of
 Blis ?

68

British Museum. MS. Sloane 2593

XV cent.

f 4 r

O flos de Jesse virgula,
 Laus tibi sit *et gloria*

[1]

Adam our fader was in blis,
And for an appil of lytil prys
 He loste the blysse of Paradys,
Pro sua superbia.

[2]

And alle that euer of hym cam
 The ryth weye to helle nam,
 Bothe Ysaac *and* Abraham,
 Teste *profecia*

[3]

Than these *profetes* *prechyd* aforn
 That a chyld xuld be born
 To beye that Adam hadde forlorn
 Sua morte *propria.*

[4]

Moyses first in his lawe told
 A chyld *ther* xuld be born so bold,
 To beye aayn that Adam sold
 Sua nocte pessima

[5]

Isaac, *wit*houte lesyng,
Profecyd in his *prechyng*
 Of Jesse rote a flour xuld spryng,
 De vugine purica.

[6]

Jeromy, that was so yying,
Profecyd of his comyng
 That is veri Lord *and* Kyng,
 Omni Patris gracia

[7]

Fertheremore, as I you telle,
Than *profecy*d Danyelle,
Of hys comyng he *gan* spelle
Gentibus in Judea

[8]

Quan tyme cam of God Almyght
That wolde brynge mankynde to 1yght,
In a maydyn he *gan* lyght
Que vocatur Maria

[9]

Now is he born, that blysfyl chyld, f 4 v
Of Mary moder, mayde myld,
Fro the fynd he vs schyld,
Qui creaut *omma*

[10]

Prey we to hym with al our mynde,
That haght mad al mankynde,
He brynge vs alle to good ende
In die nouissima

69

Bodlerian Library. MS Arch Selden B 26

XV cent

f 29 r

Veni, redemptor gencium,
Veni, redemptor gencium

[1]

This worle wondreth of al thyng
Howe a maide conceyued a kynge,
To yeue vs al therof shewyng,
[V]eni, redemptor gencium

[2]

Whan Gabriel come with his gretynge
To Mary moder, that swete thyng,
He *graunted and* saide with grete
lykyng,
'Veni, [redemptor gencium']

[3]

Ambrose saide in his wrytynge
Cryst sholde be in a maide dwellyng,
To make sothe alle that syngyng
'Veni, [redemptor gencium']

[4]

And Dauyd saide in his spellyng
That Truthe sholde be in erthe growyng,
To vs byer of alle thyng
Veni, [redemptor gencium]

[5]

Cryst, ycrowned at oure begynnynge,
Be with vs at oure endyng,
Vs to thy joye for to bryng,
Veni, [redemptor gencium]

stzas 2-5, l 4 MS veni &c

70

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 37 v

Now in this fest, this holy fest,
Nunc puer nobis natus est,
Nunc puer nobis natus est,
Et puer nobis datus est.

[1]

Thus it is seide in prophecy
(I take witesse of Ysay)
'A mayde shall [bere] a chielde, truly,
Whose name shall be called Messy' f 38r.
Now in this fest, [this holy fest]

[2]

'He is oure Lorde,' seith Jheremy,
'And none like hym is ferre ne nye,
In erthe he is seyn, verily,
Conuersaunt with people playnly'
Now in this fest, [this holy fest.]

[3]

This is the stone cut of the hille,
 Crist borne of Mary vs vntille,
 Without synne in dede, thought, *and*
 wille,
 The wille of God for to fulfille
 Now in this [fest, this holy fest]

[4]

'Alle kinges vnto hym shall pray,
 And alle people hym shall obay
 And serue hym bothe by nyght *and* day '
 Thus seith Daud, as ye rede may
 Now in [this fest, this holy fest]

stzas 1, 2, 1 5 MS Now in this fest &c

stza. 4, 1 5 MS. now in &c

stza 6, 1 5 MS Now in &c

[5]

'O Sonne of God,' Abacuc sayde,
 'By whome al thing is wrought, now
 layde
 In an oxe stalle, borne of a mayde,
 And man become for mannys ayde.'
 Now [in this fest, this holy fest]

[6]

Nowe preyse we alle this Prince of Peas
 Now borne oure bondes to release f 38 v
 And alle oure care and woo to cease,
 Oure joy *and* myrth for to increase
 Now in [this fest, this holy fest]

stza 3, 1 5 MS now in this &c

stza 5, 1 5 MS now &c

71

Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 1 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 41 v.

Bothe man *and* chielde, haue myende
 of this

How Godis Sonne of Blis
 Of Marie myelde man become is
 To deye for mannys mys.

[4]

And in a stalle this chielde was born,
 Bitwene bothe oxe and asse,
 To save, for synne that was forlorn,
 Mankyende, as his wille wasse.

[1]

A mayden myelde hath borne a chielde,
 A chielde of full grete price,
 And is a moder vndefielde
 And quene of paradise

[5]

Whenne he was borne, that heuenly King,
 Of Mary, quene of blis,
 Than 'Gloria,' aungelles did synge,
 'Deo in excelsis'

[2]

The King of Blis his Fader is,
 And Jhesus is his name;
 To bringe mankyende to heven blis f 42r
 He hathe borne mannes blame.

[6]

The prophecy of Isay
 And prophetes alle *and* sume
 Now ended is thus finally,
 For God is man become.

[3]

He was and is and ay shall be
 (I take recorde of John)
 Ay thre in personalite,
 In deite but oon

[7]

Nowe laude we God of heven blis
 With hert, *with* wille, and myende,
 That of a mayde man bicom is
 To blis to bringe mankyende.

72

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f 75 v

A chielde is borne *with* vs to dwell,
Nomen eius Emanuell

[1]

'This is the stone kut of the hille,'
Thus seith the prophete Daniell,
'Borne of a mayde in dede *and* wille,
Nomen eius Emanuell'
Scripture full well to vs doth tell
Nomen eius Emanuell

[2]

Thus seide the prophete Ysay
Long tyme before, or it befell
'A meyde shall bere a chield, truly,
Nomen eius Emanuell'
Scripture full well to vs doth tell
Nomen eius Emanuell.

[3]

'He is oure Lorde,' seith Jeramyne,
'This chielde now borne *with* vs to
dwell,
And non like hym is fare ne neye,
Nomen eius Emanuell'
Scripture full well to vs doth tell
Nomen eius Emanuell.

[4]

'The Sonne of God,' Abacuc seyde,
'By whome al thing was made full well,
In an oxe stalle was porely leyde,
Nomen eius Emanuell'
Scripture full well to vs doth tell
Nomen eius Emanuell

[5]

'Alle kinges vnto hym do pray,'
Thus seith Dauid, as I you tell,
'And alle peoplez hym shall obay,
Nomen eius Emanuell'
Scripture full well to vs doth f 76 r
tell:
Nomen eius Emanuell

[6]

Nowe lete vs pray, bothe alle *and* sume,
To this aungell of alle counsell
To heuen blisse that we may cume,
Nomen eius Emanuell
Scripture full well to vs doth tell.
Nomen eius Emanuell.

73

Bodleian Library. MS Arch Selden B 26

XV cent.

f. 21 v

Alleluya, alleluya, alleluya,
Alleluya, alleluya, alleluya

[1]

A nywe werk is come on honde,
A nyw werk is com on honde
Thorw myght *and* grace of Godys sonde,
Thorw myght *and* grace of Godis f 22 r
sonde,
To saue the lost of euery londe,
Alleluya, alleluya,
For now is fre that erst was bonde;
We mowe wel synge alleluya.

[2]

By Gabriel bygunne hit was
Ryght as the sunne shone thorwe the glas
Jhesu Cryst conceyued was,
[Alleluya, alleluya.]
Of Mary moder, ful of grace,
Nowe synge we here alleluya.

[3]

Nowe is fulfylled the prophete
Of Dauid and of Jeremie,
And also of Ysaie,
[Alleluya, alleluya.]
Synge we therfore bothe loude *and* hye
Alleluya, alleluya.

[4]

Simeon on his armys ryght
 Clypped Jhesu ful of myght
 And sayde vnto that barne so bryght,
 [Alleluya, alleluya,]
 'Y see my Sauyour in syght,'
 And songe therwith alleluya

[5]

Tho he saide, *wythoute* lece,
 'Lorde, thou seite thy *seruant* in pece,
 burden, l 2, stza 1, ll 2, 4, l 6, *second alleluya* MS marks Chorus
Stzas 2-6, ll 1, 2 are to be repeated in singing, as written in stza 1
 stza 3, l 2 Of] MS Od

For nowe Y haue that Y euer chece,
 [Alleluya, alleluya,]
 Alle oure joyes to encrece
 Ther seyntes syngeth alleluya '

[6]

Alleluya, this swete songe,
 Oute of a grene branche hit spronge.
 God sende vs the lyf that lasteth longe!
 [Alleluya, alleluya,]
 Nowe joye *and* blysse be hem amonge
 That thus cunne synge alleluya.

74

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee 1 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 39 r

The Sonne of God man bcome is
 Of virgyn Marie, quene of blis

[1]

Oute of youre slepe arrayse and f 39 v
 wake,
 For God oure manhode now hath take,
 Of oure synnes vs flee to make,
 Of virgyn [Marie, quene of blis]

[2]

To the sheperdes keeping theire folde
 That Crist was borne an aungell tolde,
 And in Bethelhem fynde hym they sholde
 With virgyn [Marie, quene of blis]

[3]

To Bethelhem than they toke theire wey
 And founde that chielde there where he
 ley,
 In an oxe stalle in poore arraye,
 With virgyn Mary, [quene of blis]

[4]

Fro ferre cuntree came kinges three
 To seke that King of Magestee,
 The whiche was borne, to make vs free,
 Of virgyn [Mary, quene of blis]
 stzas 1, 7, l 4 MS Of virgyn &
 stza 3, l 4 MS With virgyn Mary &c.
 stzas 4, 5, 8, l 4 MS Of virgyn &

[5]

Gold, *and* myrrre, and swete encense
 Thuse kinges gave with gret reuerence
 To this King borne *wythout* offence
 Of virgyn [Mary, quene of blis]

[6]

Into Egypte Joseph fledde thoo,
 With the chielde and moder alsoo,
 The aungell bade hym thidder goo f 40 r
 With virgyn [Mary, quene of blis]

[7]

King Herodethanne chaunged his moode,
 When Cristes birthe he vndrestood,
 The whiche hathe take bothe fleshe *and*
 blode
 Of virgyn [Mary, quene of blis]

[8]

And in Bethelme in his grete fure
 Children he slewe that were full pure,
 For Cristes sake, that toke nature
 Of virgyn [Mary, quene of blis]

[9]

Nowe beseche we that King of Grace
 In blis that we may haue a place,
 Thern to see his glorious face
 With virgyn [Mary, quene of blis]
 stzas 2, 9, l 4 MS With virgyn &c.
 stza. 6, l 4. MS. With virgyn &c.

75

Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 1. 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f 33 r

Angelus inquit pastoribus,
 'Nunc natus est Altissimus'

[1]

Vpon a nyght an aungell bright
 Pastoribus apparuit,
 And anone right thurgh Goddes myght
 Lux magna illis claruit
 For loue of vs (Scripture seith thus)
 Nunc natus est Altissimus

[2]

And of that light that was so bright
 Hui valde timuerunt;
 A signe of blis to vs it is,
 Hec lux quam hui viderunt.
 For loue of vs (Scripture seith thus)
 Nunc natus est Altissimus

[3]

'Drede ye nothing; grete joy I bringe,
 Quod erit omni populo,
 For why to you Criste is borne f 33 v
 nowe,
 Testante euangelio'
 For loue of vs (Scripture seith thus)
 Nunc natus est Altissimus

[4]

'With good Joseph and Mary myelde
 Positum in presepio
 Ye shall fynde that hevenly childe,
 Qui celi preest solio'
 For loue of vs (Scripture seith thus)
 Nunc natus est Altissimus

[5]

The aungell songe thoo w^{ith} many moo,
 'Gloria in altissimis'
 In erthe be peas to man also,
 Et gaudium sit angelis'
 For loue of vs (Scripture seith thus)
 Nunc natus est Altissimus

[6]

The shepherdes ran to Bedleme than
 Et inuenerunt puerum,
 The whiche is perfecte God *and* man
 Atque Saluator omnium
 For loue of vs (Scripture seith thus)
 Nunc natus est Altissimus.

[7]

When in suche wise founde hym they
 had,
 Vt dictum est per angelum, f 34 r.
 Ayene they came, beyng full glad,
 Magnificantes Dominum
 For loue of vs (Scripture seith
 thus)
 Nunc natus est Altissimus

[8]

Nowe lete vs singe w^{ith} angels,
 'Gloria in altissimis,'
 That we may come vnto that blis
 Vbi partus est virginis
 For loue of vs (Scripture seith thus)
 Nunc natus est Altissimus.

76

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f 34 r

Gloria in altissimis,
 For nowe is borne the King of Blis

[1]

Whenne Criste was borne, an aungell
 bright
 To shepherdes keping shepe that nyght

[2]

Came and seyde w^{ith} heuenly light,
 'Now Crist is borne, [the King of Blis.]'
 They dred gretely of that same light
 That shone so bright that tyme of nyght
 Thurgh the vertu, the grace, *and* myght
 Of Goddes Son, [the King of Blis]

[3]

The aungell seyde, 'Drede ye nothing,
Beholde, to you grete joye I f 34 v
bringe,
And vnto alle that be lyving,
For now is born the King of Blis

[4]

'Go to Bedleme, and there ye shall
With Marie myelde in an oxe stall
Fynde an infante that men shull call
The Son of God *and* King [of Blis.']

[5]

They went furth to Bethelme that
stounde,
And, as he tolde, a childe they founde
In an oxe stalle in ragges wounde,
The Son [of God *and* King of Blis]

stza. 1, 1 4 MS now crist is borne &c
stza 4, 1 4 MS the son of god *and* king &c
stzas 6, 7, 1 4 MS of goddes sonne &c.

[6]

The sheperdes tho went home ageyn,
Magnifyng God, in certayne,
In alle that they had hard *and* seyne
Of Goddes Sonne, [the King of Blis]

[7]

On New Yeres Day (Scripture seith
thus)
Circumcided for loue of vs,
The name tho was called Jhesus
Of Goddes Sonne, [the King of Blis]

[8]

On Twelfth Daye came kinges three
With golde, encense, *and* myrre so free,
Vnto Bedlem to seke and see
The Sonne of God *and* King of Blis

stza 2, 1 4 MS Of goddes son &c.
stza 5, 1 4 MS the son &c
stza 8, 1 1 Twelfth] MS xiith

77

Balliol College, Oxford. MS. 354.

XVI cent

f. 231 v.

Man, meve thy mynd, *and* joy this
fest
Veritas de terra orta est.

[1]

As I cam by the way,
I sawe a sight semly to see
Thre sheperdes rangyng in aray,
Vpon the felde kepyng ther fee
A sterre, they said, they dide espie
Kastyng the bemes owt of the est,
And angelles makyng melodye.
'Veritas de terra orta est.'

[2]

Vpon that sight they were agast,
Sayng thes wordes as I say the
'To Bedlem shortly lett vs hast,
And ther we shall the trewth see'
The angell said vnto them all in
To ther comfort or euer he seste,
'Consolamini, *and* mery be,
Veritas de terra orta est

At end. Explicit.

[3]

'From hevyn owt of the highest see
Rightwisnes hath taken the way,
With mercy medled plentuowsly,
And so conseyved in a may
Miranda res this is, in fay,
So seith the prophet in his gest,
Now is he born, Scripture doth say
Veritas de terra orta est.'

[4]

Than passed the sheperdes from that
place
And folowed by the sterres beme
That was so bright affore ther face;
Hit browght them streight vnto Beth-
lem
So bright it shon over all the realme
Tyll they cam ther they wold not
rest,
To Jury *and* Jerusalem,
Veritas de terra orta est

Balliol College, Oxford. MS. 354.

XVI cent.

f. 224 r.

Can I not syng but hoy,
Whan the joly sheperd made so mych
joy.

[1]

The sheperd vpon a hill he satt;
He had on hym his tabard *and* his hat,
Hys tarbox, hys pype, *and* hys flagat;
Hys name was called Joly, Joly Wat,
For he was a gud herdes boy

Vith hoy!

For in hys pype he made so mych joy.

[2]

The sheperd vpon a hill was layd;
Hys doge to hys gyrdyll was tayd;
He had not slept but a lytill broyd
But 'Gloria in excelsis' was to hym sayd

Vith hoy!

For in his pipe he mad so myche joy.

[3]

The sheperd on a hill he stode,
Rownd about hym his shepe they yode,
He put hys hond vnder hys hode,
He saw a star as rede as blod

Vith hoy!

For in his pipe he mad so myche joy.

[4]

'Now farwell Mall, *and* also Will,
For my love go ye all styll
Vnto I cum agayn you till,
And euermore, Will, ryng well thy bell'

Vith hoy!

For in his pipe he mad so mych joy.

[5]

'Now must I go ther Cryst was borne,
Farewell, I cum agayn to-morn;
Dog, kepe well my shep fro the corn,
And warn well, warroke, when I blow
my horn'

Vith hoy!

For in hys pype he made so mych joy.

[6]

The sheperd sayd anon ryght,
'I will go se yon farly syght,
Wheras the angell syngith on hight,
And the star that shynyth so bryght.'

Vith hoy!

For in [his] pipe he made so mych joy.

[7]

Whan Wat to Bedlem cum was,
He swet, he had gon faster *than* a pace.
He fownd Jhesu in a sympyll place
Betwen an ox *and* an asse.

Vith hoy!

For in his pipe he mad so mych joy.

[8]

'Jhesu, I offer to the here my pype,
My skyrte, my tarbox, *and* my scrype,
Home to my felowes now will I skype,
And also loke vnto my shepe.'

Vith hoy!

For in his pipe he mad so myche joy

[9]

'Now, farewell, myne own f 224 v
herdesman Wat'

'Ye, for God, lady, even so I hat.

Lull well Jhesu in thy lape,
And farewell, Joseph, wyth thy rownd
cape'

Vith hoy!

For in hys pipe he mad so myche joy.

[10]

'Now may I well both hope *and* syng,
For I haue bene a Crystes beryng.
Home to my felowes now wyll I flyng.
Cryst of hevyn to his blis vs bryng!'

Vith hoy!

For in his pipe he mad so myche joy

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows. stza 1. can I not sing but hay &c.
stza 2 can I not syng stzas. 3, 6-8 can I not sing but hoy &c. stza 4 can I not syng &c
stza. 5 can I not sing &c. stza 9 can I not sing.

Stzas 6 and 7 are transposed in MS, the correction being indicated by the prefixed
letters a and b.

stza 8, 1 2 MS My scrype my tarbox *and* my skyrte.

At end: Explicit

79

A a

Bodleian Library. MS. Eng poet e. r.

XV cent.

f. 60 r.

Tyrle, tyrlo,
So merylye the shepperdes began to
blowe

[1]

About the fyld thei pyped full right,
Even about the middes off the nyght,
Adown frome heven thei saw cum a
lyght.
Tyrle, tirlo

[2]

Off angels ther came a company
With mery songes and melody,
The shepperdes anonne gane them aspy
Tyrle, tyrlo

[3]

'Gloria in excelsis,' the angels song,
And said who peace was present among
To euery man that to the faith wold long.
Tyrle, tyrlo.

[4]

The shepperdes heyed them to Bethleme
To se that blyssid sons beme,
And ther they found that glouious
streame
Tyrle, tyrlo.

[5]

Now preye we to that mek chyld,
And to his mother that is so myld,
The wich was neuer defyld.

Tyrle, tyrlo

[6]

That we may cum vnto his blysse
Where joy shall neuer mysse,
Than may we syng in paradise,
'Tyrle, tirlo'

[7]

I pray yow all that be here
Fore to syng and mak good chere
In the worschip off God thys yere
Tyrle, tirlo.

b. Balliol College, Oxford. MS 354, f 222 r. XVI cent (burden and stzas. 1-5).

burden, 1 1 Tyrly, tirlow, tirly, terlow
stza 1, 1 1 full] omits 1 2 So meryly the sheperdes began to blow 1 3 thei saw
cum a lyght] that ys so hygh
stza 2, 1 1 Off] omits 1 3 gane them] that gan.
stza 3, 1 2 who] that 1 3 to] omits long] long
stza 4, 1 2 sons] son 1 3 streame] leme
At end. Explicit

B

MS destroyed. Text from Craig.

1534

[Burden lacking]

Song I

Song III

As I out rode this enderes night,
Of thre jol sheppardes I saw a sight,
And all aboute there fold a star shone
bright;
They sange terly, terlow,
So mereli the sheppards ther pipes can
blow.

Doune from heaven, from heaven so hie,
Of angeles ther came a great companie
With murthe and joy and great solem-
nitye,
The[y] sange terly, terlow,
So mereli the sheppards ther pipes can
blow.

The accompanying note in MS. reads: These songes/belonge to/the Taylors and
Shearemens Pagant/The first and the laste the shepheards singe/and the second or
middlesmost [No. 112] the women singe

80

British Museum. MS Harley 5396.

XV cent.

f 273 v

Christo paremus canticam.
'Excelsis gloria.'

[1]

When Cryst was born of Mary fre
In Bedlem, *in* that fayre cyte,
Angellis songen *with* myrth *and* gle,
'In excelsis gloria'

[2]

Herdmen beheld thes angellis bryght,
[T]o hem apperyd *with* gret lyght
[A]nd seyde, 'Goddys Sone is born this
nyght;
In excelsis gloria.'

MS heading (*in later hand*) A Christmas Carol
The MS is damaged at the margin. The first letters of lines in the last three stanzas are thereby destroyed

[3]

[A ky]ng ys comyn to saue kynde,
[In the] Scriptur as we fynde,
[Therfor]e this song haue we *in* mynde
'In excelsis gloria.'

[4]

[Then, L]ord, for thy gret grace,
[Grau]nt us *in* blys to se thy face,
[Wh]ere we may syng to the solas
'In excelsis gloria'

81

A

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 38 v

Be we mery now in this fest,
In quo Saluator natus est

[1]

Now in Bethelme, that holy place,
To bringe man oute of woofull case,
Of virgyn Marie full of grace
Saluator mundi natus est

[2]

To the sheperdes keping there folde
On Cristemas nyght an aungell tolde
That in Bethelme *with* bestes bolde
Saluator [mundi natus est]

[3]

They were compassed all aboute *with*
light,
And they dredde of that heuenly sight.
'Drede not,' he seyde, that aungell
bright,
'Saluator [mundi natus est]

[4]

'Beholde, to you grete joye I bringe
This daye of Mary, that good thinge,
In the cite of Dauid, that king,
Saluator [mundi natus est]

[5]

'And this infant there fynde ye f. 39 r
shalle
In pore clothing in an oxe stalle.'
The aungelles tho lawded God alle,
Saluator [mundi natus est]

[6]

'Glorie to God,' the aungelles songe,
'And peas in erthe good men amonge;
To save mankyende, that had done
wronge,
Saluator [mundi natus est]

[7]

They toke there way *with* good entent,
And to Bethelme right sone they went,
To see and know what that worde ment
'Saluator [mundi natus est].'

[8]

They founde Joseph and Mary myelde,
 Wyfe, moder, *and* mayde vndefielde,
 And in a stalle they founde that childe.
 Saluator [mundi natus est]

stzas 2-8, 1 4. MS Saluator &c.

[9]

Now seke we alle *with* hert *and* myende
 This yonge infant tille we hym fyende
 That of a mayde to save mankyende
 De *virgine nunc natus est*

B

Huntington Library Christmas carolles newly Inprynted (Richard Kele) c 1550.

p [25]

Be we mery in this feste,
 In quo Saluator natus est

[1]

In Bethelcem, that noble place,
 As by prophesy sayd it was,
 Of the vyrgyn Mary full of grace
 Saluator mundi natus est

[2]

On Chrystmas nyght an angel it tolde
 To the shephardes keepyng theyr folde
 That into Bethelcem with bestes wolde
 Saluator mundi natus est.

[3]

The shephardes were compassed ryght,
 About them was a great lyght;

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1-3 Be we mery &c
 stzas 4, 5. Be mery. &c
 At end. Fms.

82

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 34 v.

In terra pax hominibus,
 Quia natus est Dominus f 35 r

[1]

To the shepeherdes keping their folde
 That Crist was borne an aungell tolde,
 And in Bethelcem fynde hym they
 sholde,
 Positum in presepio.

[2]

They went furth to Bethelcem that
 stounde,
 And, as he tolde, that chielde they
 founde
 In an oxe stalle, in ragges wounde,
 Qui regnat sine termino

[3]

The sheperdes tho went home agayn,
 Magnifyng God, in certayne,
 In alle that they had hurde *and* sayne
 De Jhesu Dei Filio

[4]

On New Yeres Day (Scripture seith thus)
 Circumcided for loue of vs,
 His name tho was callid Jhesus,
 Testante euangelio.

[5]

On Twelfth Day came kinges thre
 With golde, encense, and myrre so free,
 And founde that King of Majestee
 In virginali gremio

[6]

When they came to Herode, that f 35 v
king,
He bade them goo axe inquiring
Where this childe was (*and worde hym*
bringe)
Qui celi preest solio

stza 5, l 1 Twelfth] MS. XIIth

[7]

Sleping an aungell bade them wake
And to Herod no waye to take;
Another way, no dought to make,
Reuersi sunt cum gaudio

83

St John's College, Cambridge MS S 54

XV cent

f 1 r

Of X *and* M *and* other too
Of I *and* E I syng allso

[1]

X for Cristes hymselfe was dyth,
As clerkys redyn in story ryth,
Qwan X *and* M with word was lyth
To saue us fro the fendes lyth.

[2]

M begynnyth a gloryos name
Mary modyr, withowtyn fane,
Qwan X *and* M was borne in same,
Ouerr goy begynnyth to spr[i]ng

[3]

Of E I wyll syng yytte.
On Cristes crose that leter was sette,

stza. 1, l 3 word] MS wrod (?) *The w is not clear* 1 4 fro] MS for
stza 4, l 4 went] MS wnet fro] MS foro
stza 5 *This stanza is struck through in MS, and some words are barely legible*

Qwan X *and* E together mette, f 1 v.
M *and* E in herte was woo.

[4]

I begynnyth the name of Jon,
Qwan X upon the rode was done,
M *and* I stod styll alone,
And hys postyllys went hym fro.

[5]

Theis iiii leterys wor[ch]yppe we all,
For Crist was borne in ox stalle
To bryng us fro the dewlys all
With hys wondys rede *and* bloo

84

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee. 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 40 r

To Crste singe we, singe we, singe we,
In clennes and in charite

[1]

Mankyende was shent and ay forlore
For synne that Adam did before
Till of Mary Jhesus was bore
[In clennes and in charite]

[2]

As a swete floure bereth his odoure, f 40 v
So hath she borne oure Sauyours
To bringe mankyende out of doloure
In clennes [and in charite]

[3]

As the sonne beame goth thurgh the
glas,
Thurgh her body Jhesus did pas,
Taking nature, as his wille was,
In clennes [and in charite.]

[4]

Prophecy seide longe tyme before
That of a mayde Crste sholde be bore
Mankyende to blis for to restore
In clennes [and in charite.]

[5]

Fro heven to erthe Crist did enclyne
To brunge mankynde fro woo *and* pyne,
Whome preyse we now with lawde
dyvyne

In clenness [and in charite]

stzas 2, 4, 1 4 MS In clenness &c.
stza 6, 1 4. MS In clenness &c.

[6]

Preyse we also Mary so myelde,
That bare this chielde, she vndefielde,
Fro mortalle dethe mankyende to
shilde

In clenness [and in charite.]

stza 3, 1 4 MS. in clenness &c

85

British Museum MS. Addit 5665.

XVI cent

f 11 v

Man, be joyfull, *and* myrth thou make,
For Crist ys made man for thy sake
Man, be joyfull, *and* myrth thou make,
For Cr[i]st is *made man for thy *f 12 r.
sake

[1]

Man, be mery, I the rede,
But bewhar what merthus thou make.
Crist ys clothed yn thy wede,
And he ys made man for thy sake

[2]

He cam fro hys Fader sete f 11 v.
Into this worlde to be thy make,
Man, bewar how thou hym trete,
For he ys made man for thy sake

[3]

Loke thou mercy ewyr crye,
Now and allway, rathe *and* late,
And he will sette the wonder hye,
For he ys made man for thy sake

MS heading. In die nativtatis

86

A

British Museum MS Sloane 2593

XV cent.

f 9 v.

Alleluia, alleluia,
Alleluia, alleluia,
Alleluia, alleluia,
Deo Patri sit gloria.

[1]

Saluator mundi, Domine,
Fader of Heuene, blyssid thou be,
Thou gretyst a mayde with on 'Aue',
Que vocatur Maria.

[2]

Adesto nunc propicius,
Thou sendyst thi Sone, swete Jhesus,
Man to become for loue of vs,
Deo Patri sit gloria

[3]

Ne mentem sompnus oprimat, f. 10 r.
Betwyx an ox *and* an as
Cryst hymself, born he was
De virgine Maria

[4]

Te reformator sensuum,
Bothe lytil *and* mekil *and* alle a[nd] sum,
Wolcum the tyme that now is com,
Deo Patri sit gloria.

[5]

Gloria tibi, Domine,
Thre personys in Trentyte,
Blyssid mot they alle be,
Deo Patri sit gloria

B

Bodleian Library MS. Ashmole 189.

XV cent.

f. 107 r

Alleluya, alleluya,
Deo Patri sit gloria

[1]

Saluator mundi, Domine,
Fader of Heuene, yblessyd thou be,
Thou gretyst a mayde *with* one 'Aue',
Alleluya, alleluya.

[2]

Adesto nunc propicius;
Thou sendyst thy Sonne, swete Jesus,
Man to becom for loue of vs;
Alleluya Deo

stza 2, l 1. propicius] MS propiciuus

[3]

Te reformatore sensuum,
Lytyll *and* mekell, all *and* some,
Make ye mery for hym that ys ycom;
Alleluya Deo.

[4]

Gloria tibi, Domine,
Joy *and* blysse among vs be,
For att thys tyme borne ys he;
[Alleluya Deo]

stza 4, l. 2. *and*] MS *and and*.

C

Bodleian Library MS. Eng poet. e 1

XV cent

f. 20 r

Alleluia, alleluia,
De virgine Maria

[1]

Saluator mundi, Domine,
Fader of Hevyn, blessyd thou be,
And thi Son that commeth of the,
De virgine Maria

[2]

Adesto nunc propicius;
He sent hys Sonne, swet Jhesus,
A man becom for loue of vs,
De virgine Maria

[3]

Te reformatore sensuum;
Lytyl *and* mekyll, mor *and* sum,
Worshyp that chyld that is cum
De virgine Maria.

[4]

Gloria tibi, Domine,
Thre persons in Trinite,
Worshepe that chyld so fre,
De virgine Maria

87

British Museum. MS Sloane 2593.

XV cent.

f 5 v

Jhesu, Jhesu, Jhesu, Jhesu,
Saf vs alle thorw thi vertu

[1]

Jhesu, as thou art *our* Sauyours,
That thou saue vs fro dolour,
Jhesu is myn *peramour*,
Blyssid be thi name, Jhesu

[2]

Jhesu was born of a may
Vpon Cristemesse Day,

Sche was may beform *and* ay;
Blyssid be thi name, Jhesu.

[3]

Thre kynges *comme* fro segent;
To Jhesu Cryst they browte present;
Lord God omnipotent,
Saf us alle throw thi vertu.

[4]

Jhesu deyid *and* schad his blod
 For al mankynde vpon the rod;
 He graunt vs *grace* of happis good,
 I beseke the, swete Jhesu

[5]

Jhesu, for thi moderes sake,
 Kepe vs fro the fyndis blake,
 Ayens hym that we mown wake,
And saue vs alle throw thi vertu.

stza 3, l 3 omnipotent] MS ommipotent

88

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1 12

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 37 r.

Nowe in this fest, thy holy fest,
 Saluator mundi natus est

[1]

Auctor of helthe, Criste, haue in myende
 That thou hast take *fourme* of man-
 kyende,
 Of a pure virgyn beyng borne
 To save mankyende, that was forlorne

[2]

O brightnes *and* light of the Fader of
 Myght,
 O eternall hope of euery wight,
 What prayers thy *seruantes* myelde to
 the
 Thurgh alle this worlde doth yelde, thou
 see

[3]

This present day berth witnessse clere,
 Now come by compas of the yere,

That thou art come fro blis an hy,
 The welthe of this worlde alone onely.

[4]

Heuen and erthe, the see and al thing
 That is theryn, joyeth lawding f 37 v
 The Fader of Blis, thyne auctor of birth,
 With songe of melody and myrthe

[5]

And we also, that with thy bloode
 Be bought ageyn vpon the roode,
 For the daye of thy natuutie
 A newe songe we do singe to the

[6]

Glorie mote be, good Lorde, to the,
 That arte borne of a virgyne free,
 With the Fader and Holy Goost,
 Both Three *and* One, of myghtes moost

89

British Museum. MS. Addit. 5665

XVI cent.

f 17 v.

Haue mercy of me, Kyng of Blisse,
 As muche as thy mercy ys
 Haue mercy of me, Kyng of Blisse,
 As much *as thy mercy ys *f 18 r.

[1]

Of Mary Criste was bore,
 Withowte wem of aney hore,
 To saue vs that were forlore,
 Kyng of all kynges.

MS heading In die natuuitatis
 Signature Smert hared de Plymptre

[2]

To vs he gaffe a sompell abowte f 17 v.
 That we shulde noght be prowte,
 For he was wrapped in a clawte,
 Kyng of all kynges

[3]

Pray we Jhesu, Heuen Kyng,
 Aliso after owre endyng,
 To his blysse euerlastyng,
 Kyng off all kynges.

stza. 2, l 1 vs] MS *vus*.

90

St John's College, Cambridge MS S 54

XV cent.

f 2 r

Nowell, nowell, ell, ell
Iwys, yt ys a wunder nowell

[1]

Jhesu restyd in a may
xl wekes and a day,
Therefore I may syng *and* say,
'Nowell, ell, ell'

[2]

At the fest of archtridlyn
Crist turnyd water into wyn,
And therefore xall this song be myn
'Nowell, ell, ell'

[3]

Jhesu, asse thou art Hewyn Kynge,
Grawnt vs all thi dere blyssynge,
Hosyll and schrift at oure endynge
Nowell, ell, ell

stza 3, 1 2 vs] MS *vus* 1 3. schrift] MS *schrift*

91

A

British Museum MS Addit. 5665.

XVI cent

f 43 v.

Jhesu, fili virginis,
Miserere nobis
Jhesu, fili virginis,
Miserere *nobis

*f 44 r

[1]

Jhesu, of a mayde thou woldest be born,
To saue mankynde, that was forlorne,
And all for owre synnes
Miserere nobis.

[2]

Angelis ther were, mylde of f 43 v.
mode,
Song to that swete fode
With joye and blisse
Miserere nobis

MS heading *de nativitate.*

[3]

In a cracche was that chylde layde,
Bothe oxe *and* asse with hym playde,
With joye *and* blisse.
Miserere nobis

[4]

Then for vs he shadde his blode,
And allso he dyedde vn the rode,
And for vs, ywysse.
Miserere nobis.

[5]

And then to helle he toke the way,
To raunson hem that there lay,
With joy *and* blisse
Miserere nobis

stza 4, 11 1, 3 vs] MS *vus*

B

British Museum. MS Addit 5665

XVI cent.

f 29 v

Jhesu, fili virginis,
Miserere nobis.
Jhesu, fili virgi*nis,
Miserere nobis

*f 30 r.

[1]

Jhesu, of a mayde thow woldest be born,
To saue mankynde, that was forlorn,
And all for owre mysse.
Miserere nobis.

[2]

Born thow wher̃ of Mary free,
 And thow deidist vpon the rode tree
 For owre mysse.
 Miserere nobis

f. 29 v.

MS heading *de natiuitate*
 Signature *Smert*

stza 1, 1 1 born] MS bron

92

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee. 1 12

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 104 v

O rex noster Emanuel,
 Thou art welcum with us to dwell.

[1]

Thou art solace in alle oure woo,
 And thou art oure confort as welle;
 Therfore, goode Lorde, sith it is soo,
 Thou art welcum [with us to dwell]

[2]

Thou hast take us alle fro oure foo,
 And thou hast brought us owte of helle,
 Thou art oure Lorde, we haue no moo,
 Thou art welcum [with us to dwell]

[3]

Thou were born of a meyden mylde
 Vppon a day, so itte befelle,
 Therefore we sey, bothe man and childe,
 'Thou arte welcum with us to dwelle'

stza 1, 1 4 MS Thou art welcum c^o

93

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet e 1.

XV cent.

f. 45 v

Hey now, now, now!

[1]

Swet Jhesus
 Is cum to vs,
 This good tym of Crystmas,
 Werfor with prays
 Syng we always,
 'Welcum, owr Messyas.'

[2]

The God Almyght
 And Kyng of Lyght,
 Whose powr is ouer all,
 Gyue vs of grace
 For to purchas
 Hys realme celestyall.

[3]

Whe[r] hys aungels
 And archangels
 Do syng incessantly,

Hys princypates
 And potestates
 Maketh gret armony

[4]

The cherubyns
 And seraphyns
 With ther tynykes mery,
 The trones al,
 Most musycall,
 Syng the heuenly Kery.

f 46 r.

[5]

The vertues clere
 Ther tunes bere,
 Ther quere for to repayre,
 Whose song to hold
 Was manyfold
 Of domynacyons fayer

[6]

With on acord
Serue we that Lord
With lavdes *and* orayson,
 The wych hayth sent
 By good assent
 To vs hys onely Sone.

[7]

Borne ful porly,
 Redy to dey
 For to redeme vs all,
 In the Jury
 Of mayd Mary
 In a poore oxes stall.

[8]

He taught the sawes
 Of Crysten lawes
 To hys apostels twelue,
 In flome Jordan
 Of good Saynt Johan
 He was crystned hymselfue.

[9]

Hymselfe ded preche
And the folke tech
 The commavndmentes tene,
 He went barfote,
 That swete herte rote,
 Example to al mene

[10]

The lame *and* blynd,
 Men owt of mynd,
And the demonyacle,
 The deaf *and* dombe,
 Men layd in tombe
 Wher hol by hys myracle

[11]

The Jewes truly
 Had grete enuy
 To se hys myght expresse,
 Thei ded conspyre
 By grete desyre
 To deth hym for to dresse

[12]

But by hys myght
 Thei had no syght
 To know hys corpolence

Tyll vnwysse bold
 Judas hym sold
 For thyrtty golden pence.

[13]

Than thei hym tost,
And at a post
 Thei bownd hym lyk a thefe,
 Thei ded hym bete
 With scorges grete
 To put hym to reпреfe.

[14]

Nakyd *and* bare
 Hys flesch thei tare,
And with a crowne of thorne
 Thei ded hym crowne
 (The blod rane downe)
And gaue hym a rede in scorne.

[15]

With mokkes *and* mowes, f 47 r.
 Buffetes *and* blowes,
And other cursed thewes,
 Thei gan to cry
 Dyspytously,
 'Al hayle the Kyng of Jewes'

[16]

With dredfull othes,
 The wych hym lothes,
 Thei cryd, 'Crucifige'
 To Caluary
 Thei gane hym hy;
 The crosse hymself bar he.

[17]

They hym naylyd
And yl flaylyd,
 Alas, that innocent'
 Luges, blynd knyght,
 With al hys myght
 With a spere hys hart rent.

[18]

Watur *and* blod
 Fro hys hart yode,
And yet that blyssyd Sone
 Praye for thosse
 That ware hys fose
 To get for them perdone.

[19]

Lo, what kyndnesse
In owr dystresse
 That Lord ded schow vs than,
 The deth to tak
 Al for owr sake
And bryng vs fro Sathan

[20]

Owr Sauyour,
 Our Creatur
 On the crosse deyed ther

f 47 v

MS heading A song *in* the tyne of/and I were a mayd &c
 The burden is first wrytten after stza 1 The repetition is indicated after each following stanza save the last by hey &c

Of newe tourment
 We do hym rent
 Whan we hys membres swer.

[21]

Then let vs pray
 Both nyght *and* day
 To hym *per omnia*
 That we may cum
 To hys kyn[g]dome
 In finis secula.

94

British Museum MS Lansdowne 379

c 1500.

f 38 r

Mirabilem misterium
 The Son of God ys man becum

[1]

A *mervelus* thyng I hafe musyd in my
 mynde
 Howe that Veritas spronge owghte of
 the grounde,
 And Justicia for all mankynde,
 From heuen to erthe he cam adowne

[2]

Than *Maria*, that marcyfull maye,
 Seyng man was dampnde for hys
 tre[s]pas,

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1, 2 Mirabilem misterium
 &ce stza 3 Mirabilem misterium the son of &ce
 stza 3, 1. 2. O] MS oo

Hathe sent down Sapiencia, the sothe
 to saye,
 Man to redeme and bryng to grase.

[3]

Celestyall cytezens, for vs that yowe
 praye
 To hym that ys bothe Alpha and O,
 That we maye be sauyd on domusdaye
 And browghte to that blysse he
 bowghte vs to

95

a

British Museum. MS. Cotton Vespasian A xxv

XVI cent.

f 131 v

By reason of two *and* poore of one
 This tyme God *and* man was set at
 one.

[1]

God against nature thre wonders haith
 wrought.

First of the vile earthe mad man
 without man,

Then woman without woman of man
 maid of nought,

And so man without man in woman
 than.

Thus, lo, God *and* man together
 begane,

As two for to joine together in one,
 As at this good tyme to be sett at
 one,

Thus God begane
 This world for to forme *and* to en-
 creasse man

[2]

Angell in heaven for offence was damned,
 And man also for beinge variable,
 Whether shuld be saved was examyned,
 Man or yet angell, then God was
 greable
 To answer for man, for man was not
 able,
And said man had *mocyon and*
 angell had none,
 Wherefore God *and* man shuld be
 seit at one
 Thanke we him than
 That thus did leaue angell *and* saved
 man

[3]

The devill clamed man by bargan as
 this
 For an appell, he said, man was
 bought *and* solde,
 God aunswered *and* said the bargan was
 his
 'Withe myne to be thyne how durst
 thoue be so bolde?'
 Man myne, syne thyne, wherefore
 thoue art now told
 Thoue bought nought, then taik
 nought, thi bargan is [don,]
 Wherefore God and man shal be set
 att one'
 Nowe blessed be he,
 For we that are bownde, loe, f 132 r
 nowe are maid free.

[4]

Betwene God *and* man ther was great
 distaunce,
 For man said that God shuld haue
 kept him vpryght,
And God said man maid all the vari-
 aunce,
 For th' apple to sett his commaunde-
 ment so light,
 Wherefore, of his *mercy* sparinge the
 ryght,
 He thought God and man shuld be
 set at one
 Seing that God *and* man was set at
 one,

What kindnes was this,

To agree with man *and* the fault not
 his'

[5]

Withe man and woman ther was great
 traverse
 Man said to the woman, 'Woe myght
 thou be!'
 'Nay,' quod the woman, 'Why dost
 thoue reverse?'
 For womans entisinge woe be to the!
 For God [made] man the heade and
 ruler of me'
 Thus God sawe man *and* woman
 were not at one,
 He thought in a woman to sett
 theime at one
 To our solace,
 His *mercy* he graunted for our tres-
 pace

[6]

Of womanhede, lo, thre degres there be
 Widowehede, wedlocke, and *virgin*-
 ntie.
 Widowehede clamed heauen, her title
 is this
 By oppressions that mekelie suffrethe
 she,
 A[nd] wedlocke by generacion heauen
 hires shuld be,
 And *virgins* clame by chastite
 alone
 Then God thought a woman shoulde
 set them at one
 And cease ther strife,
 For Marie was maden, widowe, and
 wife.

[7]

The ritche and the pore ther f. 132 v
 title did reherse
 The pore clamed heauen throughe his
 pacient havour,
 He saide, 'Beati *pauperes*,' and further
 the *verse*,
 The riche man by ritches thought
 hym in *favour*,
 For who was so ritche as was our
 Saviour?

And againe who so pure as he was one
 In hey when he ley to set vs at one ?
 Who graunt vs peace
 And at the last ende the great joyes endles

burden, 1 1 *Above poore is written* no
 stza 3, 1 2 appell] MS thappell. 1 4 thyne] MS myne 1 6 *The last word is*
covered by a binding strip
 stza 6, 1 5 *written in MS after 1 7*
 At end Finis

b *Lord Tollemache, Helmingham Hall, Suffolk* MS Helmingham Hall L.J. I. 10,
 f 118 v. c 1531 (burden and stzas. 1, 2)

MS heading A carolle
 burden, 1 1 two] 11 1 2 was] were
 stza 1, 1 1 three wonders] 11 thyngys 1 4 so] *omits* 1 5 lo] *omits* 1 6
 two] 11 for] *omits* 1 7 at this good] one this 1 8 Thus] This 1 9. for]
omits and] omits
 stza 2, 1 1 Angell] Angellis 1 2 man also] also man 1 3 shuld] these
 shulde. was] it was 1 4 yet] *omits* 1 9 did leaue] lefte

96

British Museum. MS. Addit 5665

XVI cent

f. 26 v.

T[e Deum] laudamus,
 Te Dominum confitemur,
 Te eternum.

[1]

O blesse God in Trinite, f. 27 r
 Grete cause we haue to blesse thy
 name,

That now woldest sende downe fro the
 The Holy Gost to stynte oure blame.
 Te Deum laudamus

[2]

Syng we to God, Fader eternall, f. 26 v.
 That luste to june with oure nature
 The Sone of hym celestiaall,
 Man to be borne oure sauls to cure
 'Te Deum [laudamus']

[3]

All te seyntes in heuen on hye, f. 27 r.
 And all that buthe in erthe aliso,
 Geff laude *and* thangkes deuotelye
 To God abowe and syng hym to
 'Te Deum [laudamus']

MS. heading de natiuitate die

The third line of the burden is marked Faburdon

97

Bodleian Library. MS. Douce 302

By John Audelay, XV cent

f. 28 v.

In reuerens of oure Lord in heuen,
 Worchip this marter, swete Sent
 Steuen.

[1]

Saynt Steuen, the first martere,
 He ched his blod in herth here,
 Fore the loue of his Lord so dere
 He sofird payn *and* passion

[2]

He was stonyd with stons ful cruelle,
 And sofird his payn ful pasiently
 'Lord, of myn enmes thou haue merce,
 That wot not what thai done'

[3]

He beheld into heuen on he
 And se Jhesu stonde in his majeste
 And sayd, 'My soule, Lord, take to the,
 And foreyif myn enmys euerechon.'

[4]

Then, when that word he had sayd,
 God therof was wel apayd,
 His hede mekele to slep he layd,
 His sowle was takyn to heuen anon
 MS heading In die *sanchi* stephani

[5]

Swete Saynt Steuen, fore vs thou pray
 To that Lord that best may,
 Whan *our* soule schal wynd away,
 He grawnt *us* al remysson
 stza 1, 1 2 He] MS hrt

98

Trinity College, Cambridge MS O 3 58
 recto

XV cent

Eya, martir Stephane,
 Prey for vs, we prey to the

[1]

Of this marter make we mende,
 Qui triumphaut hodie
 And to heuene blysse gan wende
 Dono celestis gracia

[2]

Stonyd he was wyth stonys grete
 Feruore gentis impie;
 Than he say Cryst sitte in sete,
 Innixum Patris dextere

[3]

Thov preydyt Cryst for thi enmyse,
 O martir inuictissime,
 Thou prey for vs that hye Justyse
 Vt nos purget a crimine

At end Amen

99

British Museum MS Addit 5665
 f 22 v.

XVI cent.

Pray for vs that we saued be,
 Prothomartir Stephane
 Pray for vs that we sauede be,
 Protho*martir Sthephane *f 23 r

[1]

In this vale off wrecchednesse
 Yprewed was thy mekenesse;
 Ther thou arte in joye and blisse,
 Circumfultus vndique

[2]

With faith yarmed in feld to f 22 v
 fyghth,
 Sad thou stodest as Godys knygh[t],

MS headings Stephane Sancti Stephan.

Prechyng the pepill of Godes myghth,
 Manens plenus gratia

[3]

Before the tyrand thou were broght;
 Strokes off payne thou dredest noght;
 God was *with* the in all thy thoght,
 Spes eterne glorie

[4]

With synfull wrecchys thou were f 23 r.
 take,
 Thy feyth thou woldest not forsake,
 But rather to dye for Godes sake,
 Circumfusio sanguine.

100

Balliol College, Oxford. MS 354
 f 288 r

XVI cent

Nowe syng we both all *and* sum,
 'Lapidauerunt Stephanum.'

[1]

Whan Seynt Stevyn was at Jeruzalem,
 Godes lawes he loved to lerne,
 That made the Jewes to cry so clere *and*
 clen,
 'Lapidaverunt Stephanum'

[2]

The Jewes, that were both false *and* fell,
 Agaynst Seynt Stephyn they were cruell,
 Hym to sle they made gret yell
Et lapidaverunt Stephanum

[3]

They pullid hym withowt the town,
And than he mekely kneled down
 While the Jewes crakkyd his crown,
Quia lapidaverunt Stephanum.

MS marks burden fote

[4]

Gret stones *and* bones at hym they caste,
 Veynes *and* bones of hym they braste,
And they kylded hym at the laste,
Quia lapidaverunt Stephanum

[5]

Pray we all that now be here
 Vnto Seynt Stephyn, that marter clere,
 To save vs all from the fendes fere
Lapidaverunt Stephanum

At end Explicit.

101

A

Huntington Library Christmas carolles newly Inprynted (Richard Kele) c. 1550

p [33]

To Saynt Steuen wyll we pray
 To pray for vs bothe nyght and day

[1]

Of Saynt Steuen, Goddes knyght,
 That preched the fayth day *and* nyght
 He tolde the Jewes, as it was ryght,
 That Chryst was borne of a may

[2]

The Jewes sayd in grete scorne
 That Christ was not of a mayde borne,
 'Than,' sayd Steuen, 'ye are but lorne,
 And all that beleue in your lay.

[3]

'Now is spronge the welle of lyfe,
 Of Mary, moder, mayde, and wyfe'
 Therefore the Jewes fell at stryfe,
 And with Steuen than dysputed they

[4]

The wycked Jewes at the last, p [34]
 Stones at Steuen they gan cast,
 His hed and armes they all to-brast
 And made his body in foule aray

Heading in original Of saynt Steuen
 stza 5, l 2 Though] Orig Thought
 At end Fims.

[5]

Steuen, that was full mylde of mode,
 Though he were all reed in blode,
 In his prayers styll he stode,
 And cryeng to God thus he dyde say.

[6]

'Lorde God, for thy myghtfull grace,
 Forgyue the Jewes theyr trespase,
 And gyue theym grace to se thy face
 In the joye that lasteth aye'

[7]

To heuen he loketh soone on hye,
 To the Father and Sone truly,
 And to the Holy Goost he gan cry,
 'Receyue my soule, I the pray.'

[8]

God receyued his boone anone,
 Downe came aungeles many one,
 Theytoke his soule *and* to heuen dydgone,
 To blyssednesse that lasteth ay

[9]

To that blysse that is so goode,
 Jhesu, that dyed vpon the roode,
 Graunt vs for his precyous bloode p. [35]
 Our saluacyon at domesday.

1 4 God] Orig good

B

Huntington Library Christmas carols newly Inpnynted (Richard Kele) c 1550.

P [42]

Blessyd Stephan, we the praye,
Pro nobis preces funde

[1]

I shall you tell this ylke nyght
Of Saynt Stephan, Goddes knyght
He tolde the Jewes that it was ryght
That Cryst was borne of a mayde

[2]

Then sayd the Jewes *with* grete scorne
That Goddes Sone myght not be borne,
Stephan sayd, 'Ye be forlorne,
And all that byleueh on that lay '

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by Blessyd Stephan &c

[3]

Thus Stephan, whan he was most per-
fyte,
In Crystes lawe illumynate,
The Jewes hym toke with grete dyspyte
Without the towne to lapidate

[4]

The cursyd Jewes at the last,
Stones at Stephan they gan cast;
They bette hym and bounde hym fast
And made his body in foule aray

102

Bodleian Library MS Douce 302

By John Audelay, XVth cent.

f 28 v

I pray youe, breder euerichon,
Worchip this postil, swete Saynt Jon

[1]

Synt Jon is Crystis derlyng dere,
He lenyd on his brest at his sopere,
And ther he mad hym wonderful chere
Tofore his postilis euerichon.

[2]

'Saynt Jon,' he said, 'my dere derlyng,
Take my moder into thi kepyng,
Heo is my joy, my hert swetyng,
Loke thou leue not here anon.

[3]

'Jon, I pray the, make here good chere,
With al thi hert and thi pouere,
Loke ye to pert not in fere
In wat cuntre that euer ye goon.

[4]

'I comawnd youe, my postilis alle,
When my moder doth on youe calle,
Anon on knyges that ye down falle,
And do here worchip therwith anon

4008

[5]

'I pray youe al on my blessing.
Kepe ye charete fore one thyng,
Thenke what I said in your waschyng,
Knelyng tofore youe on a stone

[6]

'Farewel now, I wynd away youe fro;
To Jerusalem I most goo
To be betrayd of my fo
And sofir payn and passiown '

[7]

'A, my Sun, my Heuen Kyng'
Oure Lady therwith fell downe sonyng
This was a dolful depertyng.
Thai toke here vp with gret mon

[8]

'A, my moder, my dere derlyng,
Let be thi wo and thi wepyng,
Fore I most do my Fader bidyng,
Ellis redempcion were ther non '

[9]

'Farewel, my fader, farewel, my childe '
'Farewel, moder and maid mylde,
Fro the fynd I wil the childe
And crowne the queene in heuen trone.'

[10]

Swete Saynt Jon, to the we pray,
 Beseche that Lord that best may,
 When our soulis schal wynd away,
 He grawnt vs al remyscion

MS. heading In die Sancti Johannis apostole et Ewangeliste
 stza 4, 1 3 knyres] MS kynes.

103

A a

Trinity College, Cambridge MS O 3 58

XV cent

recto

Prey for vs the Prynce of Pees,
 Amice Cristi Johannes.

Qwan on Crystys brest thov lay,
 Amice Christi Johannes

[1]

To the now, Cristes dere derlyng,
 That were a maydyn bothe eld and
 yyng,
 Myn herte is set to the to syng,
 Amice Christi Johannes

[3]

Qwan Cryst befor Pylat was browth,
 Thov clene maydyn forsok hym nouth,
 To deye wyth hym was al thy thowth,
 Amice Christi Johannes

[2]

For thou were so clene a may,
 The preuytes of heuene forsothe thou
 say

[4]

Crystys moder was the betake,
 A maydyn to ben a maydenys make,
 Thov be oure helpe we be not forsake,
 Amice Christi Johannes.

stza 1, 1 2 and yyng] written in left-hand margin, with insertion indicated by a

b Bodleian Library. MS. Eng poet e 1, f. 40r XV cent

c. Balliol College, Oxford MS 354, f 222 r. XVI cent

d. British Museum MS Addit 5665, ff. 37 v., 38 r. XVI cent

e British Museum. MS Addit 5665, ff 48 v, 49 r XVI cent (burden and stzas 1, 4).

MS heading d de Johanne e de sancto Johanne
 burden, 1 1 the] b d e thou c to the 1 2 amice] b Amici (so throughout) d e repeat
 entire burden

stza. 1, 1 1 the now] c omits Cristes dere derlyng] d words for one voice have prince
 of pes dere] d omits c e own 1 2 That] c d e The whyche were] b c d was
 a] c d e omit maydyn] b c e mayd eld] b c d e old 1 3 Myn] c d e My herte]
 d e soule to the] b for. c e a songe d omits 1 4 Amice] b d Amici

stza. 2 The lines of this stanza appear in the following different orders b c 1, 3, 2, 4
 d 3, 2, 1, 4

1. 1. thou were] b c d he was. may] c mayd 1 2 preuytes] c prophettes forsothe
 thou say] b d they he saye. c to hym sayd 1 3 Qwan] b c d omi thov] b c d a slepe
 he. lay] c layd

stza 3, 1 1 Qwan] d omits 1 2 Thov] b Hys c thys d The maydyn]
 b c mayd 1. 3 thy] b c d hys

stza 4, 1 1 the] b c d e hym 1 2 A maydyn] b e won mayd c A mayd a maydenys]
 b a nodyrs c a noder d e a notherys 1 3 c pray we to hym that he vs not forsake
 d Troghffe theire helpe we shall not be forsake Thov be oure helpe] b To help that
 e Be they our helpe that

At end c Explicit

B

British Museum MS Harley 4294.

XV cent.

f 81 v

Prey we all to the Prynce of Pece,
Amice *Christi* Johannes

[1]

I shall you tell of Crystes derlyng,
That was a mayd both old and yong,
My hert ys sett a song for to syng
Amice [*Christi* Johannes]

[2]

Seynt Johan was so fayer a may,
[On] Crystes brest aslepe he layd;
[Hi]s pryvyteys of hevyn ther he sawe,
Amice [*Christi* Johannes]

[3]

Whan Cryst before Pylat was brought,
So clene a mayde forgat he nought,

For vs to dye was hys thought
Amice [*Christi* Johannes]

[4]

Mary and Johan, by Cryst they stode;
Mary wept bothe water and blode
Whan she sawe her Sonne done on the
roode
Amice [*Christi* Johannes]

[5]

Mary, to Johan she was betake,
And for be others make;
Prey we to Cryst we be nott forsake,
Amice [*Christi* Johannes]

The MS is damaged at the left-hand margin. Some of the initial words of the lines have been restored by a modern hand

stza 2, 1 3 pryvyteys] MS prytyteys

stza 5, 1 3 Prey] MS prey y

104

Bodleian Library. MS Eng poet e 1

XV cent.

f 39 v

To Almyghty God pray for pees,
Amice *Christi* Johannes

[1]

O glorius Johan Euangelyste,
Best belouyd with Jhesu Cryst,
In cena Domini vpon hys bryst
Eius vidisti archana

[2]

Chosen thou art to Cryst Jhesu,
Thy mynd was neuer cast frome vertu,
The doctryne of God thou dydest renu
Per eius vestigia.

[3]

Cryst on the rod in hys swet passyon
Toke the hys moder as to hyr sone,
For owr synnes gett grace and perdon
Per tua sancta merita.

[4]

O most nobble of euangelystes all,
Grace to owr Maker for vs thou call,
And off swetenesse celestyall
Prebe nobis pocula

[5]

And aftur the cowers of mortalite
In heven with aungels for to be,
Sayyng 'Ozanna' to the Trinite
Per seculorum secula.

105

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

XVI cent

f 228 v

Pray for vs to the Trinite,
Johannes, *Christi* care

[1]

Thow dereste disciple of Jhesu Criste,
Most best beloved *and* best betriste,
Which at his last soper did lye on his
breste,

Sacra fluenta potare

[2]

As he *in* his passion to his dere moder
Toke the for her keper, her son, *and* his
brother,

Pray that owr hartes may most of all
other

Jhesum semper amare

[3]

And, as thou the stronge venym f 229 r
which ii men had slayn

MS marks burden fote.

Drank without hurt *and* raysed them
agayn,

Pray that the venym of syn may vs not
payn,

Non poterit alligare

[4]

As thou ii men ther tresure dide restore,
That had forsakyn *and* morned ther-
fore,

Pray that we may fals riches forsak for
euermore,

Celis tesavrizare

[5]

And pray that we may haue suche grace
Here so to morne for owr trespas

That we may stond siker beffore Cristes
face,

Cum venerit iudicare

At end Explicit

106

Huntington Library. Christmas carolles newly Inprynted (Richard Kele) c 1550

p [35]

Pray for vs to God on hye,
Blyssed Saynt Johan and Our Lady

[1]

O blessyd Johan the Euangelyst,
Ryght dere beloved of Jesu Cryst,
The preuyte of heuen in erthe thou wyst,
As touchynge to the Trynyte.

[2]

That Prynce that is withouten pere,
To Johan he toke his mode[r] dere
All whyle she lyued in erthe here,
That vyrgyns were, bothe he and she.

[3]

This noble Johan that we of rede
Informed vs of Chrystes dede

The whyle that he on erthe yede,
In his gospell so fynde we

[4]

Whan Chryst on crosse hanged so p [36]
hy,
He sayd vnto his moder Mary,
'Lo, there, thy sone standynge the by;
And se thy moder, Johan,' sayd he.

[5]

Nowe pray we to this saynt echone
For vs to pray to God in trone,
Out of this lyfe whan we shall gone,
To se hym in his mayeste.

Heading in original. Of saynt Johan.

At end Finis

107

Huntington Library Christmas carolles newly Inprynted (Richard Kele). c 1550

p [5]

If thou be Johan, I tell it the
Ryght with a good aduyce,
Thou may be glad Johan to be;
It is a name of pryce.

[1]

The name of Johan wel prays I may
It is full good, ywys,
'The grace of God' it is to say,
It soundes nothyng amys p [6]
If thou be kyng in ryalte
And of wyt full wyse,
Thou mayst be glad Johan to be;
It is a name of pryce

[2]

He is not worthy to hyght Johan,
The oxe that is not whyght,
And thou art not worthy to hight Johan
But grace be in the pyght
If thou haue loue and charyte
And voydest away all vyce,
Then art thou worthy Johan to be;
It is a name of pryce.

[3]

Johan gaue baptyst vnto Chryst;
Of grace was his prechyng,

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1-3. If thou be Johan &c.
stzas 4, 5 If thou be Johan &c
At end Fims.

And Saynt Johan Euangelyst
Was Chrystes owne derlyng
In penaunce and vyrgynyte
He had full great delyce;
God graunt vs grace this Johan to be;
It is a name of pryce

[4]

If thou be cleped Nycolas, p [7]
Bothe in dede and fame,
Yet art thou Johan yf thou haue grace,
It may well be thy name
I tell the true the veryte,
And so I haue done it, ywys
Thou mayst be glad Johan to be,
It is a name of pryce

[5]

A comly wyght is now present;
His name, ywys, is Johan;
Of his gret grace God hath sent
To make vs merye euerychone
Be glad and mery in charyte,
I pray you all lykewyse,
He is well worthy Johan to be,
It is a name of price.

108

Bodleian Library MS. Douce 302

By John Audelay, XV cent

f 28 v

With al the reuer[en]s that we may
Worship we Childermas Day

[1]

Crist crid in cradil, 'Moder, ba ba!'
The childer of I[s]ral cridynd, 'Wa wa!'
Fore here merth hit was aga
When Erod fersly cowth hem fray

[2]

Al knaue childer with u yere
Of age in Bedlem fere or nere,
Thai chedyn here blod with swerd and
spere,
Alas, ther was a rewful aray!

[3]

An hunderd and fourte thousand ther
were;
Crist ham cristynd al in fere
In eor blod, and were martere,
Al clene vergyns, hit is no nay.

[4]

The crisum childer to Crist con cry
'We beth slayne fore gret enuy;
Lord, venge our blod fore thi mercy,
And take our souls to the, we pray'

[5]

An heuenle voys answerd ayayn,
 'Abyds a wyle, *and* sofer your payn;
 Hent the nowmbir be eslayn
 Of your breder, as I you say.

[6]

'Fore ye han sofird marterdom f. 29 r
 For Cristis sake, al *and* sum,
 He wil youe crowne in his kyngdam,
And folou the Lomb in joy for ay'

MS heading In die *sanctorum* Innocencium
 burden, l 1 *With*] MS *Wwith*.

stza 6, l 1 *This line is twice written, once as a catch-line at the bottom of f 28 v*

109

British Museum. MS Addit 5665

XVI cent

f 6 v

Sonet laus *per* secula,
 Innocentum gloria
 Sonet laus *per* secula,
 Innocentum glori*a

*f 7 r

[2]

Membra figi tenera f 6 v
 Thow gauest thy comowndement,
 Matrum tenens viscera.
 Thy hope thou losste *and* thyn entent,
 Sternit dum milicia

[1]

Dic, Erodes impie,
 What awayleth thy cruellis
 In u[n]ciles *pro* sanguine?
 Iputte in payne with grete dysstresse,
 Adiuaat te milicia?

[3]

Reus nunc extingueret
 Infynyte *and* most of pyte,
 Verens regnum perdere,
 In sorowe *and* woo thy see ys dyghtte;
 Vixit Dei milicia.

MS heading De innocentibus

stza 1, l 3 u[n]ciles] MS uicues

110

British Museum. MS Addit 5665.

XVI cent

f 23 v.

Psallite gaudentes,
 Infantum festa colentes.
 Psallite gaudentes,
 Infantum festa colentes.

Munera portantes,
 Munera portantes,
 Regem natum venerantes

[2]

Herode sende for men armed bryghth
 To seke *and* sle [the] Kyng of Lyghth,
 The blessed chylde drew fro Herodes
 myghth,

[1]

When God was born of Mary f 24 r
 fre,
 Herode, the kyng of Galalee,
 Was meued to malice by kynges thre,

. . .
 . . .
 Armati sunt perimentes

MS heading de innocentibus

stza 2, l 2 [the]] MS &. ll 4, 5 MS omits the repeated short line in this stanza.

III

British Museum MS Addit 5665.

XVI cent

f. 24 v

Worcepe we this holy day,
 That all Innocentis for vs pray
 Worchepe we this holy day,
 That all Innocentis *for vs *f 25 r.
 pray

[1]

Herode, that was bothe wyld *and* wode,
 Ful muche he shadde of Cristen blode,
 To sle that chylde so meke of mode
 That Mary bare, that clene may

[2]

Mary *with* Jhesu forthe yfrawght, f 24 v
 As the angell hur towght,

MS heading *de innocentibus*
 stza 4, 1 4 vs] MS *vus*

To flee the londe till hit were sowght;
 To Egyptte she toke hure way

[3]

Herode sloo *with* pryde *and* synne
 Thowsandes of ii yere *and* *withynne*;
 The body of Criste he thoght to wynne
And to destrye the Cristen fay

[4]

Now, Jhesu, that dyest for vs on f 25 r.
 the rode

And *cristendest* Innocentes in hir blode,
 By the *prayer*e of thy moder gode
 Bryng vs to blysse that lastith ay

stza 2, 1 4 Egyptte] MS *epytte*

II2

MS destroyed. Text from Craig.

1534.

Lully, lulla, thow littell tine child,
 By, by, lully, lullay, thow littell tyne
 child,
 By, by, lully, lullay.

[1]

O sisters too, .

How may we do

For to preserve this day

This pore yongling

For whom we do singe,

'By, by, lully, lullay?'

[2]

Herod the king
 In his raging,
 Chargid he hath this day
 His men of might
 In his owne sight
 All yonge children to slay.

[3]

That wo is me,
 Pore child, for thee,
 And ever morne and may
 For thi parting
 Nether say nor singe,
 'By, by, lully, lullay.'

II3

Bodleian Library MS Douce 302.

By John Audelay, XV cent.

f 29 r

I *pra* you, sers, al *in* fere,
 Worchip Seynt Thomas, this hole
 marter

[1]

For on a Tewsday Thomas was borne,
And on a Tuysday he was *prest* schorne,
And on a Tuysday his lyue was lorne,
And sofyrd martyrdam *with* myld
 chere.

[2]

Fore Hole Cherche ryght al hzt was,
 Ellis we had then songyn 'Alas'
 [And] the child that vnborne was
 Schul haue boght his lyue ful dere

[4]

The[n] no child criston schuld be,
 Ne clerke take ordere in no degre,
 Ne mayde mared in no cuntre
 Witouth trebut in the kyng dangere

[3]

Ther prestis were thral he mad hem fre
 That no clerke hongid schuld be
 Bot eretyk or fore traytre,
 Yif one soche case fel ther were.

[5]

Thus Hole Cherche he mad fre;
 Fore fyfte poyntis he dyed treuly;
 In heuen worchipt mot he be,
 And fader and moder him gete and
 bere

MS heading de sancto Thome archiepiscopo cantuariensi stza 4, 1 3 Ne] MS the

114

a

British Museum MS Sloane 2593

XV cent

f 23 v.

A, a, a, a,
 Nu[n]c gaudet ecclesia

[1]

Lestenythgh, lordynges, bothe grete and
 smale,
 I xal you telyn a wonder tale,
 How Holy Cherche was brow[t] in bale
 Cum magna iniuria.

[5]

They openyd here mowthis wonder
 wyde,
 To Thomeys they spokyn mekyl pryde
 'Here, tretour, thou xalt abyde,
 Ferens mortis tedia'

[6]

Thomas answerid with mylde chere,
 'If ye wil me slon in this manere, f 24 r
 Let hem pasyn, alle tho arn here,
 Sine contumilia'

[2]

The greteste clerk of al this lond,
 Of Cauntyrbery, ye vnderstond,
 Slawyn he was [with] wykkyd hond,
 Demonis potencia

[7]

Beforn his aunter he knelyd adoun,
 Ther they gunne to paryn his crown,
 He sterdyn the braynys vp and down,
 Optans celh gaudia

[3]

Knytes kemyn fro Hendry Kyng,
 Wykkyd men, withoute lesyng;
 Ther they dedyn a wonder thing,
 Feruentes insania

[8]

The turmentowres abowtyn sterte,
 With dedly wondys thei gunne him
 hurte,
 Thomas deyd in Moder Cherche,
 Pergens ad celestia

[4]

They sowtyn hym al abowtyn,
 Withine the paleys and withoutyn,
 Of Jhesu Cryst hadde they non dowte
 In sua malicia

[9]

Moder, clerk, wedue, and wyf,
 Worchepe ye Thomeys in al your lyf
 For hi poyntes he les his lyf,
 Contra regis consilia.

- b. *Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge* MS 383, pp 68, 69 XV cent (burden and stzas 1, 3, 2, 4-6, 8, 9)
 c. *Public Record Office* Chancery Miscellanea, Bundle 34, File 1, No 12, f 1 r and v XV cent
 d. *Balliol College, Oxford* MS 354, ff. 227 v, 228 r. XVI cent (burden and stzas 1-5, 7)

burden d marks fote
 stza 1, 1 r Lestenythg] b Herkenud c Listenus d lystyn bothe] b c omit 1 2.
 xal] b wol c d wil telyn] b c d telle
 sta 2, 1 r greteste] b c chef of al] d in 1 2 Of] d Thomas of ye] b yc c d I
 1 3 Slawyn he was] b he was slay b c d have with wykkyd] c cursyd 1.4
 Demonis] d Malorum.
 stza 3, 1 r Knytes] d The knyghtes kemyn] b weron sent c wer comen d were
 sent Hendry] b harry c here d harry the 11 2, 3 d transposes 1. 3 Ther] d
 That day dedyn] d dide wonder] d wykid 1 4 d per Regis Imperia. Feruentes]
 b c Frementes insania] c . ania
 stza 4, 11 1, 2 c transposes 1 r sowtyn] d sowght hym] b d the byschop
 c Tomas 1 2 Withine the paleys] b In hys paleys wyt inne c In the pales with in.
 the] d his paleys] d place 1 3 Cryst] c . ste. hadde they] b they haddon
 d They had 1 4 In] d per malicia] b superbia
 stza 5, 1 r b Wyt her mouthus they yenedon wyde They] c hi wonder] c omits
 d wonderly 1 2 b And seyde to hym wyt gret pride c Thei sayden to Tomas wit gret
 pride d And spake to hym with myche pryde 1 3 Here, tretour] b traytur c Hoy
 traytur d Traytor here xalt] b here schal abyde] b abucege 1 4 tedia]
 c ted ..
 stza 6, 1 r Thomas] b he 1 2 ye wil me slon] b yc shal dye c ye me slae
 1 3 pasyn] b go alle tho arn] b that ys c that byn 1 4 Sine] b absque.
 stza 7, 1 r his] c d the adoun] c d doune. 1 2 Ther] c omits d And than.
 gunne to] c began to d omits. paryn] c pare d pared 1 3 He] c Thei d And.
 sterdyn] c turned d stered braynys] c brayne and] d so At end d Explicit
 stza 8, 1 r The] b c omit sterte] b hym gon sterte c hem sterte 1 2 dedly]
 b wyckede c sore thei] b hey gunne] b c omit. 1. 3. Thomas] b Ther he c he
 in] b on Moder] b c hys modur 1 4 b Optans celi gaudia
 stza 9, 1 r Moder, clerk, wedue] b Clerke, mayde, wedewe c Clerke, mayden, and
 modir 1 2 Worchepe] b Werchepud ye] b c omit in al your] b in al her
 c that gaf vs. 1 3 b for fyftene tokenus of gret strif c Fore fiute 1 poyttes of . scef

115

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet e 1.

XV cent.

f 35 r

Pastor cesus in gregys medio
 Pacem emit cruorys precio

[1]

As storys wryght and specyfy,
 Sent Thomas, thorow Goddes sond,
 Beyng a byschop of Canturbery,
 Was martyrd for the ryght of Eng-
 lond

[2]

Hys moder be blyssyd that hym bar,
 And also hys fader that hym begatt,
 For war we wel kep fro sorow and care
 Thorow the deth of the prelat.

[3]

Thys holy mane of God was accept,
 For whatsoeuer that he ded prayd,
 Vs from the daunger conseruyd and
 kepte
 Of the ranson we xuld haue prayd.

[4]

To and fyfty poyntes onresonabyll,
 Consentyd of byschoppes many on,
 Thou was no[th]yng therto agreabyll;
 Therfor thou sufferyd thi passyon.

[5]

Of knytes cruell *and* also wykyd
 Thou sufferyd thi deth with myld
 mod,
 Wherfor the Chyrch is gloryfyyd
 In the schedy[n]g of this blod

[6]

To Cryst therfor lat vs prey, f. 35 v
 That for vs deyyd on the rood,
Conserue vs al both nyght *and* day
 Thorow the schedyng of Thomas
 blood.

The entire carol is defaced in MS by a single stroke through each line
 stza 3, l 1 accept] MS except accept

116

British Museum MS Addit. 5665.

XVI cent.

f 41 v

Clangat tuba, martir Th[o]m[a,]
 Vt liberet sic Cristi vinea
 Clangat tuba, martir Th[o]m[a,]
 Vt liberet sic *Christi* vinea

[1]

Oute of the chaffe was pured f 42 r
 this corne,
And else the Cherch had ben forlorne;
 To Godes grange now where thow borne,
 O martir Th[oma,]
 O martir Th[o]m[a,]
 O martir Th[o]m[a]

[2]

In London was bore this f 41 v
 martir sothely,
 Of Caunterbury hadde he primacy,
 To whom we syng deuotely
 O martir Th[o]m[a,]
 O martir Thoma,
 O martir Thoma.

MS heading Sancto Thome *All the words on f 42 r and some of those on f 41 v are*
defaced by a stroke through them The name 'Thoma' has been partially erased in all but
its last two occurrences

117

a

Bodleian Library. MS Douce 302

By John Audelay (?), XV cent

f 29 r.

What thythyngis bryngst vs, mes-
 sangere,
 Of Cristis borth this New Eris Day?

[1]

A babe is borne of hye natewre,
 A Prynce of Pese that euer schal be;
 Off heuen *and* erthe he hath the cewre,
 Hys lordchip is eternete
 Seche wonder thythyngis ye may
 here
 That God *and* mon is hon in fere,
 Hour syn had mad bot fyndis
 pray

[2]

A semle selcouth hit is to se
 The burd that had this barne iborne
 This child conseuyd in he degre
And maydyn is as was beforne
 Seche wondur tydyngus ye mow
 here
 That maydon *and* modur ys won
 yfere
 And lady ys of hye aray

[3]
 A wonder thyng is now befall
 That Lord that mad both se and sun,
 Heuen and erth and angelis al,
 In monkynde ys now becumme
 Whatt tydyngus bryngu[st vs,
 messangere?]
 A faunt that is bot of on yere
 Euer as ben and schal be ay.

[4]
 These louele lade con grete her chylde
 'Hayle, Sun, haile, Broder, haile,
 Fader dere!'
 'Haile, doghter, haile, suster, haile,
 moder myld!'
 This haylsyng was on coynt manere

Seche wo[n]der thythyngis [ye may
 here]
 This gretyn was of so he chere
 That mans pyne hit turnyd to
 play

[5]
 That Lord that al thyng mad of noght
 Is mon becum fore mons loue,
 Fore with his blood he schul be bough
 From bale to blys that is aboue.
 Seche wonder thythyngis [ye may
 here]
 That Lord vs grawnt now our
 prayoure,
 To twel in heuen that we may.

MS heading. In die circu[m]cisionis domini
 The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 3 What thythyngis bryngis
 thou vt supra
 burden, l 1 What] MS H what
 stza 1 After l 5 MS inserts What thythyngis bryngis the messangere
 stza 3, l 5 [vs messangere] MS vt supra The line is written at the right of the stanza.
 stza 4, l 1 These] MS iese l 5 [ye may here] MS vt supra
 stza 5, l 5 [ye may here] MS vt supra after l 7 MS. Seche wonder thythyngis
 vt supra

b. Trinity College, Cambridge MS O 3. 58, recto XV cent (burden and stzas.
 1, 3, 2, 4)

c. Bodleian Library MS. Arch Selden B. 26, ff 15 v, 16 r XV cent (burden and
 stzas 1, 2, 4, 3)

burden, l 1 vs] b c thou l 2 New Enis] b yolys c yeres
 stza 1, l 2 A] b The c is that] c and After l 5 c inserts (Chorus) what tydynges vt
 supra l 6 b That man is mad now goddes pere c that man is made now godys
 fere. l 7 Hour] b qwom c wham.
 stza 2, l 1 A] b That semle] b semlyest. selcouth] c syght hit is] b omits.
 l 2 The] b This had] b c hath barne] b c babe l 3. This child conseuyd]
 b and Lord conceuyd. c Conceyued a lord in] b c of l 4 And] b a is] c omits
 was] c heo was l 5 tydyngus ye mow here] b c &c. l 6 maydon] c maide.
 yfere] b in fere l 7. And lady ys] b And sche a lady. c and alwey lady. hye] b greth
 stza 3, l 2 Lord] b kyng mad both se] b c formyd sterre. l 4 In] b c now in.
 now becumme] b newe begunne c by gunne l 5 b Swich wunder &c c Suche &c.
 l 6 that] b omits bot] b now c not on] b c o l 7 Euer as ben] b That hath ben
 euey c Euer hath ybe be] b ben
 stza 4, l 1 These] b That louele lade] b louelyest c maide con] b gan c
 began to grete] c gretyn l 2 c And saide haile some haile fader dere. l 3
 c he saide haile moder haile maide mylde doghter] b dowter he seyth. l 4
 haylsyng] b heylyng c gretynge on] c in l 5. b Swich &c c Suche &c l 6
 This] b That c here gretyn] b heylyng of so he chere] b of so good chere c in suche
 manere l 7 c hit turned mannys peyne to play hit] b is

British Museum MS Addit. 5665

XVI cent

f 12 v

Make vs meri this New Yere,
 Thankyng God *with* hertely chere
 Make vs mery thys New Yere,
 Thankyng God **with* hertely *f 13 r
 chere

[1]

Gabiell, bryghth[er] then the sonne,
 Graciusly grette that mayden fre,
 Thorffe his mekenesse Crist haue whe
 founde
 Ecce ancilla Domini

[2]

Aue Maria, virgin bryght, f 12 v
 We joyeth of thy benignite,
 The Holy Goste ys vn the lyght,
 Thou hast conceyued thy Sone so fre

[3]

Now ys that mayde gret *with* chylde,
 Hirselve alone also credebily,
 Fro the fende she shall vs shyld,
 So sayeth bokys in hure story

MS heading In die circumcisionis

stza 1, l. 3 whe founde] *written below the other words of the line* 1 4 Domini] MS
 Domini n

stza 2, l. 2 benignite] MS virginite benignite *The first word is apparently uncanceled
 through oversight*

stza 3, l. 3 Fro] MS For.

Huntington Library Christmas carolles newly Inprynted (Richard Kele) c 1550.

p [23]

To encrease our joy and blysse
 Christus natus est nobis

[1]

Make we mery in hall and boure,
 And this glorious lady honor we
 That to vs hathe borne our p [24]
 Sauour,
 Homo sine semine

[2]

For, as the sonne, that shyneth bryght,
 Perceth no glas that we may se,
 So conceyued she Jesu full of myght
 Cum virginitatis honore.

[3]

Ysay prophecyed longe beforene
 How this Emanuel borne sholde be
 To saue his people, that were forlorne,
 Dux exurget regere.

[4]

We were all in great dystresse
 Tyll this Lorde dyd make vs free,
 Wherof this feste beryth wytnes,
 Uenit nos redimere.

[5]

A token of loue he fyrst now shewed,
 That he on vs wolde haue pytye,
 Whan he for vs was crucyfed,
 Ut declaratur hodie.

[6]

Most glorious lady, we the pray, p [25]
 That bereth the crowne of chastyte,
 Brynge vs to the blysse that lasteth aye,
 Feliciter congaudere

Heading in original De Circumcisione domini

The repetition of the burden is indicated after stzas 1, 2, 4-6 by To encrease &c
 At end Finis

120

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

XVI cent

f 223 v

What cher? Gud cher, gud cher, gud
cher!

Be mery *and* glad this gud New Yere

[1]

'Lyft vp *your hartes and* be glad
In Crystes byrth,' the angell bad,
'Say eche to oder, yf any be sade,
"What cher?"'

[2]

Now the Kyng of Hevyn his byrth hath
take,
Joy *and* myrth we owght to make,

Say eche to oder for hys sake,
'What cher?'

[3]

I tell you all *with* hart so fre,
Ryght welcum ye be to me,
Be glad *and* mery, for charite
What cher?

[4]

The gudman of this place *in feie*,
You to be mery he *prayth* you here,
And with gud hert he doth to you say,
'What cher?'

Atend Explicit.

121

British Museum MS Addit 40166 (C 3)

XV cent.

f 12 v

Who wot nowe that ys here
Where he schall be anoder yere?

[1]

Anoder yere hit may betyde
This compeny to be full wyde,
And neuer onodyr here to abyde,
Cryste may send now sych a yere.

[2]

Another yere hit may befall
The lest that is *withyn* this hall
To be more mastur then we all;
Cryste [may send now sych a yere]

[3]

This lordis that ben wonder grete,
They threton powre men for to bete,
Hyt lendith lytull in hur threte,
Cryste may send sich a yere.

122

A

Bodleian Library MS. Douce 302.

By John Audelay (?), XV cent.

f 31 r

Nowel, nowel, nowel

[1]

Ther is a babe born of a may
In saluacion of vs;
That he be heryd *in* this day,
Vene, Creatore *Spiritus*

[2]

In Bedlem, *in* that fayre plas,
This blessid barne borne he was;
Him to *serue* God grawnt vs grace,
Tu Trinetatis Vnitas.

[3]

The angelis to cheperdis songyn *and*
sayd,

'Pes in erth be mon vnto '

Therwith thai were ful sore afrayd

'Glorea in exelsis Deo '

[4]

The cheperdis hard that angel song ,

Thai heredon God in Trenete ;

Moche merth was ham among.

Iam lucis ortus sedere

[5]

in kyngis thai soght him herefore,

Of dyuers lond *and* fere cuntre,

And askidyn were this barne was bore,

Hostes Herodes impii

[6]

He bed ham go seche this barne

'Anon this way to me he come,

That I may do hym worchip beforne,

Deus creator *omnium* '

[7]

The stere apered here face beforne,

That gladid here hertes ful graciously,

MS heading In die ephanie &c
stza. 6, l 1 MS *repeats with* bad for bed

Ouer that plase this babe was born,
Jhesu saluotor *seculi*

[8]

Thai knehid adowne with gret reuere[n]s

Gold, sens, *and* myr thai offerd him to ,

He blessid ham ale that were present,

Jhesu *nostra* redempcio.

[9]

The gold betokens he was a kyng,

The sens a prest of dyngnete ,

The myr betokynth his bereyng,

Magne Deus potencie

[10]

The angel hem warnyd in here slepyng

At Erod the kyng thai schuld not
cumme

'That babe you bade on his blessing,

Christe redemptore *omnium* '

[11]

Thai turnyd them another way

Into kyngdom ful graciously ,

Then thai begonon to syng *and* say,

'Saluator mundy, *Domine* '

burden, l 1 Nowel] MS N Nowel

B

British Museum. MS Sloane 2593

f 27 v

Nowel, el, el, el,

Now is wel that euere was woo.

[1]

A babe is born al of a may

In the sauasyoun of vs ,

To hom we syngyn bothe nyght *and* day,

'Veni, Creator *Spiritus* '

[2]

At Bedlem, that blyssid p[l]as,

The chyld of blysse, born he was ,

Hym to serue Go[d] yeue vs gras,

O lux beata Trinitas

stza 3, l 1. come] MS cone

XV cent

[3]

Ther come thre kynges out of the est

To worchepe the Kyng that is so fre,

With gold *and* myrre *and* francincens,

A solis ortus cardine

[4]

The herdes herdyn an aungele cry , f 28 r

A merye song then sungyn he

'Qwy arn ye so sore agast ?

Iam ortus solis cardine.'

[5]

The aungele comyn doun with on cry ;

A fayr song then sungyn he

In the worchepe of that chyld

'Gloria tibi, *Domine* '

stzas. 3, 4, l 4 solis] MS solus

C

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

XVI cent.

f 221 v

Conditor alme siderum
Eterna lux credencium

[1]

Ther ys a chyld borne of a may
In saluacion of all vs;
That we shuld worship euery day
With 'Veni, Creator Spiritus'

[2]

In Bedlem, in that holy place,
Thys blessid chuld, born he was,
Hym to serue he geve vs grace,
With 'Trinitatis Vnitas'
burden, after 1 2 MS &c

[3]

The sheperdes hard that angels songe
And worshypped God in TrynYTE
That so nygh was them amonge,
Iam lucis orto sidere

[4]

Eche man began to cry and call
To hym that syttyth on hye,
To hys blis to bryng them all,
Jhesu saluator seculi.

At end Explicit

123

A

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

XVI cent.

f 222 v

Alleluya, alleluia,
Deo Patri sit gloria

[1]

Ther ys a blossom sprong of a thorn
To saue mankynd, that was forlorne,
As the profettes sayd before;
Deo Patri sit gloria.

[2]

Ther sprong a well at Maris fote
That torned all this world to bote;
Of her toke Jhesu flesshe and blod;
Deo Patri [sit gloria]

[3]

From that well ther strake a strem
Owt of Egypt into Bedlem;
God thorough his highnes turned yt
agayn;
Deo [Patri sit gloria]

[4]

Ther was iii kynges of dyuers londes,
They thought a thought that was
strong,
Hym to seke and thanke among,
Deo [Patri sit gloria]
stza 5, 1 3 clerkys] MS cherkys

[5]

They cam richely with ther presens,
With gold, myre, and frankynsens,
As clerkys rede in ther sequens;
Deo Patri sit gloria

[6]

The eldest kyng of them thre,
He went formest, for he wold se
What domysman that this shuld be,
Deo Patri sit gloria

[7]

The medylmest kyng, vp he rose,
He sawe a babe in armys close,
In medyll age he thowght he was,
Deo Patri [sit gloria]

[8]

The yongest kyng, vp he stode,
He made his offering rych and gud
To Jhesu Cryst, that shed his blod;
Deo Patri sit gloria

[9]

Ther shon a star owt of hevyn bryght,
That men of erth shuld deme aright
That this was Jhesu full of myght,
Deo Patri [sit gloria]

At end Explicit

B

British Museum MS Sloane 2593

f 12 r.

XV cent

[Burden lacking]

[1]

Out of the blomse sprang a thorn
Quan God hymself wold be born,
 He let vs neuere be forlorn,
 That born was of Marie

[2]

Ther sprang a welle al at here f 13 r
 fot

That al this word it t[u]rnyd to good
Quan Jhesu Cryst took fleych *and* blod
 Of his moder Marie.

[3]

Out of the welle sprang a strem
 Fro patriarck to Jerusalem
 Til Cryst hymself ayen it nem
 Of his moder [Marie]

[4]

In wynter *quan* the frost hym fres,
 A powre beddyng *our* Lord hym ches;
 Betwyyn an ox *and* an as
 Godes Sone, born he was
 Of his [moder Marie]

[5]

It was vpon the Twelwe Day
 Ther come thre kynges in ryche aray
 To seke Cryst ther he lay,
 And his [moder Marie.]

[6]

Thre kynges out of dyue[r]s f 12 v
 londe

Swythe comyn with herte stronge,

Before stza. 1 dic ✕.

stzas 4, 5, 9, 10, 14 [moder Marie]] MS &c.

Stzas 6, 7, on f 12 v are marked for insertion in their appropriate place

stza 9, 1 2 He] MS. be

stza 3, 1 4 [Marie]] MS &c

stza 12, 1 3 [He]] MS. &

The chyld to sekyn *and* vnderfonge
 That born was of Marie.

[7]

The sterre led hem a ryte way
 To the chyld ther he lay,
 He help vs bothe nyght *and* day
 That born was of Marie!

[8]

Baltazar was the ferste kyng; f 13 r
 He browte gold to his offeryng
 For to presente that ryche Kyng
 And his moder Marie

[9]

Melchiar was the secunde kyng,
 He browte incens to his offering
 For to presente that ryche Kyng
 And his [moder Marie]

[10]

Jasper was the thred kyng,
 He browte myrre to his offeryng
 For to presente that ryche Kyng
 And his [moder Marie]

[11]

Ther they offerid here presens, f 13 v
 With gold *and* myrre *and* francincens,
 And clerkes redyn in here seqwens
 In Ephifunye

[12]

Knel we down hym beforne,
 And prey we to hym that now is born
 [He] let vs neuer be forlorn,
 That born was of Marie

124

A

British Museum. MS. Sloane 2593

f 14 r

XV cent.

The sterre hym schon bothe nyght
and day
 To lede thre kynges ther *our* Lord lay.

[1]

Jhesu was born in Bedlem Jude
 Of mayde Mary, thus fynde we,
 Out of the est come kynges thre
 With ryche presentes, as I yow say.

[2]

As they went forth in here pas,
The sterre schon al in here fas,
As bryght as gold *wit*hne the glas,
To Bedlem to ledyn hem the way.

[3]

Kyng Herowdes was most of pryse;
He seyde to tho thre kynges that wern
so wyse,
'Go *and* sekzt me yone child of pryse,
And comzt ageyn be me, I you pray

[4]

'*And* I myself xal *wit*h yow wynde,
The chyld to worchepe, the child to
fynde,
And worchepyn hym *wit*h all myn
mynde,
*Wit*h al the onour that I may.'

[5]

Quan they kemyn into that plas
Ther Jhesu *wit*h his moder was,
They settyn hem down *and* made solas,
And euery kyng to other gan say

[6]

Quan they haddyn offerid up here
presens,
*Wit*h gold *and* myrre *and* francincens,
As clerkes redyn in here sequens,
He took it of hem *and* seyde not nay.

[7]

Quan they hadde offerid here offeryng
To Jhesu, that is Heuene Kyng,
Of an aungyl they hadd warnyng
To wendyn hom be *another* way

[8]

The aungyl cam fro Heuene f 14 v
Kyng
And bad tho thre kynges ageyn hom
wynd,
Therin to dwelle, therin to ben
Til Kyng Herowdes endyng day

[9]

Kyng Herowde wox wol ille
For tho thre kynges comyn hym not tille
For to fulfille his wykkyd wille,
And to his knytes he gan say

[10]

Kyng Herowdes wox wroth anon,
The chylderin of Israel he dede slon;
He wende Jhesu hadde ben the ton,
And yyt he falyd of his pray.

[11]

Kyng Herowdes deyid *and* went to helle,
For swete Jhesus, that we spelle;
God saf vs fro the peyns of helle
And fro the wykkyd fyndes pray.

B

Lord Harlech, Brogyntyn, Oswestry MS. Porkington 10.
f. 198 v.

XV cent.

The ster he schynythe bothe nyghte
and day
To lede in kynges ther Jhesu lay.

[1]

Jhesu whas borne in Bedlem Jude f 199 r.
Alle off a mayden, so fyndythe whe,
Owte of the este com kynges in
Wythe ryche presente, as Y yow say

[2]

The stuarde whas bolde off that contre
And bade Errod scholde com *and* see
Lyke as they wentyn alle y in,
Goyng furrthe yn ther jornay.

[3]

Furthe they wentyn, pas for pas,
And euer the ster schone ouer ther fase
Lyke as the son dothe throwe the glas,
And ynto Bedleme they toke ther way.

[4]

When they com ynto the plas,
Jhesu wythe hys modyr whas;
They knelyd adowne *and* made solas,
And euer[y] kyng tyll oder gan say.

[5]

When they had made vp hyr offering,
Golde and myr and ryche thyng,
They lay adowne *and* toke restyng
For alle a nyghte and alle a day

[6]

As they lay in ther slepyng, f 199 v
Ther com a angell *and* browghte tydyng
And bade them wende nat by Errod the
kyng
But bade them take another way

[7]

Errod, off this he wyxyd full gryll,
That this in kynges cam nat hym tyll
Alle to fullfyll hys false wylle,
And tyll hys knyghtes he gan say.

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by The ster
stza 9, 1 3 dwelle, wonny] MS *transposes* stza. 10, 1 1 hell] MS dwell

[8]

Errod bade hys knyghtes anon
That they scholde into Bedlem gon
And sle the chyllderyn euerychon,
And yet he faylyd off hys pray

[9]

Angellys com to Owre Lady anon
And bade hyr into Egypte gone,
Theryne to dwelle, *theryne* to wonny,
Yn tyme hyt wer Errod endyng day

[10]

Herrod dyyd and went to hell,
Theryn to wonny, *theryne* to dwell,
And yn the depyste pytte he fell,
And ther he ys foreuer *and* ay

125

A

British Museum. MS. Sloane 2593.

XV cent

f 17 r

Reges de Saba venient;
Aurum, tus, myrram offerent.
Alleluia

[1]

Now is the Twelthe Day 1come;
The Fader *and* Sone togeder arn nome,
The Holy Gost, as they wern wone,
In fere;
God send vs good Newe Yere

[2]

I wil you synge with al myn myght
Of a chylde so fayr in syght,
A maydyn hym bar this ender nyght,
So styлле,
As it was his wylle

[3]

Thre kynges out of Galyle
Kemyn to Bedlem, that cete,
For to takyn into that se
Be nyte;
It was a ful fayr syte.

[4]

As they keme forght *with* here offering,
They mette *with* Herowdes, that mody
kyng,
He askyd hem of here comyng
That tyde,
And thus to hem he seyde

[5]

'Fro qwens come ye, kynges f 17 v.
thre?'
'Out of the est, as thou mayst se,
To sekyn hym that euere xal be
Throw ryte
Lord *and* Kyng of Myte.'

[6]

'Quan ye han at that Kyng ibe,
Comt ageyn this weye be me,
And tel me the sytes that [ye] han se;
I praye,
Ye gon non other waye'

[7]

Of Herowdys, that mody kyng,
He tokyn here leue of eld *and* yyng,
And for[th] they wente *with* here
offeryng

In syghte,
And ther they come be nyte

[8]

Into Bedlem thei gunne pas, f 18 r
The sterre gan schynyn in here fas
Brytter than euere schon sunne in glas

In londe,
Jhesu *with* Mari thei fonde

[9]

Quan they comyn into that plas f 17 v
Ther Jhesu *with* his moder was,
Thei made offeryng *with* gret solas,

Not ferre,
With gold, incens, *and* myrre

[10]

As they wern homward iwent,
The Fader of Heuene an aungyl sent
To tho thre kynges that made present

Or daye,
And thus to hem gan saye

[11]

'My Lord hagt warnyd you of *your* fon,
Be Kyng Herowdes that ye not gon,
For, if ye *don*, he wil you slon

And traye,
Ye gon *another* waye.'

[12]

Quan they comyn hom to here f. 18 r
cuntre,
Blythe *and* glad they wern alle thre

The burden is written again at the end
offer . . .

Of tho sytes that they had se
Be nyte:
Jhesu *and* Mari bryte

[13]

With tresoun to vs gan he sayn,
He trowid Jhesu to han slayn;
Into Egypt thei went ful playn
Be syde,

Josep was here gyde

[14]

Kyng Herowdes, he made his vow,
Gret plente of chylderin he slow,
He wende ther xuld a be Jhesu,

I saye,
He falyid of his praye

[15]

Herowdes was wod in ryalte,
He slow schylderin ryght gret plente
In Bedlem, that fayre cete,

With stryf,
He left he non on lyf

[16]

The chylderin of Israel cryid, 'Wa wa!'
The moders of Bedlem cryid, 'Ba ba!'
Herowdes low *and* seyde, 'Aha!'

That qwede,
'The Kyng of Juwys is dede.'

[17]

Almyty God in mageste, f. 18 v.
In on God personys thre,

Bryng vs to the blysse that is so fre
In fere,

And send vs a good Newe Yere.

Reges de Saba venient aurum tus mirra[m]
Siza 8 is written after stza 13 in MS.

B a

St John's College, Cambridge. MS. S. 54.
f. 7 v.

XV cent

[Burden lacking]

[1]

Now ys the Twelfth Day com,
Fadyr *and* Son togydyr wone,
The Holy Gost *with* hym is nowme
Ifere;
God send vs all a gud New Yere.

[2]

I xall yow syng thoro hys myghht
 Of a chyld that is so fayr of syghht;
 A mayd hym bare of Cristynnes nyghht
 So styll,
 As yt was hys wyll

[3]

in kynges ther cum of Galely; f 8 r
 Thei cum toward Bedlem Jude,
 Hym to sek *and* to se
 Be nyghht,
 That was a semly syghht

[4]

As thei cum *with* ther offryng,
 The mete *with* Erawd, that mody kyng,
 He hasked hem of her cummy[n]g
 That syd,
And thus tyll hem he sayd

[5]

'Fro qwethur cum ye, kynges in?'
 'Owt of the est, as ye may se,
 To sek hym that euer xall be
 Of myghht
 Lord, Prince, Kyng, *and* Knyght'

[6]

'I pray yow, lordes all in,
 Qwan ye haue that chyld se,
 That ye cum ageyn be me
And telythe
 Qwere that fayr chyld dwellyth'

[7]

'Kyng Herawd, we wyll not lete;
 As thou hast seyde yt xall be sete
 We cum ageyn wthout lete
And tell
 Qwer that fayr chyld dwell.'

[8]

Qwan he had seyde hys lykyng, f 8 v
 Syr Herawd, that mody kyng,

And forth the went *with* ther offrynge
 Be nyghht,
 The stere gaue hem lyghht

[9]

Be the stere that schon so bryghht,
 The in kynges tok wey full ryghht,
 Be the hape of that chyld so bryghht,
 Thoro grace,
 To that holy place

[10]

Qwan thei cum to holy place
 Ther Jhesu *and* hys moder was,
 Thei offryd to hym *with* grete solace,
 In fer,
 Gold, encens, *and* myrre

[11]

All thei wer both blyth *and* glade
 Qwan thei had her offryng mad,
 As the Holy Gost hem bad,
And dedyn
 Worschype God *and* yedyn.

[12]

Qwen the lordynges wer went,
 The chyld an angell from hevyn sent
 To the kynges that mad present
 Or day,
 To tech hem the waye

[13]

'My Lord warnyth yow euery- f 9 r.
 chone
 That non of yow be Herowd gone,
 For, yf ye don, ye xall he slone
And stroy,
And do yow mekyll noye.'

[14]

Thoro the myghht of God verrey
 The kynges tokyn anodur away,
 Owt thei cum or yt was day,
 Full ryghht,
 Home thei cum that nyghht.

stza 1, 1 1 Twelfth] MS xii 1. 5. vs] MS vus.

stza 5, 1 5 Knyght] MS knyghh

stza. 7, 1 1 we] MS reading doubtful There are one or two illegible letters before and after we

stza 8, 1 5 hem] MS. bem.

stza. 13, 1. 3 he] MS be.

b *Bodleian Library* MS. Eng poet. e 1, ff. 31 v-32 v. XV cent (stzas. 1-6, 8, 10-14, A 12, C 12)

stza 1, 1 2 Fadyr and Son] The Fadyre and the Son wone] is won 1 3 with] his
wyth is] omits 1 4 In fere 1 5 all a] omits

stza 2, 1 1 xall] wold thoro hys] and 1 2 that is] omits of] in. 1 3 mayd
hym] maydyn of] on

stza 3, 1 1 ther] omits of] fro 1 2 Tho bedlem that fayer sety 1 3 for to
ofer and se 1 5 That] it semly] wol fayre

stza 4, 1 1 cum] yedyn 1 2. with] omits 1 4 syd] tym. 1 5 tyll] to. he
sayd] gun say.

stza 5, 1 1 Fro qwethur] for wense ye] ye now 1 3 To sek] for sek yng. hym]
omits 1 4 thowre ryth 1 5 Prince] omits

stza 6 Qwan ye haue at that chyld be,

Cum ageyn this wey be me

And tell me as ye haue see,

I prey,

Go not anothyr wey

stza 8, 11 1, 2 transposes 1 1. Thei toke her leue both held and y yng 1 2
Syr] Of 1 3 went] yedyn 1 5 hem] them.

stza 10, 1 1 holy] that blyful 1 2 Ther] omits and] with 1 3 Thei] Ther
thei to hym] omits 1 5 encens] sens

stza 11 b has lines in the order 2, 3, 1 1 1 All] Then thei wer] wer thei.
blyth] mery 1 4 And lyth 1 5 it was a w[el] fayre syth

stza 12, 1 1 anon as thei a wey went 1 2. The chyld] The fathyr of heun.
from hevyn] omits 1 5 And this tyl hem he say

stza 13, 1 1 warnyth] warnyd. 1 2 non of yow] ye not 1 3 ye xall be]
he wol yow 1 4 stroy] strow 1 5 noye] woo

stza 14, 11 1, 2 transposes 1 1 God verrey] goddes lay 1 2 The kynges
tokyn] Thei yedyn all away] wey 1 3 as the angel tyl hem gan say 1 4

fol tyth 1 5 it was a wol fayre syth.

For A 12 b reads

Qwan thei were cum into hyr cuntre,

Mery and glad then wer thei

For the syth that thei had se

Be nyth,

For as thei cam be lyth.

For C 12 b reads

Prey we al with gud devocion

To that Lord of gret renown,

And of owre synys we ask remysion

And grace,

In heune to haue a place

C

British Museum. MS Harley 541

XV cent

f 214 r.

[Burden lacking]

[1]

Now ys Crystemas ycum,
Fadyr and Son togedyr in oon,
Holy Goste, as ye be oon,
In fere-a,
God sende vs a good N[e]w Yere-a.

[2]

I wolde yow syng, for and I myght,
Off a chyld ys fayre in syght,
Hys modyr hym bare thys yndyrs
nyght,
So styll-a,
And as yt was hys wyll-a

[3]

There cam in kynges fro Galylee
Onto Bethleem, that fayre cytee,
To seke hym that euer shulde be
By ryght-a
Lorde and Kynge and Knyght-a

[4]

As they cam forth with there offrynge,
They met with the Herode, that modyr
kyng,
Thys tyde-a,
And thys to them he sayde-a

[5]

'Off wens be ye, yow kynges in þ'
 'Off the este, as ye may see,
 To seke hym that euer shulde be
 By ryght-a
 Lorde and Kynge and Knyght-a '

[6]

'Wen yow at thys chylde have be,
 Cum home ayeine by me,
 Tell me the syghtes that yow have see,
 I pray yow,
 Go yow non odyr way-a.'

[7]

They toke her leve, both olde and yonge,
 Off Herode, that mody kynge,
 They went forth *with* there offrynge
 By lyghth-a,
 By the sterre that shoon so bryght-a

[8]

Tyll they *cam* into the place
 There *Jhesus* and hys modyr was,
 Offryd they vp *with* grete solace
 In fere-a
 Golde and sence and myrre-a

stza 2, 1 1 myght] MS myghght
 nyghght

stza 3, 1 4 ryght] MS ryghght

stza 5, 1 4 ryght] MS ryghght

stza 6, 1 3, stza 11, 1 5 syghtes] MS syghghtes

stza. 7, 1 4 lyghth] MS lyghth

stza 9, 1 2 To] MS Thy To

1 2 syght] MS syghght. 1 3 nyght] MS

1 5 Knyght] MS knyghght

1 5 Knyght] MS knyghght

1 5 syghghtes

1 5 bryght] MS bryghght

[9]

The Fadyr of Hevyn an awngyll down
 sent
 To thyke in Kynges that made *presente*,
 Thys tyde-a,
 And thys to them he sayd-a

[10]

'My Lorde have warnyd yow f 214 v
euerychone
 By Herode Kynge yow go not home,
 For, and yow do, he wyll yow slone
 And strye-a,
 And hurte yow wondyrly-a '

[11]

Forth then wente thys kynges in
 Tyll they *cam* home to there cuntre,
 Glade and blyth they were all in
 Off the syghtes that they had see,
 Bydene-a
 The cumpany was clene-a

[12]

Knele we now here adown,
 Pray we in good devocion
 To the Kynge of grete renown
 Of *grace*-a
 In hevyn to have a place-a.

126

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

XVI cent

f 165 v

Be mery, all that be present
 Omnes de Saba venient

[1]

Owt of the est a sterre shon bryght
 For to shew thre kynges light,
 Which had fere traveled by day *and*
 nyght
 To seke that Lord that all hath sent

[2]

Therof hard Kyng Herode anon,
 That in kynges shuld cum thorow his
 regyon
 To seke a child that pere had non,
 And after them sone he sent

[3]

Kyng Herode cried to them on hye,
 'Ye go to seke a child truly,
 Go forth *and* cum agayn me by
 And tell me wher that he is lent.'

[4]

Forth they went by the sterres leme
Till they com to mery Bethelem,
Ther they fond that swet barn-teme
That sith for vs his blode hath spent

[5]

Balthasar kneled first adown
And said, 'Hayll, Kyng most of renown'
And of all kynges thou berist the crown,
Therfor with gold I the *present* '

[6]

Melchior kneled down in that stede
And said, 'Hayll, Lord, in thy pryest-
hede'

Receyve ensence to thy *manhede*,
I brynge it *with* a good entent.'

[7]

Jasper kneled down in that stede
And said, 'Hayll, Lord, in thy knyght-
hede'

I offer the myrre to thy Godhede,
For thow art he that all hath sent '

[8]

Now lordes *and* ladys in riche aray,
Lyfte vp your hartes vpon this day,
And ever to God lett vs *pray*,
That on the rode was rent

At end Explicit

127

Cambridge University Library. MS. Ee 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 51 v

Ortus est Sol Iusticie
Ex ilibata virgine.

[1]

Thre kinges on the Twelfth Daye,
Stella micante preuia,
Vnto Bethелеem they toke theire way,
Tria ferentes munera.
Hym worship we now borne so fre
Ex ilibata virgine

[2]

They went alle thre that chielde to se,
Sequentes lumen syderis,
And hym they founde in ragges wounde
In sinu matris virginis
Hym worship we now born so fre
Ex ilibata virgine.

[3]

For he was King of Mageste,
Aurum sibi optulerunt,
For he was God and ay shal be,
Thus deuote prebuerunt.
Hym worship we now born so fre
Ex ilibata virgine

[4]

For he was man, they gave hym than
Mirram, que sibi placuit.
This infant shone in heven trone
Qui in presepe iacuit.
Hym worship we now borne f 52 r.
so fre
Ex ilibata virgine.

[5]

Warned they were, these kinges thre,
In sompnis per Altissimum
That they ayene no wyse shuld go
Ad Herodem nequissimum.
Hym worship we now borne so fre
Ex ilibata virgine.

[6]

Not by Herode, that wikked knyght,
Sed *per* viam aliam
They be gone home ageyn full right
Per Dei prouidenciam.
Hym worship we now borne so fre
Ex ilibata virgine.

[7]

Joseph fledde thoo, Mary also,
 In Egiptum cum puero,
 Where they abode till King Herode
 Migravit ex hoc seculo
 Hym worship we now born so fre
 Ex illibata virgine.

stza 1, 1 1 Twelfth] MS xiith

[8]

That heuenly King to blis vs bringe
 Quem genuit puerpera,
 That was *and* is *and* shall not mys
 Per infinita secula
 Hym worship we nowe borne f 52 v.
 so fre
 Ex illibata virgine

128

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee 1 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 52 v.

Beholde, to you gret joy I bring,
 For nowe is born Crist, Heuen King

[1]

On Twelfthe Day came Kinges thre
 With golde, encense, and myrre so fre
 Vnto Bethelhem to seke and see
 The Son of God, *Crist*, Heuen King.

[2]

In *here* way tho Herode, that kyng,
 Bade them goo and axe inquiring
 Where this chielde was, *and* worde hym
 bring,
 The Sonne [of God, *Crist*, Heuen King]

[3]

They passed furth, and the sterre bright
 Went before them *and* gave them light
 Till they came where they had a sight
 Of Goddes Son, [*Crist*, Heuen King]

stza 1, 1. 1 Twelfthe] MS xiith

stza 2, 1 4 MS The sonne &c.

[4]

Warned they were in theire slepe thoo
 They shulden not go to Herode, theire foo,
 Another way home they be goo
 By *vertu* of *Crist*, Heuen King

[5]

Into Egipte Joseph fledde thoo
 With the chielde and moder alsoo,
 The aungell bade hym thider goo
 With *Mary and Crist*, Heuen King

[6]

Herode, seyng he hadde a trayne, f 53 r
 Alle children of Israell hath slayne
 For this chielde *Crist*, that is certayn
 The Son of God *and* Heuen King

stza 3, 1 4 MS Of goddes son &c.

129

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f. 53 r.

A sterre shone bright on Twelfthe Day
 Ouer that place where Jhesus lay

[1]

On Twelfthe Day this sterre so clere
 Brought kinges iii oute of the eest
 Vnto that King that hath no pere,
 In Bethelhem Jude where he did rest
 This sterre that day tho went away
 Fro that swete place where Jhesus
 lay

[2]

Bothe golde, encense, and swete myrre
 thoo,
 Alle thre they gave vnto that chielde,
 The whiche is God *and* man alsoo
 Borne of a virgyne vndefelde.
 This sterre that day tho went away
 Fro that swete place where Jhesus
 lay

[3]

For he was King of Mageste,
They gave hym golde *with grete*
reuerence,

For he was God in persones thre,
Mekely to hym they gave encense
This sterre that day tho went
away
Fro that swete place where Jhesus
lay

[4]

For he was man, they gave hym than
Mirre in token that he shulde f 53 r
dye
And be buried for synfull man
And arise ayene and to blis stye
This sterre that day tho went away
Fro that swete place where Jhesus
lay

[5]

Whenne theire offring alle thre had
made
To Crist, that King *and* Lorde of alle,
Right sone the sterre away did fade
That brightly shone ouer that halle
This sterre that day tho went away
Fro that swete place where Jhesus
lay

[6]

As they were goyng in *there* way,
They mette Herode, that mody king,
He bade them wite where that chield
lay
And come by hym and worde hym
bring
This sterre that daye tho went
away
Fro that swete place where Jhesus
lay.

[7]

King Herode fayne wolde them haue
slayne,
But they were warned on a nyght
They shulde not goo by hym agayne,
By an aungell bothe faire *and* bright

burden, l 1 Twelfthe] MS xii.

This sterre that day tho went away
Fro that swete place where Jhesus
lay.

[8]

They were full glad, and, as he badde,
They be gone home another way,
And King Herode was wrothe *and* sadde
That he of them had lost his pray.
This sterre that day tho went away
Fro that swete place where Jhesus
lay.

[9]

Into Egipte Joseph thoo fledde
With the moder *and with* the chielde,
Where they abode till he was dedde
And of his wille he was begiled.
This sterre that day tho went away
Fro that swete place where Jhesus
lay.

[10]

Kyng Herode thanne in his grete f 54 r
wreth,
Seyng of them his purpose lorne,
Infantes full yonge he put to deth
Thurgh alle Bethелеem that tho were
borne.
This sterre that daye tho went away
Fro that swete place where Jhesus
lay

[11]

Thanne, as the prophete Ysay
Had *prophesied* long tyme before,
A voice was hurde in blisse an hye
Of grete weping *and* wayling sore
This sterre that day tho went away
Fro that swete place where Jhesus
lay

[12]

Honoure to Criste, that now was borne,
As *prophecy* had saide before,
To save mankyende, that was forlorne,
And to his blisse for to restore
This sterre that day tho went away
Fro that swete place where Jhesus
lay.

stza. 1, l 1 Twelfthe] MS xii^{the}

130

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 58 r

Of a mayden to vs borne is
The Sonne of God and King of Blis

[1]

Nowe this tyme Rex Pacificus
Is man become for loue of vs,
And his name is called Jhesus,
The Sonne of God *and* King of Blis

[2]

On Twelfthe Daye came kinges thre
With golde, encense, *and* myre so fre
Vnto Bethleem to seke *and* see
The Sonne of God *and* King of Blis.

[3]

On Twelfth Daye by grace dyvyne
Atte the fest of architriclyn
Crist turned water into wyne,
The Sonne of God *and* King of Blis.
stzas 2, 4, 1 1. Twelfthe] MS xiith

[4]

On Twelfthe Daye in Jordan floode
Of Jhon Baptist *with* a myelde moode
Criste was baptized, that Lorde so goode
The Sonne of God *and* King of Blis

[5]

Ouer his hed there stod a dove,
A voice was hurde in blis aboue
'This is my chielde, the whiche I loue,
The Sonne of God *and* King of
Blisse'

[6]

Bothe God *and* man, in oure nature
He sanctified the waters pure,
Of heuen blisse to make vs sure,
The Sonne of God *and* King of Blisse
stza 3, 1 1 Twelfth] MS. xiith

131

a

British Museum MS. Addit 5665

XVI cent.

f 40 v

Jhesus autem hodie
Regressus est a Jordane
Jhesus autem hodie
Regressus est a Jordane

[1]

When Jhesus Criste baptized f 41 r
was,
The Holy Gost descended *with* grace;
The Fader voys was herde in the place
'Hic est Filius meus, ipsum audite'

[2]

There were thre persons *and* o f 40 v.
Lorde,
The Sone baptized *with* on acorde,

MS heading (*repeated on f 41 r.*) Epiphanie
stza 2, 1 1 o] MS oo 1 4 [ipsum audite]] MS c^o
Signatures f 40 v Hyt ys gode to be gracijs, sayde John Trouluffe f 41 r Well Fare
thyn herte, sayde Smert

The Fader sayde this blessed worde
'Hic est Filius meus, [ipsum audite']

[3]

Considere now, all Cristiante,
How the Fader sayde bycause of the
The grete mistery of the Trinite
'Hic est Filius meus; [ipsum audite']

[4]

Now, Jhesu, as thou art bothe f. 41 r
God and man,
And were baptized in flom Jordayn,
Atte oure last ende, we pray the, say
than.
'Hic est Filius meus, [ipsum audite']

b *Balliol College, Oxford* MS 354, f 178 r. and v XVI cent.

burden, 1 2 egressus est de virgine ll 3, 4 omits
 stza 1, 1 2 with] by 1, 3 the place] that place
 stzas 1-4, 1 4 hic est filius meus dilectus ipsum audite (2-4 audite)
 stza 2, 1 1 There] They thre] in and] in 1, 2 baptized] baptised was
 stza 4, 1 2 were] was in] at. At end Explicit

132

A

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354

XVI cent

f 228 r

Caput apri refero,
 Resonens laudes Domino

[1]

The bores hed in hondes I brynge,
 With garlondes gay and byrdes syngynge,
 I pray you all, helpe me to syng,
 Qui estis in conuiuio.

[2]

The bores hede, I vnderstond,
 Ys cheff seruyce in all this londe,
 Whersoever it may be fonde,
 Seruitur cum sinapio

[3]

The bores hede, I dare well say,
 Anon after the Twelfth Day
 He taketh his leve and goth away,
 Exiit tunc de patria

MS marks burden fote

stza 3, 1. 2 Twelfth] MS xiith

B

Bodleian Library Rawlinson 4to 598 (10) (Wynkyn de Worde)

1521

verso

Caput apri differo,
 Reddens laudes Domino.

[1]

The bores heed in hande bring I,
 With garlans gay and rosemary,
 I pray you all, syng merely,
 Qui estis in conuiuio

[2]

The bores heed, I vnderstande,
 Is the cheff seruyce in this lande,
 Loke, whereeuer it be fande,
 Seruite cum cantico

[3]

Be gladde, lordes, bothe more and lasse,
 For this hath ordeyned our stewart
 To chere you all this Christmasse,
 The bores heed with mustarde

Heading in original A caroll bringyng in the bores heed

burden, 1 2 laudes] Orig laudens.

stza 2, 1 2 'cheff' Orig thefe.

At end Finis

A MS note at the head (XVI cent) reads a carrol to syng The same hand has written after the Finis Roger. y r (surname illegible).

C a

Queen's College, Oxford Traditional version.

1921.

Caput apri defero,
Reddens laudes Domino

[1]

The Boar's head in hand bear I,
Bedeck'd with bays and rosemary
And I pray you, masters, be merry,
Quot estis in convivio

[2]

The Boar's head, as I understand,
Is the bravest dish in all the land,
When thus bedeck'd with a gay garland.
Let us servire cantico

[3]

Our steward hath provided this,
In honour of the King of Bliss,
Which on this day to be served is,
In Reginensi Atrio.

b *Queen's College, Oxford* Traditional version, 1811

stza 1, 1 3 masters] my masters
stza 2, 1 2 bravest] rarest the (2)] thus, 1 3 When thus bedeck'd] Which
thus bedeck'd

The following readings are supplied from MS notes in the Bodleian Library's copy of
Dibdin's *Typographical Antiquities* (London, 1812) 'from a MS in the handwriting of
T Hearne, anno 1718'.

stza 1, 1 3 you] ye be merry] merry be stza 2, 1 2 rarest] bravest
stza 3, 1 1 hath] has

133

British Museum MS. Addit. 5665.

XVI cent

f 7 v

Nowell, nowell, nowell, nowell,
Tydynges gode Y thyng[ke] to telle
Nowell, nowell, nowell, nowell,
Tydynges gode Y thyngke *to *f 8 r
telle.

[1]

The borys hede that we bryng here
Betokeneth a Prince withowte pere
Ys born this day to bye vs dere;
Nowell, nowelle

MS heading. In die nativitat^{is}
stza. 1, 1. 3 vs] MS. *vus*.

[2]

A bore ys a souerayn beste f 7 v.
And acceptab[l]e in euery feste,
So mote thys Lord be to moste *and* leste,
Nowell, [nowelle]

[3]

This borys hede we bryng *wth* song
In worchyp of hym that thus sprang
Of a virgine to redresse all wrong,
Nowell, [nowelle]

Signature Smert

134

Bodleian Library. MS Eng. poet. e 1

XV cent

f 29 v

Po, po, po, po,
Loue brane *and* so do mo.

[1]

At the begynnynge of the mete
Of a borys hed ye schal hete,
And in the mustard ye xal wete,
And ye xal syngyn or ye gon.

[2]

Welcum be ye that ben here,
And ye xal haue ryth gud chere,
 And also a ryth gud fare,
And ye xal syngyn or ye gon

[3]

Welcum be ye euerychon,
 For ye xal syngyn ryth anon;
 Hey yow fast, that ye had don,
And ye xal syngyn or ye gon

135

Lord Harlech, Brogyntyn, Oswestry MS Porkington 10.

XV cent

f 202 r

Hey, hey, hey, hey!
 The borrys hede is armyd gay.

[1]

The boris hede *in* hond I bryng,
With garlond gay *in* porttoryng;
 I pray yow all *with* me to syng, f 202 v.
With hay!

[2]

Lordys, knyghttus and skyers,
 Persons, prystis, and wycars,
 The boris hede ys the fur[s]t mes,
With hay!

[3]

The boris hede, as I yow say,
 He takis his leyfe *and* gothe his way
 Son after the Tweylffyt Day,
With hay!

[4]

Then commys *in* the secund kowrs *with*
 mykyll pryd,
 The crannus *and* the heyrroons, the
 bytteris by ther syde,
 stza 1, 1.2 *With*] MS W^{tt} (*so throughout*)

The pertrychys *and* the plowers, the
 wodcokus *and* the snyt,
With ha[y!]

[5]

Larkys *in* hoot schow, ladys for to pyk,
 Good drynk *ther*to, lycyvs *and* fynn,
 Blwet of allmaynn, romnay *and* wyin,
With hay!

[6]

Gud bred, alle, *and* wyin, dare I well say,
 The boris hede *with* musterd armyd soo
 gay.

[7]

Furmante to potdtage, *with* wennissun
 fynn,
And the hombuls of the dow, *and* all
 that euer commis *in*.

[8]

Cappons ibake, *with* the pesys of the
 roow,
 Reysons of corrans, *with* odyre spysis
 moo.
 stza 3, 1 3. Tweylffyt] MS xn theylffyt

136

A

British Museum. MS Harley 5396

XV cent

f 275 v.

Nay, Iuy, nay, hyt shal not be, iwys,
 Let Holy hafe the maystry, as the
 maner ys.

[1]

Holy stond *in* the hall, fayre to behold,
 Iuy stond *without* the dore, she ys ful
 sore a-cold.

[2]

Holy *and* hys mery men, they dawnsyn
and they syng;
 Iuy *and* hur maydenys, they wepyn *and*
 they wryng.

[3]

Ivy hath a kybe, she kaght yt *with* the
colde,
So mot they all haf ae *that with* Ivy
hold.

[4]

Holy hat berys as rede as any rose,
The foster, the hunters kepe hem fro the
doo[s]

[5]

Iuy hath berys as blake as any slo,
Ther com the oule *and* ete hym as she
goo.

MS heading (*in later hand*) A Song on the Ivy *and* the Holly

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 Nay Iuy stzas 2, 6 Nay
stza 3 Nay Iuy noy hyt stzas 4, 5 Nay Iuy nay hyt stza 7 Nay Iuy nay hyt
shalnot

B

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354.

XVI cent.

f 251 r

Nay, nay, Ive, it may not be, iwis,
For Holy must haue the mastry, as
the maner is.

[1]

Holy berith beris, beris rede ynowgh;
The thrilstok, the popyngay daunce *in*
euery bow
Welaway, sory Ivy, what fowles hast
thow
But the sory howlet, *that* syngith, 'How,
how?'

[2]

Ivy berith beris as black as any slo;
Ther commeth the woode-coluer *and*
fedith her of tho
She liftith vp her tayll, *and* she cakkes
or she go;
She wold not for [a] hundred poundes
serue Holy soo

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 na[y] (*MS torn*) stzas
3, 4 nay stza 2, 1 r slo] MS sho 1 4 [a] hundred poundes] MS C libra
At end Explicit

[3]

Holy *with* his mery men, they f 251 v
can daunce *in* hall,
Ivy *and* her jentyll women can not
daunce at all,
But lyke a meyny of bullokkes *in* a
waterfall,
Or on a whot somers day, whan they be
mad all

[4]

Holy *and* his mery men sytt in cheyres
of gold;
Ivy *and* her jentyll women sytt *with*owt
in fold,
With a payre of kybid helis cawght
with cold,
So wold I *that* euery man had *that with*
Yvy will hold

137

Bodleian Library MS. Eng poet. e. 1.

XV cent

f. 53 v.

[1]

Alleluia, alleluia,
Alleluia, now syng we.

Her commys Holly, *that* is so gent,
To please all men is his intent
Alleluia.

[2]

But, lord *and* lady off this hall,
Whosoever ageynst Holly call—
Alleluia

[3]

Whosoever ageynst Holly do crye,
In a lepe shall he hang full hye
Alleluia

[4]

Whosoever ageynst Holly do f 54 r
syng,
He maye wepe *and* handys wryng
Alleluia

138

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet e r

XV cent.

f 54 r

Ivy, chefe off treis it is,
Veni, coronaberis

[1]

The most worthye she is in towne—
He that seyth *other* do amysse—
And worthy to bere the crowne,
Veni, coronaberis

[2]

Ivy is soft *and* mek off spech;
Ageynst all bale she is blysse,
Well is he that may hyre rech,
Veni, coronaberis

[3]

Ivy is green *with* colour bright,
Of all treis best she is;
And that I preve well now be right
Veni, coronaberis

[4]

Ivy beryth berys black,
God graunt vs all his blisse,
For there shall we nothyng lack,
Veni, coronaberis

139

St John's College, Cambridge MS S 54.

XV cent

f 12 r

Nowell, nowell, ell, ell!
I pray yow, lystyn qwat I yow [tell]

[1]

Ouer all gatis that I haff gon
Amonge the grovys so fayer *and* grene,
So fayer a brownych than know I non
As Ivy ys, *and* that I mene

[2]

Ivy ys grene *and* wyl be grene
Qweresoever a grow in stok or ston,
Therefore I red yow, so mut I chene,
Ye love well Ivy eueryschon.

[3]

I xall yow tell a reson quy
Ye xall low Ivy *and* thynk no chame
The fyrst letter begynnyth *with* I,
And ryght yevyn so Jhesus name

[4]

The secund letter ys *an* V;
I lykyn to a wurthy wyffe,
Moder sche ys and maydyn trewe;
Non but on I that euer bare lyffe.

[5]

The thyrd letter is *an* E,
I lykyn to Emanuell,
That is to sey, 'Cryst *with* vs be
And euermore for to dwell'

[6]

As I lay in myn bed alone, f 12 v.
A comely lady sent to me
And bebad me rede theis letterys euery-
schon,
And all the better xuld I be

[7]

All how Holy be youre fon,
And wile yow towch with tray *and*
tene,

Mekenes of Ivy xall hym ouergonne,
And fayer wurdys euer betwene.

[8]

Ouer all gatys that I have gone
Among theis grouys fayer *and* grene,

burden, 1 2 *The last word is destroyed by a tear in MS*

stza 3, 1 2 *After thynk MS. has an incomplete letter s* 1 4 ryght] MS ryghh.

stza 4, 1 1 *an*] MS &

stza 5, 1 1 *an*] MS & 1 3 vs] MS. *vus.*

stza 9, 1 1 Thus] MS thus thus

I have be wery son anon,
My botte sche was that Ivy tre

[9]

Thus Ivy full fayer I gan spelle;
So fayer a brawnch know I non,
I pray yow tent qwat I yow tel,
And love well Ivy eueryschon

140

Bodleian Library. MS Eng poet e 1

XV cent

f 38 r

Reuertere, reuertere,
The quene of blyse *and* of beaute

[1]

Behold what lyfe that we ryne ine,
Frayl to fale *and* euer lyke to syne
Thorow owr enmys entysyng,
Therfor we syng *and* cry to the

[2]

Come hyder, Lady, fayryst flovre,
And kepe vs, Lady, from dolovre;
Defend vs, Lady, *and* be owr socovre,
For we cease not to cal to the

[3]

Torne owr lyfe, Lady, to Goddys luste,
Syne to fle *and* fleschly luste,
For aftur hym in the we trust
To kep vs frome aduersyte.

[4]

Thys holy day of Puryfycacyon f 38 v
To the temple thou bare owr saluacyon,
Jhesu Cryst, thin own swet Sone,
To whome therfor now syng we

[5]

Farwell, Crystmas fayer *and* fre!
Farwell, Newers Day with the!
Farwell, the holy Epyphane!
And to Mary now syng we

MS heading Of the puryfycacyon

The repetiton of the burden is indicated after each stanza by reuertere &c

stza 4, 1. 2. saluacyon] MS so saluacyon

141

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354.

XVI cent.

f 224 v

Now haue gud day, now haue gud day!
I am Crystmas, *and* now I go my way.

[1]

Here haue I dwellyd with more *and* lasse
From Halowtyde till Candylmas,
And now must I from you hens passe;
Now haue gud day!

[2]

I take my leve of kyng *and* knyght,
And erle, baron, *and* lady bryght,
To wildernes I must me dyght;
Now haue gud day!

[3]

And at the gud lord of this hall
I take my leve, *and* of gester all,
Me thynke I here, Lent doth call
Now haue gud day!

[4]

And at euery worthy offycer,
 Merchall, panter, *and* butler,
 I take my leue as for this yere,
 Now haue gud day'

[5]

Anoder yere I trust I shall
 Make mery in this hall,
 Yf rest *and* pease in Ynglond may fall;
 Now haue gud day'

[6]

But oftyntymys I haue hard say
 That he is loth to pert away
 That ofty n byddyth, 'Haue gud day'
 Now haue gud day'

[7]

Now fare ye well, all in fere,
 Now fare ye well for all this yere,
 Yet for my sake make ye gud cher,
 Now hau[e] gud day'

At end Explicit

142

a

St John's College, Cambridge MS S 54

XV cent.

f 6 v

'Lollay, lay, lay, lay,
 My dere modyre, lullay'
 'Lullay, my chyld'

[1]

A chyld ys born, ewys,
 That all this word xall blys,
 Hys joy xall neuer myse,
 For Jhesu ys hys name

[2]

On the good Yowe morne
 The blyssfull chyld was borne,
 To were a crown of thorne,
 [For Jhesu ys hys name]

[3]

Of a madyn so good
 He toke both fleche *and* blod;

burden, after l 2 MS. c^o
 stza 3, l 2. both] MS both

b Westmynster Abbey. MS 20, f 20 r. XV cent (stzas 1, 2, 6, 5, and one stanza not in a) Stza 1 is written continuously without brackets and is possibly intended to be used as the burden.

stza 1, l 1 chyld] Babe l 2 That all] *omits* xall] to joy and l 3. myse]
 fade *and* misse l 4 For] *And*

stza 2, l 1 the good Yowe] cristmasse day at l 2 The blyssfull] thys. borne]
 1 borne l 3 to saue vs all that were for lorne l 4. *And* Jhesus

stza 5, l 1 On Estyr day so swythe l 3 blyth] bothe gladd *and* blythe l 4.
And Jh

stza. 6, l. 1 the] *omits*. at non] so sone. l 2 the] *omits* done] 1 done l 3 Be
 twyx all morne *and* none l 4 *And* Jhesu.

b has an additonal stanza at the end as follows

On the Holy Thursday
 To hevene he toke hys way,
 Ther to abyde foreuer and day,
And Jhesus [is hys name]

143

British Museum. MS. Sloane 2593

XV cent.

f 32 r

'Lullay, myn lykyng, my dere sone,
myn swetyng,
Lullay, my dere herte, myn owyn
dere derlyng'

[1]

I saw a fayr maydyn syttyn *and* synge,
Sche lullyd a lytyl chyld, a swete
lordyng.

[2]

That eche Lord is that that made alle
thinge,
Of alle lordis he is Lord, of alle kynges
Kyng

[3]

Ther was mekyl melody at that f 32 v.
chyldes berthe;

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 lull myn stza 2 lullay

Alle tho wern in heuene blys, thei made
mekyl merth.

[4]

Aungele bryght, thei song that nyght
and seydyn to that chyld,
'Blyssid be thou, *and* so be sche that is
bothe mek *and* myld'

[5]

Prey we now to that chyld, *and* to his
moder dere,
Grawnt hem his blyssyng that now
makyn chere.

144

British Museum. MS. Addit. 5666.

XV cent

f 4 v

'Lullay, lullow, lully, lullay,
Bewy, bewy, lully, lully,
Bewy, lully, lullow, lully,
Lullay, baw, baw, my barne,
Slepe softly now.'

[1]

I saw a swete *seml*y syght, f 5 r.
A blisful birde, a blossom bryght,
That murnyng made *and* murther of
mange,
A maydyn moder, mek *and* myld,
In credil kep a knaue child
That softly slepe, scho sat *and* sange.

The words of both burden and stanza are written twice in MS, once for each voice

145

a

Bodleian Library. MS Eng poet e. r.

XV cent.

f 34 r.

'Modyr, whyt os lyly flowr,
Yowr lullyng lessyth my langovr.'

[1]

As I vp ros in a mornyng,
My thowth was on a mayd yying
That song aslep with hyr lullyng
Her swet Son, owr Sau[1]owr.

[2]

As sche hym held in hyr lape,
He toke hyr louely by the pape,

And therof swetly he toke a nappe,
And sok hys fyll of the lycowr

[3]

To hys modyr gen he seye,
'For this mylke me must deye,
It ys my kynd therwith to playe,
My swet modyr, peramowr'

[4]
The maydyn frely gen to syng,
And in hyr song she mad mornynge,
How he that is owr Hevyn Kyng
Shuld shed hys b[od] w[ith] gret delowr

[5]
'Modyr, thi wepyng grevyth me sor,
But I wold dey, thou haddys be lor,

stza 4, 5, 1 4 *A few letters have been destroyed by a tear in MS*
stza 6, 1 4 [for] supplied from Wright *In the present binding the word is not visible.*

b *British Museum* MS Sloane 2593, ff. 16 v, 17 r XV cent (burden and stzas 1-5).

stza 1, 1 1 vp] me a] on. 1 3 That] che 1 4 swet] dere
stza 2, 1 1 held] tok al 1 2 hyr louely] that maydyn 1 3 *And tok therof*
a ryght god nap 1 4 the] that
stza 3, 1 1 gen he] than he gan 1 4 peramowr] myn paramour
stza 4, 1 1 The maydyn] That mayde gen] be gan 1 3 That here sone that
is our kyng 1 4 shed] schred
stza 5, 1 1 Modyr, thi wepyng] b Your wepyng moder 1 2 thou haddys be]
ye wern for 1 3 Do away] dowey 1 4 Thy] Your

146

A

British Museum MS. Addit 5465.

XVI cent.

ff 50 v, 51 r.

'A, my dere, a, my dere Son,'
Seyd Mary, 'A, my dere;
A, my dere, a, my dere Son,'
Seyd Mary, 'A, my dere,
Kys thy moder, Jhesu,
Kys thi moder, Jhesu,
With a lawghyng chere'

[1]
This endurs nyght ff. 51 v, 52 r
I sawe a syght
All in my slepe:
Mary, that may,
She sang lullay
And sore did wepe
To kepe she sought
Full fast aboute
Her Son from colde;
Joseph seyde, 'Wiff,
My joy, my lyff,
Say what ye wolde'
'Nothyng, my spowse,
Is in this howse

Vnto my pay;
My Son, a Kyng
That made all thyng,
Lyth in hay'

[2]

'My moder dere,
Amend your chere,
And now be still,
Thus for to lye,
It is sothely
My Fadirs will
Derision,
Gret passion
Infynytly, infynytely,
As it is fownd,
Many a wownd
Suffyr shall I
On Caluery,
That is so hye,
Ther shall I be,
Man to restore,
Naylid full sore
Vppon a tre.'

ff. 52 v, 53 r.

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 A my dere A my dere a my dere son vt supra. stza 2 A my dere A my dere a my dere son vt supra.

B

British Museum MS Harley 2380

XV cent.

f. 70 v.

[Burden lacking]

[1]

This endres nyght,
 About mydnyght,
 As I me lay for to slepe,
 I hard a may
 Syng lullay,
 For powaret sor scow wrypt.

He sayd, 'Ba bay,'
 Sco sayd, 'Lullay,'
 The virgin fresch as ros in May

[2]

Sar sco soght,
 Bot fand sco nought
 To hap hyre Son Jhesu fro cold,
 Josef sayd, 'Belif,
 Scuett wyfe,
 Tell me wat ye wald,
 Hartly I you pray'

He sayd, 'Ba bay,'
 Scho sayd, 'Lullay,'
 The virgin fresch as ros in May.

[3]

Scho sayd, 'Scuett spows,
 Me thynk greuus
 [M]y child sud lg in hay,
 S[ith] he is Kyng
 And mayd al thyng,
 And now is powrest in aray.'

He sayd, 'Ba bay,'
 Scho sayd, 'Lullay,'
 The virgin fresch as ros in May

[4]

'Hire he is
 That bers the prys
 In all thyng that he as wrowght;
 To hap my barn
 Som clas I yarn,
 Bot wat it I ne rowght,
 Thys Yoles Day.'
 He sayd, 'Ba bay,'
 Sco sayd, 'Lullay,'
 The virgin fresche as ros in May.

[5]

'Moderz dere,
 Amend youre chere,'

Thus says hire Son Jhesu hir till;
 'Al of I be
 In poure degre,
 It is my Fadirs will'
 And said, 'Ba bay,'
 Sco sayd, 'Lullay,' f 71 r.
 The virgyn fresche as ros in May

[6]

'A crown o thorn
 For sawllis lorn
 Opon my hed me most ned were,
 And till a tre
 So nayled be,
 Thare payns thay wyl me dere
 I mon asay'
 He sayd, 'Ba, bay,'
 Scho sayd, 'Lullay,'
 The virgin fresch as ros in May.

[7]

'The trewght sal fal
 Hout of the postill hall
 Vnto you, modere, alloon to duell,
 Qwyll I call
 Fro the fends thrall
 Adam out of hel
 To joy verray'
 He sayd, 'Ba bay,'
 Sco sayd, 'Lullay,'
 The virgin fresch as ros in May.

[8]

Sco sayd, 'Swett Son,
 Wen sal this be
 That ye sal suffire al this wo?'
 'Moder fre,
 Al sal ye se
 At xxx ye[re] and thuou,
 It is no nay'
 He sayd, 'Ba bay,'
 Sco sayd, 'Lullay,'
 The virgin fresch as ros in May.

[9]

'Son, I yow ax,
 Qwen sal you ris?'

'Moder, verray,
Apon the thyrd day
That Judas has me said contray '
He sayd, 'Ba bay,'
Sco sayd, 'Lullay,'
The virgin fresch as ros in May

[10]

'I sall vp stenen
That ye ma se,
Apon my Fader ryght hand,
In blis to be,
And so sal ye,
To were a croune garland
In blis for hay '

MS heading (*in later hand*) an old songe.

staz 1, 1 2 mydnyght] MS mydayght.

stza 5, 1 7 bay] MS hay. 1 9 fresche] MS freschs

stza 9, 1 1 ax] MS ix

He sayd, 'Ba bay,'
Sco sayd, 'Lullay,'
The virgin fresch as [ros] in [May]

[11]

'Syng me ere,
My moder dere,
Wet souet uois, I you pray ,
Wep no mor,
Ye gref me fo[r]
Your mour[n]ing thus a way.
Sing ore say lullay '
He sayd, 'Ba bay,'
Sco sayd, 'Lullay,'
The virgin fresch as ros in M[ay]

147

Bodleian Library. MS Addit A. 106

XV cent.

f 14 v.

'Lullay, lullay, my lytl chyld,
Slepe *and* be now styll,
If thou be a lytill chyld,
Yitt may thou haue thi wyll.'

[1]

'How suld I now, thou fayr may,
Fall apon a slepe?
Better me thyne that I may
Fall apon *and* wepe
For he that mad both nyght *and* day,
Cold, *and* also hette,
Now layd I am in a wispe of hay ,
I can noder go nor crepe.
Bot wel I wate, as well I may f 15 r
Slepe *and* be now styll,
Suffre the paynes that I may,
It is my Fader wyll.

[2]

'Seys thou noghte, thou fayr may,
And heres thou noghte also
How Kynge Herod, that keyn knyght,
And of hus peres mo
That be abowte nyght *and* day
My body for to slo,
Thai seke me both nyght *and* day
A[n]t werke me mekyll wo?
Bot well I wate, as well I may
Slepe *and* be now styll,

Suffre the paynes that I may,
It is my Fader wyll

[3]

'How suld I now, thou fayr may,
How suld I now myrth make?
My songe is mad of "walaway,"
For dred I begyn to whake,
For dred of that ilk day
[Th]at I my deth sall take
And suffre the paynes that I may
For synfull man sake
For well I wate, as well I may
Slepe *and* be now styll,
Suffre the paynes that I may,
It is my Fader wyll

[4]

'Bot yitt me thynk it well besett
If man haue of me mynd,
And al my paynes well besett
If man to me be kynd
Thar is no deth [th]at sall me let,
And I hym trew fynd,
On the rode for to sytt,
My handes for to bynd
Bot well I wat, as well I may
Slepe *and* be now styll,
Suffre the paynes that I may,
It is my Fader wyll '

148

A

British Museum MS Sloane 2593

XV cent

f 16 r

A New Yer, a Newe Yer, a chyld was
iborn,
Vs for to sauyn, that al was forlorn,
So blyssid be the tyme

[1]

The Fader of Heuene his owyn Sone he
sent
His kyngdam for to clemyn.
So blyssid be the tyme.

[2]

Al in a clene maydyn *our* Lord was
lyght,
Vs for to sauyn *with* al his myght,
So blyssid [be the tyme]

[3]

Al of a clene maydyn *our* Lord was
iborn,
Vs for to sauyn, that al was forlorn,
So blyssid [be the tyme]

[4]

'Lullay, lullay, lytil chyld, myn owyn
dere fode,
How xalt thou sufferin be nayld on the
rode?'
So [blyssid be the tyme]

[5]

'Lullay, lullay, lytil chyld, myn owyn
dere smerte,
How xalt thou sufferin the scharp
spere to thi herte?'
So [blyssid be the tyme]
stzas 2, 3, 1 3 MS so blyssid &c

[6]
'Lullay, lullay, lytil chuld, I synge al
for thi sake,
Many on is the scharpe schour to thi
body is schape'
So [blyssid be the tyme]

[7]

'Lullay, lullay, lytil chuld, fayre hap-
pis the befalle,
How xal thou sufferin to drynke ezyll
and galle'
So [blyssid be the tyme]

[8]

'Lullay, lullay, lytil chyld; I synge al
beforn;
How xalt thou sufferin the scharp gar-
long of thorn?'
[So blyssid be the tyme.]

[9]

'Lullay, lullay, lytil chyld, qwy wepy
thou so sore?'
And art thou bothin God *and* man,
quat woldyst thou be more?'
So [blyssid be the tyme]

[10]

Blyssid be the armys the chyld f 16 v
bar abowte,
And also the tetes the chyld on sowkyd.
So [blyssid be the tyme]

[11]

Blyssid be the moder, the chyld also,
With 'Benedicamus Domino.'
So blyssid be the tyme

B

St John's College, Cambridge MS. S. 54.

XV cent.

f 11 r

A Newyr, a Newyr, the chyld was
borne,
Fadyr of Hewyn hys owyn Son haue
send
His cyn[gdom] for to clemyn.

[1]

The chyld was borne this endyr nyth,
Vs for to saue *with* all is myth
So blyssyd be [the] tyme

[2]

The chyld was borne this endes day,
All of a clene madyn, as *you* tell may
So blyssyd [be the tyme]

[3]

All of a cl[e]ne madyn *our* Lord was
borne,
All for to wyn that Adam had forlorn
[So blyssyd be the tyme]

[4]

'Lullay, my letyll chyld, my own
swete seynte,
[Man]y scharp schoures xall thi body
hent.'
[So blyssyd be the tyme]

[5]

'Lullay, lay, letyll chyld, my f i i v
own suete foode,
How xuld I suffyr thi fayre body for to
be rent on rode?'
[So blyssyd be the tyme]

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 a newyr stza 2 fader
of hewe &c
burden, 1 3, stza 4, 1. 2 *The letters supplid in the text have been destroyed by a tear*
in the MS stza 1, 1 2. Vs] MS *vus.*
stza 2, 1 2 *you*] MS *yur* stza. 3, 1 1 madyn] MS *mad madyn.*

[6]

'Lullay, lay, letyll chyld, we owth
myrthys to make,
For many scharp schoures xall thi body
schape'
[So blyssyd be the tyme]

[7]

'Lullay, lay, letyll chyld, w[e] out to
mak myrth,
And so out euery *Cristen man* to wor-
chyp thi byrth'
[So blyssyd be the tyme]

[8]

Blyssyd be the moder the chyld bare
about,
And so be the moder the chyld gane
soke
[So blyssyd be the tyme]

[9]

Blysyd be the moder the chyld cam to;
Benedicamus Domino
So blyssyd be the tyme.

149

a

National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 18 7. 21.

c 1372

f 3 v

'Lullay, lullay, la, lullay,
Mi dere moder, lullay'

[1]

Als I lay vpon a nith,
Alone in my longging,
Me thouthe I sau a wonder sith,
A maiden child rokking

[2]

The maiden wolde withouten song
Hire child o slepe bringge,
The child thouthte sche de[d] him wrong
And bad his moder sengge.

[3]

'Sing nov, moder,' seide that child,
'Wat me sal befall
Hereafter wan I cum to eld,
So don modres alle

[4]

'Ich a moder, treuly,
That kan hire credel kepe
Is wone to lullen louely
And singgen hire child o slepe.

[5]

'Suede moder, fair *and* fre,
Sithen that it is so,
I preye the that thou lulle me
And sing sumwat therto.'

[6]

'Suede sone,' seyde sche,
'Weroffe suld I singge?
Wist I neuere yet more of the
But Gabrieles gretingge

[7]

'He grette me godli *on* is kne
And seide, "Heil, Marie,
Ful of grace, God is *with* the;
Beren thou salt Messye."

[8]

'I wondrede michil *in* my thouth, f 4 r
For man wold I rith none.
"Marie," he seide, "drede the nouth,
Lat God of heuene alone

[9]

"The Holi Gost sal don al this,"
He seyde, *withouten* wone,
That I sulde beren mannis blis,
The, my suete Sone.

[10]

'He seide, "Thou salt beren a king
In Kinge Daurtis see;
In al Jacobs woning
Ther king suld he be "

[11]

'He seyde that Elizabeth,
That barume was before,
A child *conceyued* hath,
"To me leue thou the more."

[12]

'I *ansuerede* blethely,
For his word me payede,
"Lo, Godis *seruant* her am I,
Be et as thou me seyde "

[13]

'Ther, als he seide, I the bare,
On midwenter nith,
In maydened *withouten* kare,
Be grace of God Almith

[14]

'The sepperdis that wakkeden *in* the
wolde
Herden a wonder mirthe
Of angles ther, as thei tolde,
In time of thi birthe

[15]

'Suede Sone, sikirly,
No more kan I say,
And, if I koude, fawen wold I
To don al at thi pay '

[16]

'Moder,' seide that suete thing,
'To singen I sal the lere
Wat me fallet to suffring
And don wil I am here

[17]

'Wanne the seuene daighes *ben* don,
Rith as Habraham wasce,
Kot sal I *ben* *with* a ston
In a wol tendre place

[18]

'Wanne the tuelue dayghes *ben* do,
Be leding of a sterre
Thre kingges me sul seke tho
With gold, *ensens*, *and* mirre

[19]

'The fourti day, to fille the lawe,
We solen to temple ifere;
Ther Simeon sal the sey a sawe
That changen sal thi chere

[20]

'Wan I am tuelue yer of elde,
Joseph *and* thou, *murningge*,
Solen me *finden*, moder milde,
In the temple techingge.

[21]

'Til I be thretti at the leste
I sal neuere fro the sterue,
But ay, moder, *ben* at thin heste,
Joseph *and* the to serue.

[22]

'Quan the thretti yer *ben* spent,
I mot beginne to fille
Werfore I am hidre sent
Thoru my Fadres wille

[23]
 'Jon Baptist, of merite most,
 Sal baptize me be name,
 Than my Fader *and* the Holi Gost
 Solen witnessen wat I ame

[24]
 'I sal ben tempted of Satan, f 4 v
 That fawen is to fonde,
 The same wise that was Adam,
 But I sal bette *wit*stonde

[25]
 'Disciples I sal gadere
And senden hem for to preche,
 The lawes of my Fader
 In al this werld to teche.

[26]
 'I sal ben so simple,
And to men so conning,
 That most partize of the puple
 Sal wiln maken me king'

[27]
 'Sute Sone,' than seyde sche,
 'No sorwe sulde me dere
 Mitht I yet that day se
 A king that thou were'

[28]
 'Do wey, moder,' seid that suete,
 'Therfor kam I nouth,
 But for to ben pore *and* bales bete
 That man was inne brouth

[29]
 'Therefore wan too *and* thretti yer ben do,
And a litel more,
 Moder, thou salt maken michil mon
And seen me deyghe sore

[30]
 'The sarpe swerd of Simeon
 Perse sal thin herte;

For my care of michil won
 Sore the sal smerte

[31]
 'Samfully for I sal deyghe,
 Hangende on the rode,
 For mannis ransoun sal I payghe
 Myn owen herte blode.'

[32]
 'Allas, Sone,' seyde that may,
 'Sithen that it is so,
 Worto sal I biden that day
 To beren the to this wo?'

[33]
 'Moder,' he seide, 'taket lithte,
 For luen I sal ayeine,
And in thi kinde thoru my mith,
 For elles I wrouthte in weyne.

[34]
 'To my Fader I sal wende
 In myn manhed to heuene;
 The Holi Gost I sal the sende
 With huse sondes seuene.

[35]
 'I sal the taken, wan time is,
 To me at the laste,
 To ben with me, moder, in blis,
 Al this than haue I caste

[36]
 'Al this werld demen I sal
 At the dom risingge;
 Sute moder, here is al
 That I wile nou singge'

[37]
 Serteynly this sithte I say,
 This song I herde singge,
 Als I lay this Yohs Day,
 Alone in my longgingge

The repetition of the burden is indicated after the last stanza by Lullay.
 The speakers in the dialogue are indicated by marginal notes prefixed to stanzas as follows stza 3 J stza 6 Ma stza 27 Ma staz. 28. Jc stza 32 Ma stza 33 iu.
 stza 10, l 2 Kinge] MS kinges
 stza 11, l 1 Elizabeth] MS elizabethgh. 1 3 hath] MS hatgh
 stza 14, l 3 ther] MS that
 stza. 15, l 4 al at] MS at al
 stza 16, l 1 In right-hand margin MS thus lo
 stza 21, l 4 In right-hand margin MS nota

b. *St John's College, Cambridge* MS. S 54, f 4 r. and v XV cent (burden and stzas. 1-9)

c. *British Museum* MS Harley 2330, f 120 r. XV cent (burden and stzas 1-5)

d. *Cambridge University Library* MS Addit 5943, f 169 r XV cent (burden and stza 1)

burden, 1 1 b lullay lay lay lay. c lay lay lulay lay d lolay lolay 1 2 d omits
 stza 1, 1 1 lay] b me lay c me went vpon a nith] b this endyres nyth c this
 enderay d on Yole is nyght 1 2 Alone] b All on m] b omits c on longging]
 b loue lokyng d lon 1 3 wonder] b semlyly c d wel fayre sith] c may 1 4
 maiden] b mayn c louely d may. child] b cradyll d hir child rokking] b kepyng
 stza 2, 1 1 maiden] b modyr c mayd wolde] c went withouten] c withowt
 1 2 Hire child o slepe] b A slepe here chyld to c hir child on slepe to 1 3 thouthte] b
 hym thoght

stza 3, 1 1 that] b c the 1 2 me sal] b xall of me c schal me 1 3 Hereafter]
 c Aftur to eld] b of age c til eld 1 4 So don] b So chuld tho c For so done
 stza 4, 1 1. Ich a] b c For euery truely] b c sekylrly 1 3 b Sche most syng
 lullay 1 4 And] b To singgen] b bryng c bryngs o slepe] b on ssepe c a slepe
 stza 5, 1 1 fair and fre] b seyde he c sayd the child 1 2 it] c omits 1 3 the]
 b c you thou lulle me] b ye roke me c ye wold me roke 1 4 sing sumwat] b
 sum qwat sey

stza 6, 1 2 suld] b chyld xald 1 3 Wist] b wost yet] b omits of the] b be
 sothe 1 4 But Gabrieles] b Than of a angyl

stza 7, 1 1 godli] b gladly is] b omits 1 2 And] b he 1 4 b Thou xalte
 bere mercy

stza 8, 1 1 wondrede michil] b wonder gretely 1 2 wold] b know. rith]
 b omits 1 4 of heuene] b all mythy

stza 9, 1 1 The] b That don] b do 1 2 b Thow he be owt of won 1 3
 That I sulde beren] b and xall haue er 1 4 The, my suete] b Goddys owne after
 stanza b deus

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 b lullay, c lull d lolay.
 stzas 2, 3 b lullay, c lull stza 4 c lulay stza 5 c lullay

150

A

National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 19 3 1

XV cent.

f 210 v

This endurs nyght

I see a syght,

A sterne schone bryght as day,

And euer ymong

A meden song

Was, 'By, by, lulley.'

[1]

This louely lady sete and song,

And tyll hur chyld con say,

'My Son, my Lord, my Fadur dere,

Why lyus thou thus in hey?

Myn one swete bryd,

What art thou kyd

And knowus the Lord of ey?

Neuerthelesse

I will not sesse

To syng, "By, by, lulley"

[2]

This chyld ontyll is modur spake,

And thus me thowght he seyde.

'I am kend for Heuun Kyng

In cryb thowgh I be leyde.

Angeles bryght

Shall to me lyght,

Ye wot ryght welle, in fey,

Off this behest

Gyffe me youre brest,

And syng, "By, by, lolley"

[3]

'My aune dere Son, to the I say

Thou art me lefe and dere;

How shuld I serue the to pay

And plese on all manere?

All thi wyll

I wyll fulfyll,

Thou wottes ryght well in fey

Neuertheleyse

I wyll not sesse

To syng, "By, by, lulley"

[4]

My dere modere, when tyme it be,
Ye take [me] vp on loft,
And sett me ryght apon yowre kne,
And hondul me full soft
In yowre arme f 211 r
Ye hape me warme,
Both be nyght *and* day,
Gyff I wepe
And will not slepe,
To syng, "By, by, lulley "'

[5]

'My aune dere Son, sen it is *thus*,
That thou art Lord of all,
Thou shuld haue ordent the *sum* bydyng
In *sum* kyngus halle
Me thenkus aryght
A kyng or a knyght
Shuld be in ryche arey,
And yett for this
I woll not seysse
To syng, "By *and* lulley "

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas. 1-4, 6, 7 This stza 5
This *endurus* nygh *After the burden is also written* This *Perhaps this is to indicate*
that the burden is to be tuncce sung stza 2, 1 4 though] MS thought
stza 4, 1 4 me] MS men

[6]

'My aune dere Son, to the I say,
Me thynkus it is no laye
That kyngus shuld com so fer to the,
And thou not to them dray
Thow schw[il]n see
Then kyngus in
Apon the Twelfe Day,
And for that syght
Ye may be lyght
To syng, "By, by, lolley "

[7]

'May aune dere Son, sen it is *thus*,
At all thyng is at thi wyll,
I pray the grant me a bone,
Gyf it be ryght of skylle
Chyld or man
That will or can
Be mery on this gud day,
To heuun blysse
Grawnt hit vs,
And syng, "By, by, lulley "'

B

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet. e 1.

XV cent

f 17 v

Thys endris nyghth
I saw a syghth,
A stare as bryght as day,
And euer among
A mayden song,
'Lullay, by, by, lullay '

[1]

That lovely lady sat *and* song,
And to hyr chyld sayd,
'My Sone, my Broder, my Fader der,
Why lyst thou thus *in* hays?
My swete byrd,
Thus it ys betyde,
Thow thou be kyng veray,
But neuertheles
I wyll not ses
To syng, "By, by, lullay '

[2]

The chyld than spak *in* hys talkyng,
And to hys moder sayd,

'I be kyndde ame kyng,
In crybbe thou I be layd.
For aungelles bryght f 18 r
Done to me lyght,
Thou knowest it ys no nay;
And of that syght
Thou mayst be lyght
To syng, "By, by, lullay "'

[3]

'Now, swet Son, syn thou art kyng,
Why art thou layd *in* stall?
Why ne thou ordende thi beddyng
In sum gret kynges hall?
Me thynkyth it is ryght
That kyng or knyght
Shuld ly in good aray,
And than among
It wer no wrong
To syng, "By, by, lullay "'

[4]

'Mary moder, I am thi chyld
 Thow I be layd in stall,
 Lordes *and* dukes shal worsshyp me,
And so shall kynges all
 Ye shall well se
 That kynges thre
 Shal come the Twelfth Day
 For this behest
 Yefe me thi brest
And syng, "By, by, lullay "'

[5]

'Now tell me, swet Son, I the pray,
 Thou art me leue *and* dere,
 How shuld I kepe the to thi pay
And mak the glad of chere?
 For all thi wyll
 I wold fullfyll,
 Thou wotyste full well in fay,
And for all this
 I wyll the kys
And syng, "By, by, lullay "'

stza 4, 1 7 Twelfth] MS xii

[6]

'My der moder, whan tym it be,
 Thou take me vp on loft,
And set me vpon thi kne,
And handyll me full soft,
 And [i]n thi arme
 Thou hyl me warme,
And kepe nyght *and* day,
 If I wepe
And may not slepe,
 Than syng, "By, by, lullay "'

[7]

'Now, swet Son, syn it is so,
 That all thyng is at thi wyll,
 I pray the, graunte me a bone,
 Yf it be both ryght *and* skylle
 That chyld or man f 18 v.
 That wyl or kan
 Be mery vpon my day,
 To blyse hem bryng,
And I shal syng,
 "Lullay, by, by, lullay "'

C

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

XVI cent.

f. 226 r.

This enders nyght
 I sawe a sight,
 A sterre as bryght as any day,
And euer amonge
 A maydyn songe,
 'Lulley, by, by, lully, lulley.'

[1]

A lovely lady sat *and* sange,
And to her Son thus gan she say
 'My Son, my Lord, my dere derlyng,
 Why liggus thou thus in hay?
 Myn own dere Son,
 How art thou cum?
 Art thou not God verey?
 But neuerthelesse
 I will not sees
 To syng, "By, by, lully, lulley "'

[2]

Than spake the child, that was so yong,
And thus me thought he said

'I am knowen as Hevyn Kyng
 In cribbe thowgh I now be layd
 Angelles bright
 To me shall light
 [Thou knowest it ys no nay,]
And of that sight
 Ye may be light
And syng, "By, by, lully, lulley "'

[3]

'Jhesu, my Son, Hevyn Kyng, f 226 v
 Why lyeest thou thus in stall?
And why hast thou no riche beddyng
 In sum ryche kynges hall?
 Me thynkith by right
 The Lord of Myght
 Shuld lye in riche aray,
 But neuerthelesse
 I will not sese
 To syng, "By, by, lully, lulley "'

[4]

'Mary moder, quene of blis, '
 Me thynkith it is no lawe
 That I shuld go to the kynges,
 And they shuld not to me drawe.
 But you shall see
 That kynges thre
 To me will cum on the Twelfth
 Day,
 For this behest
 Geve me your brest,
 And syng, "By, by, lully, lulley "'

[5]

'Jhesu, my Son, I pray the say,
 As thou art to me dere,
 How shall I *serue* the to thy pay
 And mak the right good chere?
 All thy will
 I wold fulfill,
 Thou knoweste it well, in fay,
 Both rokke the still
 And daunce the thertill,
 And syng, "By, by, lully, lulley "'

MS marks burden *fote* The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza
 by This
 stza 2, 1 7 supplied from B II 8, 9 written in lower margin with carets to mark point of
 insertion
 stza 4, 1 7 Twelfth] MS XIIth.

At end Explicit

[6]

'Mary moder, I pray the,
 Take me vp on loft,
 And in thyn arme thow lappe me warm
 And daunce me now full ofte

 And yf I wepe
 And will not slepe,
 Thansyng, "By, by, lully, lulley "'

[7]

'Jhesu, my Son, Hevyn Kyng,
 Yf it be thy will,
 Graunt thow me myn askyng,
 As reason wold and skyl
 Whatsoeuer they be
 That can and will be
 Mery on this day,
 To blis them brynge,
 And I shall syng,
 "Lulley, by, by, lully, lulley."

D

British Museum MS Royal Appendix 58
 f 52 v

XVI cent

Thys endere nyghth
 I saw a syghth,
 A sterre as bryghth as day,
 And euer among
 A maydyn song,
 'By, by, baby, lullay.'

[1]

Thys vyrgyn clere wythowtyn f 53 r
 pere
 Vnto hur Son gan say,
 'My Son, my Lorde, my Father dere,
 Why lvest thow in hay?
 Me thenke by ryght
 Thow kyng and knyght
 Shulde lye in ryche aray,
 Yet neuertheless
 I wyll nott cesse
 To syng, "By, by, lullay "'

[2]

Thys babe full bayne aunsweryd agayne,
 And thus me thought he sayd.
 'I am a kyng above all thyng,
 Yn hay yff I be layd,
 For ye shall see
 That kynges thre
 Shall cum on Twelfe Day,
 For thys behest
 Geffe me [thy] *brest, *f 53 v
 And sing, "By, baby, lullay."'

[3]

'My Son, I say, wythowtyn nay,
 Thow art my derlyng der;
 I shall the kepe whyle thow dost slepe
 And make the goode chere,

And all thy whylle
I wyll fulfill,
Thow wotyst hyt well, yn fay,
Yet more then thys,
I wyll the kys
And syng, "By, baby, lullay "'

[4]

'My moder swete, when I haue slepe,
Then take me vp at last,

Vppon your kne that [y]e sett me
And handell me full soft,
And yn your arme
Lap me ryght *warne, *f 54 r
And kepe me nyght *and* day,
And yff I wepe
And cannott slepe,
Syng, "By, baby, lullay "'

[5]

'My Son, my Lorde, my Father dere,
Syth all ys at thy wyll,

The burden is thrice written, once for each voice, and is marked Corus
stza 2, l 9, stza 4, l 3, stza 6, l 4 *The words supplid have been destroyed by a tear*
in MS.

I pray the, Son, graunte me a bone,
Yff hyt be ryght *and* skylle
That chylde or man
May or can
Be mery on thys day,
To blys them bryng,
And I shall syng,
"By, by, baby, lullay "'

[6]

'My mother shene, of heuyn quene,
Your askyng shall I spede,
So that the myrth dysplease me nott
Yn [worde] *nor in dede *f 54 v
Syng what ye wyll,
So that ye fullfyll
My ten commaundementes ay,
Yow for to please
Let them nott sesse
To syng, "Baby, lullay "'

151

A

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet e 1.

XV cent

f 20 r

[3]

'Lullay, my chyld, *and* wepe no more,
Slepe *and* be now styll;
The Kyng of Blys thi Fader ys,
As it was hys wyll '

[1]

This endrys nyght

I saw a syghth,
A mayd a cradyll kepe,
And euer she song
And seyde among,
'Lullay, my chyld, *and* slepe '

[2]

'I may not slep,
But I may wepe;
I *am* so wobegone,
Slep I [w]old,
Butt I *am* cold,
And clothys haue I none.'

Me thought I hard
The chyld answard,
And to hys moder he sayd, f 20 v
'My moder der,
What do I her?
In crybbe why *am* I layd ?

[4]

'I was borne
And layd beforne
Bestys, both ox *and* asse,
Mi moder myld,
I *am* thi chyld,
But he my Fader was

[5]

'Adams gylt
This mane had spylt,
That syn grevyt me sore,
Man, for the
Her shal I be
Thyrty wynter *and* mor

[6]
 'Dole it is to se
 Her shall I be
 Hang vpon the rode,
 Wth baleis to-bete,
 My woundes to-wete,
 And yeffe my fleshe to bote

[7]
 'Here shal I be
 Hanged on a tre,
 And dye, as it is skylle,
 That I haue bovght
 Lesse wyll I novght
 It is my Faders wyll

[8]
 'A spere so scharp
 Shall perse my herte
 For dedys that I haue done.
 Fader of Grace,
 Wher[to] thou hase
 Forgetyn thi lytyll Sonne?

[9]
 'Wthhovtyn pety
 Her shall aby
 And mak my fleshe al blo; f. 21 r.
 Adam, wys,
 This deth it ys
 For the *and* many mo'

B

British Museum MS Addit 5666
 f 2 v

XV cent

'Lullay, my child, *and* wepe no more,
 Sclepe *and* be now styll,
 Kyng of Blis thi Fader he es,
 And thus it es his wyll.'

[1]
 This ender nithgt
 I sauy ha sithgt,
 Ha may ha credill kepe,
 Hande euer schuy sang
 Hande sayde inmang,
 'Lullay, my child, ande sle[pe]'

[2]
 'I may nocht slepe;
 I may bot wepe,
 I ham so wo-begony;
 Sleppe I wolde,
 Bot me hes colde,
 Hande clothse hauf I nony.'

[3]
 The chylde was swet,
 Hande sor he wepe,
 Hande euer me thoht he sayde,

Part of the burden is twice written with the two upper parts of the music on f 2 r as follows

Lulay my childe ande wepe no mor
 Lullay my child ande wepe no mor slepe ande be now still
In an inverted position on the same leaf the first two lines are again written, with two-part music, over other faded and partly illegible writing
 burden, 1 3 Kynges] MS kynges stza 2, 1 5 colde] MS clode.
 stza 4, 1 6 yere] MS here

'Moder dere,
 Wat doy I here?
 In crache wy ham I layde?

[4]
 'Adam gilt
 That man has spilde,
 That syn rues me fole sor,
 Man, for the
 Here sal I be
 xxx yere ande mor

[5]
 'Dolles to dreye,
 Ande I sale dye,
 Ande hyng I sale on the rode,
 [My] w[oun]dys to wete,
 My bals to bethe,
 Ande gif my fleches to blode

[6]
 'A spere so charpe f 3 r
 Sale thurll my hert
 For the dede that man has done,
 Fadere ofe Blys,
 Wartu thou has
 Forsakin me thi Sone?'

Cambridge University Library. MS Addit 5943

XV cent

f 145 r

'Lullay, lullay, thow lytil child,
Slep *and* be wel styлле,
The Kyng of Blys thy Fader is,
As it was his wille'

[1]

Thys other nyghth
Y say a syght,
A mayde a cradel kepe,
'Lullay,' sche songe
And seyde amonge,
'Ly stille, my childe, *and* slepe'

stza 1, 1 3. sche] MS ye

[2]

'How schold Y slepe'
Y ma not for wepe,
So sore Y am bygone,
Slepe Y wolde;
Y may not for colde,
And clothys hau Y none.

[3]

'For Adams gult
Mankunde is yspylde,
And that me rewyth soie,
For Adam *and* Eue
Y schal leue
Here thrytty wynter *and* more'

stza 3, 1 2 yspylde] MS yspylde

152

a

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

XVI cent

f 225 v

Now syng we *with* angelis,
'Gloria in excelsis'

[1]

A babe is born to blis vs brynge;
I hard a mayd lulley *and* syngе,
She said, 'Dere Son, leve thy wepyng,
Thy Fader is the Kyng of Blis.

[2]

'Lulley,' she said, *and* songe also,
'Myn own dere Son, whi art thou wo'
Haue I not do as I shuld do?
Thy grevance, tell me what it is'

[3]

'Nay, dere moder, for the wepe I
nowght,
But for the wo that shall be wrowght
To me or I mankynd haue bowght,
Was neuer sorow lik it, ywis'

[4]

'Pesse, dere Son, tell me not soo
Thou art my child, I haue no moo;

Shuld I se men myn own Son sloo?
Alas, my dere Son, what meny this?'

[5]

'My hondes, moder, that ye may see,
Shall be nayled vnto a tree;
My fete also fast shall be;
Men shall wepe that shall se this.'

[6]

'A, dere Son, hard is my happe,
To see my child that sokid my pappe,
His hondes, his fete, that I dide wrappe,
Be so naylid, that neuer dide amysse'

[7]

'A, dere moder, yet shall a spere
My hart in sonder all to-tere,
No wondre yf I carefull were
And wepe full sore to thynk on this'

[8]

'A, dere Son, shall I se this?
Thou art my child, *and* I thy moder,
ywis
Whan Gabryell called me "full of grace",
He told me nothyng of this.'

[9]

'A, dere moder, thorow myn here
To thrust in thornes they will not spare,
Alas, moder, I am full of care
That ye shall see thus hevynes '

A carefull songe now may I syng,
This tydynges, hard to me it is.'

[11]

[10]
'A, dere Son, leve thy wepyng;
Thou bryngyst my hart in gret mornyng,

'A, pece, dere moder, I the pray,
And comferte me all that ye may,
And syng, "By by, lulley, lulley,"
To put away all hevynes '

MS marks burden fote
The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1, 11 now syg we siza 2
nowe syng stzas 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10 now stza 5 now syg
At end Explicit

b *Bodleian Library* MS Laud misc 683, f. 105 v XV cent (burden and stzas. 1-6)

c *Lord Harlech, Brogyntyn, Oswestry* MS Porkington 10, ff 201 r-202 r XV cent (stzas 1, 3-8, 11, alternating with stanzas of Latin hymn, 'Christe qui lux es et dies')

MS heading b here begynneth a cristemasse song
burden, l 1 Now] b omits
stza 1, l 1 babe] c baby to blis vs] b our blysse to c vs blis to 1 2 I hard
a mayd] b a made ther was dyd c A mayddyn I hard and] c omits 1 3 She said]
c omits leve] c now leyfe
stza 2, l 1 said, and songe] b sange and saide 1 3 as] b that
stza 3, l 1 dere] b omits the] b this c yow 1 2 the wo] c thingis 1 3
c Or that I have mankynd iboght or] b illegible 1 4 neuer sorow lik it] b neuer no
sorwe so lyk c ther neuer payn lyke yt
stza 4, l 1 Pesse] b a pees tell] c say thou 1 3 c Alas that I schwlde see this
woo 1 4 c Hyt were to me gret heyuenys my dere Son] b dere child menys]
b menyth
stza 5, l 1 My hondes, moder] b yis modre myn handis may] b here c now
1 2 Shall] b c they shal vnto] b to c one 1 3 fast] b c fastened 1 4 Men]
b that man c Full mony shall se this] b seeth this c hit schall see
stza 6, l 1 A, dere Son] b allas dere child c Alas dyre son hard] c sowrov wow
1 2 chuld] b sone sokid] b sook c sokys 1 3 c So rwithfully takyn ovt of my
lape his fete] b or feet dide wrappe] b sholde lappe 1 4 c Hyt wer to me gret
heyuenys so naylid] b nailed so sore
stza 7, l 1 A, dere] c Alsoo yet] c ther 1 2 hart in sonder] c tendure hert
1 3 c The blud schall keuyre my body ther 1 4 c Gret ruthe yt schall be to see
stza 8 c 'A, dere Son, that is a heyvy cas,
When Gabrell cnellyd before my face
And sayd, "Heylle, lady, full of grace,"
He neuer told me noothing of this '
stza 11, ll 1, 2 c 'Dere modyre, peys, nowe I yow pray,
And take noo sorrow for that, I say
1 3 And] c But syng] c synges this song lulley(2)] c omits 1 4 put] c dryfe

153

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354.
f 226 r.

XVI cent

[1]

'Lulley, Jhesu, lulley, lulley '
'Myn own dere moder, syng lulley.'

So blessid a sight it was to see,
How Mary rokked her Son so free;
So fayre she rokked and songe, 'By, by.'
'Myn own dere moder, syng lulley.'

[2]

'Myn own dere Son, why wepyst thou
thus?

Ys not thy Fader Kyng of Blis?

Haue I not do that in me ys?

Your grevance, tell me what it is,

[3]

'Therfor, moder, wepe I nowght,
But for the wo that shall be wrowght
To me, or I mankynd haue bowght;

Myn own dere moder, syng lulley

[4]

'Moder, the tyme ye shall see
The sorowe shall brek *your* hart in three,
So fowle the Jewes shall fare with me,

Myn own dere moder, syng lulley

[5]

'Whan I am nakid, they will me take

And fast bynd me to a stake

MS marks burden fote

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by lulley.

At end. Explicit

And bete me sore for *manus* sake
Myn own dere moder, syng lulley.

[6]

'Vpon the crose they shall me caste,
Honde and fote nayle me faste,
Yet gall shall be my drynk laste,
Thus shall my lyff passe away

[7]

'A, dere moder, yet shall a spere
My hart *in* sonder all to-tere,
No wonder though I carefull were,
Myn own dere moder, syng lulley

[8]

'Nowe, dere moder, syng lulley,
And put away all hevynesse,
Into this world I toke the way,
Agayn to [heaven] I shall me dresse,
Ther joye is *withowt* end ay,
Myn own dere moder, syng lulley'

154

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 102 v.

Mary hath borne alone
The Sonne of God in trone

[1]

That meyden mylde here childe did kepe,
As moders doth echone,
Butt here dere Sonne full sore did wepe
For synfull man alone

[2]

Sche rockyd hym and sunge, 'Lullay,'
Butt euer he made grete mone;
'Dere Sonne,' she seyde, 'telle, I the
pray,
Why thou doist wepe alone'

[3]

'Moder,' he seyde, 'I schall be sclayn,
Thatt syn did neuer none,
And suffer dethe with woofull payn,
Therefore I wepe alone'

[4]

'Lullay,' she seyde, 'slepe and be still,
And lete be alle thy mone,
For alle thyng is atte thyn own will
In heuen and erthe alone'

[5]

'Moder,' he seyde, 'hou schulde I
slepe?
Hou schulde I leve my mone? f 103 r
I haue more cause to sobbe and wepe,
Sith I shall die alone'

[6]

'Dere Sonne,' she seyde, 'the Kyng of
Blisse,
Thatt is so highe in trone,
Knowith thatt thou diddist neuer amys
Why schuldist thou dy alone?'

[7]

'Moderē,' he seyde, 'only of the
I toke bothe flesshe and bone
To saue mankynde and make it fre
With my hert bloode alone'

[8]

'Dere Sonne,' she seyde, 'thou art equall
To God, thatt ys in trone,
For man, therefore, thatt is so thrall,
Why shuldist thou dye alone?'

[9]

'Moder,' he seyde, 'my Faders will
And myn, they be butte one;
Therefore by skylle I most fulfill
My Faders will alone'

[10]

'Dere Sonne,' she seyde, 'sith thou hast
take
Of me bothe flesshe and bone,
Yff it may be, me notte forsake
In care and woo alone'
stza 13, l 1 thought] MS nought

[11]

'For man I most the raunsome f 103 v
pay,
The whiche to helle is gone,
Moder,' he seyde, 'on Goode Fryday,
For he may notte alone.'

[12]

'Dere Sonne,' she seyde vnto hym thoo,
'When thou fro me arte gone,
Then shalle I lyff in care and woo
Withowte confort alone'

[13]

'Moder,' he seyde, 'take thou no
thought;
For me make thou no mone;
When I haue bought that I haue wrought,
Thou shalt not be alone

[14]

'On the thirde day, I the behyght,
After thatt I am gone,
I wyll aryse by my grete myght
And confort the alone.'

stza 14, l 1 thirde] MS m^{de}

155

a

National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 18 7. 21
f 6 r.

c 1372.

Lullay, lullay, litel child,
Qui wepest thou so sore?

[1]

Lullay, lullay, litel child,
Thou that were so sterne *and* wild
Nou art become meke *and* mild
To sauen that was forlore.

[2]

But for my senne I wot it is
That Godis Sone suffret this;
Merci, Lord! I haue do mis;
Iwis, I wile no more.

[3]

Ayenis my Fadris wille I ches
An appel with a reuful res;
Werfore myn hertage I les,
And nou thou wepest *therfore*.

[4]

An appel I tok of a tre;
God it hadde forboden me;

Werfore I sulde dampned be,
Yef thi weping ne worē.

[5]

Lullay, for wo, thou litel thing,
Thou litel barun, thou litel king;
Mankindde is cause of thi *murning*,
That thou hast loued so yore.

[6]

For man, that thou hast ay loued so,
Yet saltu suffren peines mo,
In heued, in feet, in *hondis* to,
And yet wepen wel more.

[7]

That peine vs make of *senne* fre,
That peine vs bringge, Jesu, to the;
That peine vs helpe ay to fle
The wikkede fendes lore

At end Amen.

b *British Museum*. MS Harley 7358, f. 12 v. XV cent (burden and stzas 1, 2, 4, 3, 5, 6)

burden, I 1 litel] thou lytel 1 2 wepest] wepys
 stza 1 1 *omits* 1 3 Nou] Thou *After l 3 b has the following line* Wyth the,
 mayre, that wente with chylde
 stza 2, 1 1 yc wot ywys for thus hyt ys 1 4 I wile] Ihc nel
 stza 3, 1 1, 2 *transposes* 1 4 For al my wepyng so sore
 stza 4, 1 1 Ich tock anappel of that tre 1 2 That my fader forbyd hyt me
 1 3 I sulde dampned] y dampned schal y 1 4 thi] my ne wore] nere
 stza 5, 1 3 *mourning*] wepyng 1 4 That thou] Thou that loued] y lyued
 stza 6 Yet thou schalt suffry paynys mo
 In herte, in fot, in hondes to,
 Ic wot, ywys, that ys also
 To sauy that were forlore

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 2 L stza 5 Lollay lay

156

Cambridge University Library. MS. Ee 1. 12
 f 69 v

By James Ryman, c 1492

O synfull man, beholde *and* se
 What thy Maker hath done for the.

[1]

'O my dere Sonne, why doest thou soo?
 Why doest thou suffre alle this payne?
 Thou bringest my hert in care f 70 r.
and woo,
 Without offence to se the slayne,
 To see the blede at euery vayne
 And to beholde thy louely syde
 With a sharpe spere wounded so
 wyde.

[2]

'To se thy hede crowned with thorne,
 The blode rennyng vppon thy face,
 Thy flesshe also with scourges torne
 Thus cruelly in euery place,
 This is to me a woofull case,
 Sith that thou art myne owne dere
 chelde
 And I thy moder vndeified.'

[3]

'My dere moder, wepe thou no more,
 And moorne no more, moder, for me,
 For why it greveth me full sore
 In care *and woo* the for to see,
 Sith I haue take nature of the
 And am thy Sonne, as thou hast
 seide,
 Thou beyng bothe moder *and* meyde.

[4]

'This wofull payne now will I take
 And bitter dethe, moder, also,
 Onely for synfull mannes sake,
 To bringe hym out of payne *and woo*
 And fro the fende, his mortall foo
 Though that he be vnkende to me,
 Yet will I die to make hym free'

[5]

'Sith thou art King of Heven Blis
 And Lorde of Alle, dere Sonne, also,
 Why shuldest thou die for mannes mys
 And suffre alle this payne *and woo*,
 Sith that he is thy mortall foo
 Thus with scourges for to scourge
 the
 And thus to nayle the on a tre?

[6]

'Myne owne dere Sonne, it greveth me
 For to beholde thy woundes f 70 v
 smert,
 To se the nayled on a tree,
 Thy blode bleding oute of thyn hert
 Why doest thou bere mannes desert,
 Sith that to the he is vnkende,
 And loue of hym thou cannest non
 fynde?'

[7]

'Scripture, moder, I must fulfille;
Wherefore I toke nature of the,
For why it is my Faders wille
That I shall die to make man fre
It is the wille also of me
To suffre deth for mannes mys
And bringe hym to eternall blis.

[8]

'Sith man of me mercy doth craue,
And I am Lorde of Indulgence,
Of my pite I will hym save
And forgeve hym alle his offence
With hym, truly, I will dispence
And pay his raunsom on the rode
With the treasure of my hert blode '

157

A

Huntington Library. Christmas carolles newly Inpnynted (Richard Kele) c. 1550.

p [31]

Gaudeamus synge we
In hoc sacro tempore;
Puer nobis natus est
Ex Maria virgine

[1]

'Mary moder, come and se
Thy Sone is nayled on a tre,
Hande and fote, he may not go,
His body is wrapped all in wo.

[2]

'Upon a tre nayled he is
To brynge vs all to heuen blyss
For Adam, that dyde amysse
For an aples that was so fre.

[3]

'From his heed vnto his too
His skynne is torne, and flesshe also,
His body is bothe wanne and blo,
And nayled he is on a tre

[4]

'Thy louely Sone that thou hast borne
Is crowned with a crowne of thorne
To saue mankynde, that was but lorne,
And brynge man but to his liberte '

[5]

Whan Johan this tale began to tell,
Mary wolde no lenger dwell,
But went amonge the Jewes fell,
Where she myght her Sone se.

[6]

'My swete Sone that arte me dere, p. [32]
Why hangest thou on rode here?
Thy hede is wrythen all in a brere,
Louely Sone, what may this be?'
staz 10, 1 4 none be] Orig be none

[7]

'Moder, to Johan I the betake,
Johan, kepe this woman for my sake.
On rode I am, emendes to make
For synfull man, as ye may se

[8]

'This game of loue I must play
For mannes soule, it is no nay
There is no man that goth by the way
But on my body he may haue pyte

[9]

'This payne that men haue me wrought,
For synfull soules I haue it bought;
Of all this smerte yet rewe I nought
If man wolde be kynde to me.

[10]

'My blode colesh; my fleshe doth fall,
I am athryst; after drynke I call,
They gyue me eysyll menged with gall,
A wors drinke may there none be.

[11]

'Fader, my soule to the I betake,
My body dyeth for mannes sake,
To hell I must withouten make p [33]
Mankynde for to make fre '

[12]

God, that deyed for vs all,
Borne of a mayde in an oxe stall,
Graunt vs his realme celestyall
Amen, amen, for charyte.

At end Finis

B

Bodleian Library MS. Eng. poet. e. 1.

XV cent.

f 27² r

'Mary modyr, cum *and* se
Thi Son is naylyd on a tre.

[1]

'His body is wappyd all in wo,
Hand *and* fot, he may not go,
Thi Son, lady, that thou louyst soo,
Nakyd is naylyd vpon a tre

[2]

'The blyssyd body that thou hast born
To saue mankynd, that was forlorn,
His body, lady, is al to-torn,
His hed *with* thornys, as ye may se '

[3]

Wan Johan this tal began to tell,
Mary wyld not lenger dwell
Thyl sche cam to that hyll
Ther sche myth her owyn Son see

[4]

'My swet Son, thou art me der,
Qwy haue men hang the her?
Thi hed is closyd wyth a brer,
Qwy haue men soo doo to the?'
stza 1, 1 4 tre] MS trer

[5]

'Johan, this woman I the betake,
Kep this woman for my sake,
On the rod I hyng for mannys sake,
For synful man, as *thou* may se.

[6]

'This game *and* loue me must f. 27² v
pley
For synfull sowls that ar to dey;
Ther ys no man that gothe be the wey
That on my peyns wyl lok *and* se.

[7]

'Fadyr, my sowle I the betake,
My body deth for mannys sake;
To hel I go *wit*howtyn wake,
Mannys sole to make fre '

[8]

Prey we al to that blyssyd Son
That he vs help *wan* we not mon,
And bryng us to blys that is abone
Amen, amen, amen, for charite
stza 5, 1 4. thou] MS. the

C

British Museum MS. Sloane 2593.

XV cent

f 23 r.

Nowel, el, el, el, el, el, el, el,
el, el, el, el, el, el, el el'

[1]

'Mary moder, cum *and* se
Thi Sone is naylyd on a tre,
Hand *and* fot, he may not go,
His body is woundyn al in woo

[2]

'Thi swete Sone that thou hast born
To saue mankynde, that was forlorn,
His hed is wrethin in a thorn;
His blysfyl body is all to-torn '

[3]

Quan he this tale began to telle,
Mary wold non lenger dwelle,
But hyid here faste to that hylle
Ther Jhesu his blod began to spyll

[4]

'Myn swete Sone, that art me dere,
Qwy han men hangyd the here?
Thi hed is wrethin in a brere,
Myn louely Sone, qwer is thin cheie?

[5]

'Thyn swete body that in me rest,
Thyn comely mowth that I haue kest!
Now on rode is mad thi nest,
Leue chyld, quat is me best?'

[6]

'Womman, to Jon I the betake, f 23 v
Jon, kyp this womman for myn sake.
For synful sowlys my deth I take,
On rode I hange for manys sake

[7]

'This game alone me muste play,
For synful sowle I deye today,
Ther is non wyght that goth be the way
Of myn peynys can wel say.'

D

National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 18 7 21.

c. 1372

f 121 r

Jhesus Maiden *and* moder, *cum and* se.

Thi child is nailed to a tre,
Hand *and* fot, he may nouth go,
His bodi is wonden al in wo
Al abouten he is to-toren,
His heued is wrethen *with* a thorn,
His sides bothen on blode be,
With blod hes blent, he may nouth se

Maria Mi suete Sone, that art me dere,
Wat hast thou don? *Qui* art thou here?

Thi suete bodi that in me rest,
That loueli mouth that I haue kist!
Nou is on rode mad thi nest,
Mi dere child, *quat* is me best?

Jhesus Jon, this womman for my sake—
Womman, to Jon I the betake.

Alone I am *wythoten* make,
On rode I hange for mannis sake

The names of the speakers are written in the right-hand margin

At end Amen

158

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354.

XVI cent

f. 223 r

'Mary moder, *cum and* se

Thy swet Son nayled on a tre

[1]

'Thys blessyd babe that thou hast born,
Hys blessyd body ys all to-torne
To bye vs agayn, that were forlorne,
Hys hed ys crownyd *with* a thorn'

[2]

'Crownyd, alas, *with* thorn or breer,
Or why shuld my Sun thus hang here?
To me thys ys a carefull chere
Swet Son, thyinke on thy moder dere'

[3]

'Thes wykyd Jewes *with* ther falshed,
Vnder ther fete they *gan* hym tred;

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by Mari &c
At end Explicit

They wovndyd hym thorowgh hondes
and hed,

They left hym not till he was ded.'

[4]

'Alas, alas, now may I crye
Why mygh[t] I not *with* my Son dye?
My hart ys replenyshed *with* petye,
Fulfylled *with* payn most pytuysly'

[5]

'Mary moder, greve you not yll,
From hevyn he *cam* this to fulfyll;
Becavse *markynd* shuld not spill,
He toke hys deth *with* perfitt gud will.'

159

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 77 r

Mary myelde made grete mone
For her dere Sonne alone

[1]

When fals Judas her Son had solde
To the Jewes wikked and bolde,
As he before to hir had tolde,
She was wofull alone

[2]

When he came to Cayphas and An
To be juged for synfull man,
In her hert she was woofull than
For hir dere Son alone

[3]

When that she sawe his flessch to-torn,
And on his hede a crowne of f 77 v
thorn,
And how the Jewes hym did shorn,
She was wofull alone

[4]

When hir dere Son, Jhesus so goode,
Was nayled fast vppon the roode,
She sobbed and wept watre *and* bloode
For hir dere Son alone

[5]

Whenne hir dere Son on the thirde day
With hir did mete and thus did say
'Hayle, holy moder, wyfe, and may'
She was joyfull [alone]

160

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 78 r.

Mary so myelde alone
For her chielde made grete mone

[1]

In prophesy thus it is saide,
The whiche no wyse may be denayde,
That Criest shulde be borne of a mayde
To save mankyende alone

[2]

Mielde Mary, thus this mayden hight;
Her Son Jhesus, so full of myght,
For to bringe vs ayene to light
Died for vs alone.

[3]

Symeon seide the swerde shulde goo
Thurgh hir myelde herte of care *and* woo,
For her Son shuld dey, and no moo,
To save mankyende alone.

[4]

This mayden wept watre and blode
To see her Son so myelde and goode
To suffre deth vpon the rode
For synfull man alone

[5]

Noo hert can thinke, noo tunge tell can
The peyne that this mayde suffred than
To se her Son, both God and man,
To die for man alone

[6]

As grevous payne to her, and woo,
It was to see her Sone die soo
As vnto hym, that died thoo
To save mankyende alone

161

a

John Rylands Library, Manchester. MS 18932

XV cent

f 120 r

Sodenly afraide,
 Half wakyng, half slepyng,
 And gretly dismayde,
 A wooman sate weepying

[1]

With fauoure in hir face ferr passyng my
 reason,
 And of hir sore weepying this was the
 enchesone
 Hir Soon in hir lap lay, she seid, slayne
 by treason.

Yif wepyng myght ripe bee, it seemyd
 than in season.

'Jhesu' so she sobbid;
 So hir Soon was bobbid,
 And of his lif robbid,

Saying thies wordes, as I say thee
 'Who cannot wepe, come lerne at me.'

[2]

I said I coud not wepe, I was so harde
 hartid

Shee answerd me with wordys shortly
 that smarted

'Lo, nature shall move the, thou must
 be converted,

Thyne owne Fader this nyght is deed,'
 lo, thus she thwarted,

'So my Soon is bobbid,
 And of his lif robbid'

Forsooth than I sobbid,

Veryfying the wordes she seid to me
 'Who cannot wepe may lerne at the.'

stza 3, 1 5 Euer] MS Evuer

[3]

'Now breke, hert, I the pray; this cors
 lith so rulye,
 So betyn, so wowndid, entreted so
 Jewlye.

What wight may me behold *and* wepe
 nat? Noon truly,
 To see my deed dere Soon lygh bleedyng,
 lo, this newlye'

Euer stil she sobbid,
 So hir Soon was bobbid,
 And of his lif robbid,

Newyng the wordes, as I say thee
 'Who cannot wepe, com lern at me'

[4]

On me she caste hir ey, said, f 120 v
 'See, man, thy brother'

She kissid hym *and* said, 'Swete, am I
 not thy modir?'

In sownyng she fill there, it wolde be
 noon othir,

I not which more deedly, the toon or the
 tothir

Yit she revived *and* sobbid,
 So hir Soon was bobbid,
 And of his lif robbid.

'Who cannot wepe,' this was the laye,
And with that word she vanysh
 away.

b *Trinity College, Cambridge* MS O 9 38, ff. 63 v, 64 r. XV cent.

stza 1, 1 3 lay] layd 1 5 Jhesu] Jhesus 1 9 at] of.
 stza 2, 1 2 with wordys shortly] schortly with wordys 1 4 lo] omits. 1 5 So]
 Jhesus so 1 8 the] thys she seid] seyng me] the 1 9 may] com the] me.
 stza 3, 1 3 me] omits 1 4 lygh] omits 1 8 the] these
 stza 4, 1 1 said] and seyd 1 3 In sownyng] And swonyng 1 6 So] how
 1 8 was] ys 1 9 word] wordys
 At end Finis

162

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354

XVI cent.

f. 230 r.

To see the maydyn wepe her Sones
 passion,
 It entrid my hart full depe *with* gret
 compassion

[1]

Bowght *and* sold full *traytorsly*,
And to a pylar bownde,
 The Jewes bet hym full pytuowsly
And gave hym many a wownde

[2]

Full maydynly, full moderly,
 Whan she the crosse behelde,
 The teris from her eyen fill;
 She said, 'Alas, my childe!'

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 to see the maydyn wepe
 &c stza 2 to ssee the maydyn wepe &c stza 3 to se the maydyn wepe &c stza 4
 to se the maydyn wepe stza 5 to se the maydyn wepe her sonnes passion
 At end Explicit

[3]

With sharpe thornes the fals Jewes
 Crownid his holy hede,
 They naylid hym fast to the crosse,
 For they wold haue hym dede

[4]

Eysell *and* gall they gave hym to drynk,
And percyd hym to the harte,
 His blessid moder *and* maydyn clene,
 She swowned for his smarte

[5]

Now, Mary myld, *pray* for vs,
And bryng vs to the blisse,
 That we may be in joy with the,
 Wher that thy swet Son ys

163

a

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354

XVI cent

f. 230 r.

'O, my harte is woo,' Mary, she sayd
 so,
 'For to se my dere Son dye, *and* sones
 haue I no mo

[1]

'Whan *that* my swete Son was thirti
 wynter old,
 Than the traytor Judas waxed very bold.
 For thirti plates of money his Master he
 had sold,
 But whan I it wyst, Lord, my hart was
 cold'

[2]

'Vpon Shere Thursday *than* truly it was,
 On my Sonnes deth that Judas did on
 passe
 Many were the fals Jewes that folowed
 hym by *trace*,
And ther beffore them all he kyssed my
 Sones face

[3]

'My Son, beffore Pilat browght was he,
And Peter said iii tymes he knew hym
 not, *perde*

Pylat said vnto the Jewes, "What say
 ye?"

Than they cryed *with* on voys, "Crucy-
 fyge!"

[4]

'On Good Friday, at the mownt of
 Caluary,
 My Son was don on the crosse, nayled
with naylis in
 Of all the *frendes* that he had neuer on
 could he see
 But jentill [John] the Evangelist, that
 still stode hym by

[5]

'Thowgh I were sorowfull, no man haue
 at yt wonder,
 For howge was the erthquak, horyble
 was the thonder
 I loked on my swet Son on the crosse
 that I stode vnder;
 Than cam Lungeus with a spere and
 clift his hart in sonder'

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1, 3 o my hart is woo &c
 stza 2 o my hart &c stza 4 o my hart stza 5 o my
 stza 1, ll 1, 3 thurti] MS xxx¹¹ At end Explicit

b *Huntington Library Christmas carolles newly Inprynted* (Richard Kele), pp
 [14-16.] c 1550

b *prints the carol in short lines throughout, eight to the stanza*
 burden, l 1 she sayd] dyde say l 2 and sones haue I] Seyng I haue
 stza 1, ll 1, 3 thurti] xxx l 2 wexed very] He became wonders l 3 he had]
 had he l 4 it wyst] wyst of that
 stza 2, l 1 Vpon] On than truly] Truly than thus l 2 on passe] compas
 l 3 fals] omits l 4 ther] omits
 stza 3, l 1 browght] Then brought l 3 vnto] to What] Now what l 4 Than]
 omits with] all with Crucifyge] Crucifige Crucifige
 stza 4, l 2 don] omits nayled] And nayled iii] thre l 4 [John] Johan
 stode] dyde stand
 stza 5, l 1 were sorowfull] sorowfull were at yt] no l 2 howge] how it
 erthquak] erth quaked horyble] And horryble l 3 on] vpon on (2) [omits
 I (2)] he l 4 Than] omits cam Lungeus] Lungeus came spere] long spere
 clift] claue in sonder] asonder

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1, 2 O my herte is wo
 stzas 3-5 O my hert is wo
 At end Finis.

164

Huntington Library. Christmas carolles newly Inprynted (Richard Kele) c 1550.

p [17]

[Alo]ne, alone, alone, alone,
 Sore I sygh, and all for one.

[1]

As I went this enders day,
 Alone walkyng on my play,
 I harde a lady syng and say,
 'Woo is me and all alone'

[2]

To that place I drew me nere,
 Of her songe somewhat to here
 There sat a lady with sory chere
 That sore dyd sygh and grone

[3]

'Beholde my Sonne crowned with
 thorne,
 And all his body rent and torne,
 Put to deth with shame and skorne
 For mannes sake alone'

[4]

Forsothe it was a wonderous syght
 To se her chylde, how it was dyght
 For to brynge mankynde to p [18]
 [lyght,]
 To saue vs from our fone.

[5]

Sythe it wyll no better be,
 Pray we to that chylde so free
 That we may hym in heuyn se
 Whan we shall hens gone

Heading in original our Lady and her sonne.

The repetition of the burden is indicated after stzas 1-4 by Alone alone &c The entire burden is printed again after stza 5 At end Finis

The beginning of the burden and the end of stza 4, 1 3 have been destroyed by a tear in the leaf

165

British Museum MS Addit 5465

XVI cent

ff. 77 v, 78 r

My feerfull dreame neuyr forgete can I
 Me thoug[h]t a maydynys childe caus-
 less shulde dye.

My feerfull dreame neuyr forget can I
 Me thought a maydynys childe caus-
 less shulde dye

[1]

To Caluery he bare his ff 78 v, 79 r
 cross with doulfull payne,

And ther vppon straynyd he was in
 euery vayne,

A crowne of thorne as nedill sharpe
 shyfft in his brayne,

His modir dere tenderly wept and cowde
 not refrayne.

Myn hart can yerne and mylt

When I sawe hym so spilt,

Alas, all for my guilt,

Thoo I wept and sore did complayne

To se the sharpe swerde of sorow
 smert,

How it thurlyd her thoroughoute the
 hart,

So rype and endless was her payne

[2]

His grevous deth and her ff 79 v, 80 r.
 morenyng grevid me sore,

With pale visage tremblyng she stode
 her child before,

Beholdyng ther his lymmys all to-rent
 and tore,

That with dispaire for feer and dred I
 was nere forlore.

For myne offence, she said,

Her Son was so betraide,

With wondis sore araid,

Me vnto grace for to restore

'Yet thou art vnkynd, which sleyth
 myn hert,'

Wherewith she fell downe with paynys
 so smert;

Vnneth on worde cowde she speke more

[3]

Saynt Jhon than said, ff. 80 v, 81 r

'Feer not, Mary, his paynys all

He willfully doth suffir for loue speciall

He hath to man, to make hym fre that
 now is thrall.'

'O frend,' she said, 'I am sure he is
 immortall'

'Why than so depe morne ye?'

'Of modirly pete

I must nedes wofull be,

As a woman terrestriall

Is by nature constrainyd to smert,

And yet verely I know in myn hart

From deth to lyff he aryse shall'

[4]

Vnto the cross, handes and ff 81 v, 82 r
 feete, nailid he was;

Full boystusly in the moitest he was
 downe cast,

His vaynys all and synowis to-raff and
 brast,

The erth quakyd, the son was dark,
 whos lyght was past,

When he lamentable

Cried, 'Hely, hely, hely!'

His moder rufully

Wepying *and* wrang her handes fast
 Vpon her he cast his dedly loke,
 Wherwith sodenly anon I awoke,
And of my dreme was sore agast.

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 My feerfull dreme
 stzas 2, 3 My feerful dreme vt supra stza 4 My feerfull dreme vt supra
 Signature Gilbert Banastir

166

Balliol College, Oxford. MS. 354.

XVI cent.

f 225 r

'Shall I, moder, shall I,
 Shall I do soo?
 Shall I dye for manys sake,
 And I never synned thereto?

[1]

'I was born in a stall
 Betwen bestes two,
 To this world browght in thrall,
 To leue in care *and* woo.

[2]

'Whan I was viii days elde,
 The lawe fulfilled I thoo,
 Circumsised as a childe;
 Than began all my woo

[3]

'Though my Fader be a Kyng,
 Myself I went hym froo
 Into this world to suffre many a thyng—
 See, man, what thow haste do

[4]

'Man, I am thy frend ay;
 Thyself art thy foo;
 To my Fader lok thow pray,
And leue thy synnes that thou hast do

[5]

'The Jeves were so fell
 That to Judas could they goo,
 They kyssed me, as I you tell;
 "Hayle, Kyng" said they tho

[6]

'They bond me to a pyler anon,
 Honde *and* fote both twoo,
 They skorged me with skorges son,
 The blode ran my body froo.

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1, 13 shall I moder.
 stza 2 shall I moder stzas 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 12 shall stzas. 6, 7, 10, 11 shall I
 At end Explicit

[7]

'They clothed me in a mantell rede
 From the toppe to the too,
 With a crown of thorn on my hede;
 With staves they bett it therto

[8]

'They browght me into Cayfas hall,
 Ther he was bisshop thoo,
 Fals witnes on me they gan call;
 Moder, what shall I doo?

[9]

'I toke the cros on my bak full still;
 To Caluary than muste I goo,
 I sett it down vpon an hill
 With other crossis moo

[10]

'They hangid me vp that tide,
 Hondes *and* fette they naylid also,
And a theff on euery side
 To lykyn my body too

[11]

'With a spere both sharpe *and* kene
 They clave my hart in two;
 Water *and* blode ther owt ran—
 See, man, what thou haste do!

[12]

'With a spere both sha[r]pe *and* hend
 They clave my harte in iii,
 Than yeldyd I vp the gost *and* dyed,
 That here all men may see'

[13]

God, that dyed on the rode
And spred his armes in the este,
 Send vs all his blessing
And send vs all good reste.

167

British Museum. MS Royal 20 A i

XV cent.

f. 120 r

Jhesu, fore yowre manie,
Yblessid mot yowre body be.

[1]

There was sum teme byfalle a cas
That al the wordel ylore was;
Therefore Jhesus a modire ches;
Ybore he was of Owre Lady fre

[2]

Jhesus amange the Jewes yede,
And of ys deth he hade gret drede,
And to his help we had gret nede,
Jhesus wist wel how hit chod be

[3]

Judas wered of sypres bolde, f. 120 v
To honde Pilatus Jhesus he solde,
On his ere it was ytolde
How Jhesus sode ygiled be.

[4]

Judas wolde owre Lord haue custt;
Turmentowres stod him next,
Wat hi wold do wel *Christ* west
There y tok that child so fre.

[5]

To o pilere Jhesus hi bownde;
Hy tok here sciurges yn here hond,
Hy bet him there wyt mechill wronge,
Hit was gret pete for to se

stza 2, 1 3, stza. 3 1 3 his] MS is his.

stza 4, 1 3 *Christ*] MS *Christ*

stza 10, 1 1. wel bly] *deleted in MS* A fourth line is erased Below it is written owre

[6]

The Jewes cride wundir lowde,
Hi naylede is body on the rode,
And is mod[er] by him stode,
The teris were of rede blode
That che wep for here Sone so fre

[7]

Longis nest wat he dede
He cheif that spere al in that tide,
He stonge God depe in is rit syde,
The blode ran don enlonges that tre

[8]

Enlonge the chaft that blod doun ran,
Longis wyt is hond he nam;
Wel st[i]llelyche Longis gan stonde;
He wypede is eyen wit ys hond,
Anon myte the blynde knyght se

[9]

Longis lokede wel an hy;
His sinnes there anon he sy;
'Lord,' he seyde, 'Y cry the mercy'
'Longis,' he sayde, 'foreyeue it be'

[10]

At erthe hy browte that childe wel
blythe;
He aros fro the det to the lyue,
To helle he wente wit ys wowndys fyue,
That was gret pete fore to se.

168

British Museum. MS Sloane 2593.

XV cent.

f. 22 r.

Synge we, synge we,
'Gloria tibi, Domine'

[1]

Man, if thou hast synnyd owth,
Chaunge redely thi thowth;
Thynk on hym that hagt the bowth
So dere vpon the rode tre

[2]

Thynk, he cam for to ben born
To beyin ayen that was forlorn
Many a thousand yer beforne,
Out of his owyn mageste.

[3]

Thynk, the Juwis *quan hym tokyn*,
Hese desipele *hym forsokyn*,
Alle the veynys on *hym schokyn*,
For dowl of deth wold he not fle.

[4]

Thynk, the cros he dedyn *hym bere*,
Garlond of thorn he dedyn *hym were*,
False tretowres that they were,
Til he kemyn *ther he wolde be*

[5]

Thynk, he dedyn *hym on the rode*,
Thynk, it was al for *our goode*,
Thynk, the Juwys wyxin wode,
On hym they hadde non pete

stza 2, 1 3 thousand] MS m¹

[6]

Thynk how sore he was bowndyn, f 22 v.
Thynk, he sufferid harde woundys
Of the false helle howndys
Withschorge and spere and naylys thre.

[7]

Thynk, man, on the werste of alle
He yeuyn *hym drynkyn eeryl and galle*;
'Hely!' for peyne he gan to calle
To his Fader in Trenite

[8]

Thynk, man, wytterly;
Think, he bowt the bytterly,
Forsake thi synne *and to hym cry*
That he haue mercy vpon the

169

British Museum MS Sloane 2593
f 28 r

XV cent

I may seyn to most *and lest*,
'*Verbum caro factum est*'

[1]

Jhesu of his moder was born;
For vs he werde garlond of thorn, f 28 v
And ellys hadde we ben forlorn;
He tok his deth for most *and lest*

[2]

I xal you telle good skele qwy
That he was born of Mary
For he deyid on Caluory;
He tok [his deth for most and lest]

[3]

He wrowt vs alle *with his hond*,
The fendes woldyn adon vs wrong,
He bowt vs ageyn *with peynys strong*,
He tok his [deth for most and lest.]

stzas 2, 6, 1 4 MS he tok &c
stza. 3, 1 4 MS he tok his &c

[4]

A kerche thanne to him was fet,
A spere to his herte was set,
Thann seyde the Juwys, 'Haue thou
that!'
He [tok his deth for most and lest]

[5]

The Juwis yeuyn *hym drynk eeryl and galle*
Quan Jhesu after drynk gan calle,
God let vs neuer in synne falle!
He tok [his deth for most and lest]

[6]

Prey we to that Lord so fre,
For vs he deyid on a tre,
At domysday *our helpe* he be.
He tok [his deth for most and lest]

stza 4, 1 4 MS he &c

170

Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 1379
p 32

c 1500.

There blows a colde wynd todaye,
todaye,
The wynd blows cold todaye;
Cryst sufferyd his passyon for manys
saluacyon,
To kype the cold wynd awaye

[1]

Thys wynde be reson ys callyd tentacyon,
Yt rauyghth both nyghth *and daye*.
Remember, man, how thi Sauyor was
slayne
To kype the colde wyn[d]e awaye

[2]

Pride and *presumcyon and fals extor-*
cyon,

That meny man dothe betraye—

Man, cum to contrycyon *and* axe con-
fessyon

To kype the colde wynd awaye

[3]

O Mary myld, for love of the chyld

That dyed on Good Frydaye,

Be owr saluacyon from mortall *damna-*
cyon,

To kype the cold wynd awaye

[4]

He was naylyd, *his* blode was P 33
halyd,

Owre remyssyon for to by,

And for owr synmys all he dronke both
eysell *and* gall,

To kype the cold wynd awaye.

[5]

Slowthe, enuy, couytis, *and* lechere

Bl[e]we the cold wynd, as Y dare saye;

Agene suche pusyn he suffe[r]yd *his* pays-
scyon

To kepe the cold wynd awaye

[6]

O man, remember the Lord so tender

Whyche dyed *withowte* denaye,

stza 7, 1 3 maye] MS. maye maye
At end. finis

Hys hondes so smert laye next to *his* hart
To kepe the cold wynd awaye

[7]

Now *pray* we all to the Kyng selestyall,

That borne he was off mayde,

That we maye loue so *with* other mo,
To kype the cold wynd awaye

[8]

At the daye of dome when we P 34
schall cum

Owr synns not for to denaye,

Mary, praye to the Sone that syghthy
yn hys trone

To kype the cold wynd awaye

[9]

At the last ynde, man, thou schalt send

And kype bothe nyghth and daye,

The moste goodlyst tresyor ys Cryst the
Sauyor

To kype the cold wynd awaye

[10]

Here let vs ynde, *and* Cryst vs defend

All be the nyghth *and* be daye,

And bryng vs to hys place where ys
myrthe *and* solas

To kype the cold wynd awaye

stza 9, 1 3 Cryst] MS agenyst

171

Bodleian Library Douce fragments f. 48.

XVI cent

f 2 v

Blow the winde styl, *and* blow nat so
shyl;

My blode, man, I shed for the al at
wyl.

Blowe the winde styl, *and* blowe nat
so shyll,

This paine to suffice is my Fathers wil

[1]

Synfull man, thou art vnkynde

To thy Maker that made the of
nough[t,]

Thou shuld kepe *and* haue in minde

Howe with my blode I the bought,

To saue the from the paynes of hell,

That *with* the fende thou shulde
nat dwell,

Neyther rather to go.

[2]

To a pillar boun[d]e, both fote *and* hand,

Tyll al my senew[es a]brode dyd brast,

The Jues me betw[hile] they coude stand,
And, as they weryed, they dyd them
rest

And arose agayne and scorged
me so
Tyll blode *and* fleshe wente the
bones fro

[3]

Whan they me scorged sharpe *and* sure,
They crowned me with a thorne, f 3 r
A rede in my hande for a septure,
And there they kneled me beforne
They sayde to me, 'Al hayle, my
kynge!'

For so was alway they sayenge,
And mocked me so.

[4]

I bare the crosse, that was so longe,
To Caluery, where my deth was dight.
My mother folowed with rufull songe,
Seyng my trauel, she fel downe ryght
To se me in such payn ibrought
For the syn, man, that thou hast
wrought,
She was full wo

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows

stzas 1, 5

Blowe the wynde styl
This payne to suffre.

stzas 2, 3, 6

Blowe the wynde styl.
This payne to suffre

stza 4

Blowe the wynde styl
This paynes to suffre

stza 2, ll 1-3 Several words are damaged by holes in the leaf 1 5 scorged] Ong
fcorged At end Finis

[5]

On the crosse they splayed me than,
And all my body they drewe in brede
Tyl fleshe and blod thorow the skyn ran,
My handes *and* fete with holes dyd
blede

They went me fro with one assent,
And made a knyght my herte to
rent;

Thus payned they me tho. f 3 v

[6]

They gaue me drynke that was nat
fyne,

The which was eysell myxte with gall;

They gaue it me instede of wyne,

And I sayd than made an ende was al

Than went away my sprite to hell,

To fetch the soules that there dyd
dwel

And in limbo lay

172

a

Bodleian Library MS Douce 302

By John Audelay, XV cent.

f 31 v.

There is a floure spr[u]ng of a tre,
The rote therof is callid Jesse,
A floure of pryce,
Ther is non seche in paradise.

[1]

This flour is fayre *and* fresche of heue,
Hit fadis neuer bot euer is new,
The blisful branche this flour on grew
Was Mare myld, that bare Jhesu,
A flour of grace,
Ayayns al sorow hit is solas

[2]

The sede hereof was Godis sond,
That God himselue sew with his hond,
In Bedlem in that hole lond
[In] medis here herbere ther he hir fond;

This blisful floure
Sprang neuer bot in Maris boure.

[3]

When Gabreel this mayd met,
With 'Aue Maria' he here gret,
Betwene hem two this flour was set
And kept was, no mon schul wit,
Hent on a day,
In Bedlem hit con spred *and* spray.

[4]

When that floure began to spred
And his blossom to bede,
 Riche *and* pore of euere lede,
 Thai maruelt hou this flour myght sprede,
 Til kyngys in
 That blesful floure come to se.

[5]

Angelis *ther cam* out of here toure
 To loke apon this freschele floure,
 Houe fayre he was *in* his coloure,
And hou sote *in* his sauour,
And to behold
 How soche a flour myght spryng *in*
 golde.

MS heading *Alia cantalena de sancta maria.*

The repetition of the burden is indicated after stza 7 by *Ther is a floure*

burden, 1 1 *There]* MS *T there* 1 3 *pryce]* MS *peryce*

stza 4, 1 2 *his]* MS *his his* 1 5 *kyngys]* MS *kyngnys*

stza 6, 1 2 *prymrol]* MS *perymrol* 1 4 *That]* MS *Yet prys]* MS *perys*

[6]

Of lille, of rose of ryse,
 Of prymrol *and* of flour-de-lyse,
 Of al the flours at my deuysse,
 That floure of Jesse yet bers the prys
 As most of hele
 To slake oure sorous euerelede.

[7]

I pray youe, flours of this cuntre,
 Whereeuere ye go, wereuer ye be,
 Hold hup the flour of good Jesse
 Fore your freschenes *and* youre beute
 As faynist of al,
And euer was *and* euer schal.

b. Balliol College, Oxford MS 354, f. 220 r XVI cent.

burden, 1 2 *therof]* of it
 stza 1, 1 1 *fayre and fresche]* fresshe *and* fayer of] he 1 3 blisful branche this
 flour] blesid stoke that yt 1 4 Was Mare myld] ytt was mary 1 6 Ayayns al
 sorow] of all flowers

stza 2, 1 1 *hereof]* of ytt 1 3 *Bedlem in]* nazareth 1 4 *and a maydyn yt fond*
 1 5. This blisful] A blesyd 1 6 *Sprang]* yt sprynges

stza 3, 1 1 *When]* On knees this mayd met] that maydyn gret. 1 2 The holy
 gost *with* her he mett 1 3 *this]* that 1 4 was, no mon schul wit] yt ys for yt
 was dett 1 5, 6 *And kynges lede*

To bedlem *ther yt began* to spred

stza 4, 1 2 *And]* *and and* blossom to bede] blosomys for to woyde 1 4 *Thar]*
omits this flour] that rose 1 5 *kyngys in]* on a day 1 6 *herdmen cam that*
 flour to asay

stza 5, 1 1 *ther]* *omits*. 1 2 *apon this freschele]* on that fayer. 1 3 Houe fayre he]
 holeyt was 1 4 *and holeyt was in his ardowr* 1 5 *And]* *omits* 1 6 golde] mold

stza. 6, 1 1 *of (2)]* whit *and* 1 2 *prymrol]* prymrose 1 3 *the]* *omits* at] in
 1 4 *That]* The yet] *omits* bers] beryth

1 5, 6.

For most of all

to help owr sowles both gret *and* small

I prayse the flour of gud Jesse

Off all the flowers that euer shall be.

1 3 Hold hup] vphold 1 4 *and worship it for ay bewte* 1 5 *As faynist]* for
 best 1 6. *And]* That *and euer]* or euer be.

At end· Explicit.

173

Trinity College, Cambridge MS. O. 3. 58.

XV cent

recto

[1]

[T]her [is n]o rose of swych vertu
 As is the rose that bare Jhesu.

Ther is no ro[se of] swych vertu
 As is the rose that bar Jhesu,
 Alleluya.

[2]

For in this rose conteynynd was
Heuen *and* erthe in lytyl space,
Res miranda

[3]

Be that rose we may weel see
That he is God in personys thre,
Pari forma.

burden, l 1, stza 1, l 1, stza 5, l 1 *A few letters have become illegible from damage by damp*

[4]

The aungelys sungyn the sheperdes to·
'Gloria in excelsis Deo'
Gaudeamus

[5]

[L]eue we al this wordly merthe,
And folwe we this joyful berthe,
Transeamus

174

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 24 v

A roose hath borne a lilly white,
The whiche floure is moost pure *and*
bright.

[1]

To this roose Aungell Gabiell
Seide, 'Thou shalt bere Emanuell,
Both God *and* man *with* vs to dwell,'
The which floure is most pure *and*
bright

[2]

This roose, the prophete Ysaye f 25 r
Seyde, schulde conceyve *and* bere Messy
Withouten synne or velonye,
The which flour is moost pure *and*
bright

[3]

As the sonne beame goth thurgh the
glas,
Thurgh this roose that lilly did pas
To save mankynde, as his wille was,
The whiche floure is [moost pure *and*
bright]

stza 3, l 4 MS The whiche floure is &c

stza 4, l 4 The] MS This

stza 6, l 4 MS The which flour is moost pure &c

A hand of cent XVI has written in the left-hand margin anthony's songe

[4]

This roose so myelde, aye vndefelde,
Hath borne a childe for man so wilde,
By fraude begyled, from blis exiled,
The whiche flour is moost pure *and*
bright

[5]

This roose so good at the cros stode
With wofull moode when Crist, ourē
foode,
Shed his hert bloode for man so woode,
The which flour is moost pure *and*
bright.

[6]

This swete roose pray bothe nyght *and*
day,
Withoute denay, that we come maye
To blys for ay the redy waye,
The which flour is moost pure [and
bright.]

175

A

Bodleian Library. MS. Eng poet e 1

XV cent

f 21 r.

[1]

Of a rose, a louely rose,
Of a rose I syng a song.

Lyth *and* lystyn, both old *and* yying,
How the rose begane to spryng,
A fayyrer rose to owr lekyng
Sprong ther neuer in kynges lond

[2]

v branchis of that rose *ther* ben,
The wych ben both feyer *and* chene,
Of a maydyn, Mary, hevyn quene,
Ovght of hyr bo[s]um the branch sprong

[3]

The [first] branch was of gret f 21 v
honour
That blyssed Mary shuld ber the flour,
Ther cam an angell ovght hevyn toure
To breke the develes bond

[4]

The second branch was gret of myght,
That sprong vpon Crīstmes nyght,
The sterre shone *and* lemeghd bryght,
That man schuld se it both day *and*
nyght.

stza 2, 1 4 branch] MS branch

stza 5, 1 1. third] MS iii 1 3 chyldbed] MS chyld bred

stza 6, 1 1 fourth] MS iii

[5]

The third branch gan spryng *and* spred,
in kynges than to branch gan led
Tho to Owr Lady in hure chyldbed,
Into Bethlem that branch sprong
ryght

[6]

The fourth branch, it sprong to hell,
The deuēles powr for to fell,
That no sove *therin* shuld dwell,
The brannch so blessedfully sprong.

[7]

The fifth branch, it was so swote,
Yt sprong to hevyn, both croppe *and*
rote,
In euery ball to ben owr bott,
So blessedly yt sprong

stza 4, 1 4 nyght] MS th nyght

stza 7, 1 1 fifth] MS v.

B

Balliol College, Oxford. MS 354.

f. 220 v

Off a rose, a louely rose,
And of a rose I syng a song

[1]

Herkyn to me, both old *and* yonge,
How a rose began to sprynge,
A fayerer rose to my lykyng
Sprong *ther* neuer in kynges lond

[2]

vi branches ar on that rose beme;
They be both bryght *and* shene,
The rose ys called Mary, hevyn quene,
Of her bosum a blossom sprong

[3]

The fyrst branch was of gret myght,
That spronge on Crīstmas nyght,
The streme shon over Bedlem bryght,
That men myght se, both brod *and* longe.

[4]

The seconde branch was of gret honowr,
That was sent from hevyn towr;
Blessyd be that fayer flour;
Breke it shall the fendes bondes

stza 4, 1 1 seconde] MS 11^{de}

stza 7, 1 1 fifth] MS vth

At end Explicit

XVI cent.

[5]

The thyrd branch wyde spred
Ther mary lay in her bede;
The bryght strem in kynges lede
To Bedlem, *ther* that branch tha fond.

[6]

The fourth branch sprong into hell,
The fendes bost for to fell;
Ther myght no sowle *therin* dwell,
Blessid be that tyme that branch gan
spryng.

[7]

The fifth branch was fayer in fote,
That sprong to hevyn, tope *and* rote,
Ther to dwell *and* be owr bote,
And yet ys sene in preestes hondes

[8]

The sixth branch, by *and* by,
Yt ys the v joyes of myld Mary,
Now Cryst saue all this company
And send vs gud lyff *and* long!

stza 6, 1 1 fourth] MS 11th.

stza 8, 1 1 sixth] MS vith

British Museum MS. Sloane 2593.

XV cent.

f 6 v

Of a rose, a louely rose,
Of a rose is al myn song.

[1]

Lestenynt, lordynges, bothe elde *and*
yynge,
How this rose began to sprynge,
Swych a rose to myn lykyng
In al this word ne knowe I non

[2]

The aungl *cam* fro heuene *tour*
To grette Marye *with* gret honour
And seyde che xuld bere the flour
That xulde breke the fyndes bond

[3]

The flour sprong in heye Bedlem,
That is bothe bryght *and* schen,
The rose is Mary, heuene qwyn,
Out of here bosum the blosme sprong

[4]

The ferste braunche is ful of myght,
That sprong on Crystemesse nyght,

stza 4, 1 2 Crystemesse] MS cyrystemesse

The sterre schon ouer Bedlem bryght,
That is bothe brod *and* long.

[5]

The secunde braunche sprong to f 7 r
helle,
The fendys power down to felle;
Ther in myght non sowle dw[e]lle,
Blyssid be the tyme the rose sprong.

[6]

The thredde brau[n]che is good *and*
swote,
It sp[r]ang to heuene, crop *and* iote,
Ther in to dwellyn *and* ben our bote,
Euery day it schewit in prystes hond.

[7]

Pray we to here *with* gret honour,
Che that bar the blyssid flour,
Che be our helpe *and* our socour
And schy[l]d vs fro the fyndes bond.

176

Bodleian Library MS Arch Selden B 26

XV cent

f 9 v

Off a rose synge we,
Misterum mirabile

[1]

This rose is railed on a rys;
He hath brought the Prince of Prys,
And in this tyme soth hit ys,
Viri sine semine

[2]

This rose is reed, of colour bryght,
Throw whom oure joye gan alyght
Vppon a Crystysmasse nyght,
Claro Dauid *germine*

[3]

Of this rose was Cryst ybore,
To saue mankynde, that was forlore,
And vs alle from synnes sore,
Prophetarum carmine

[4]

This rose, of flourys she is flour;
She ne wole fade for no shoure;
To synful men she sent socour,
Mira plenitudine.

[5]

This rose is so faire of hywe;
In maide Mary, that is so trywe,
Yborne was Lorde of Vertue,
Saluator sine crimine

177

Bodleian Library MS Douce 302

By John Audelay, XV cent

f. 30 r.

Heyle, of wymmen flour of all;
Thou herst vs when we to the call

[1]

Blessid mot thou be, thou berd so bryght,
Moder *and* maidon most of myght;
Thou art the ster of days lyght
And kepest vs when we schul fall

[2]

Of all berdis that euer was boren
Blessid mot thou be both euen *and* morn,
Throgh the were sauyd that were fore-
lorne
Mone on, beth gret *and* smale.
MS heading Et de sancta maria.

[3]

'Haile' to the was swettle sayd
When Jhesu in the he was consayued,
And throgh the was the fende afrayd;
Thou madist vs fre to make him thrall

[4]

Haile, chif chosun garbunkul ston;
Of the was borne both God *and* mon,
When synful mon he makis his mon,
To him thou art treu as ston in wal.

[5]

Haile be thou, quene, emperes of hel,
Of al pete thou arte the wel;
We prayn the, dame *and* damesel,
That thou bryng vs into thi hal
stza 5, 1 4 hal] MS. bal

178

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354

XVI cent

f 176 v

'Mater, ora Filium
Vt post hoc exilium
Nobis donet gaudium
Beatorum omnium

[1]

'Fayre maydyn, who is this barn
That thou beriste in thyn arme?'
'Sir, it is a Kynges Son,
That in hevyn above doth wonne

[2]

'Man to fader he hath non,
But hymself, God alone,

The repetitioun of the burden is indicated after each stanza by Mater ora &c
At end Explicit

[3]

Of a maydyn he wold be born
To save mankynd, that was forlorn.

[4]

'Thre kynges browght hym presens,
Gold, myrre, *and* frankynsens,
To my Son, full of myght,
Kynge of Kynges *and* Lorde of Myght'

'Fayre maydyn, pray for vs
Vnto thy Son, swet Jhesus,
That he will send vs of his grace
In hevyn on high to haue a place'

179

Bodleian Library MS. Arch Selden B. 26.

XV cent.

f. 14 r.

Ave domina,
Celi regina.

[1]

Worshyp be the birth of the,
Quem portasti, Maria,
Both in boure *and* in cite;
Aue domina

[2]

For thorwe oure synnes we were for-
lorne,
Infernal pena,
But nowe shal vs saue that thou hast
borne,
Aue domina

[3]

Almyghty Godys wyl hit was,
Felix fecundata,
That vppon the shal lyght his grace,
Aue domina

[4]

Yblessyd be thou, maide mylde,
Que semper es amica
Bytwene mankynd *and* the Chylde;
Aue domina.

[5]

Lady, quene of paradyse,
Mater Dei electa,
Thou bare oure Lorde, that hye Justyse,
Aue domina.

[6]

With merthe *and* alle solempnite
Nato canunt omnia;
Thou berde of ble, welcome thou be,
Aue domina.

180

A

Bodleian Library MS. Eng. poet. e 1.
f 25 r

XV cent.

Of M, A, R, I,
Syng I wyl a new song.

[1]

Of thes iii letters purpose I,
Of M *and* A, R *and* I;
Thei betokyn mayd Mary,
All owr joy of hyr it sprong.

[2]

Withoughten wern of hyr body,
M *and* A, R *and* I,
Of hyr was borne a Kyng truly
The Jewys dedyn to deth *with* wrong.

stza 4, l 2 wep[t] A but of paper is *pasted over the end of the word*

B

British Museum MS. Sloane 2593.
f. 24 v

XV cent.

M *and* A *and* R *and* I,
Syngyn I wyl a newe song

[1]

It wern fowre letterys of purposy,
M *and* A, R *and* I,
Tho wern letteris of Mary,
Of hom al our joye sprong.

[2]

On the mownt of Caluory,
With M *and* A, R *and* I,
There he betyn his bryte body
With schorges that wern bothe scharp
and long.

[3]

Vpon the movnte of Caluery, f 25 v.
M *and* A, R *and* I,
Ther thei betyn hys bar body
With schorges that war sharp *and*
long.

[4]

Owr der Lady she stod hym by,
M *and* A, R *and* I,
And wep[t] water ful bytterly
And terys of blod euer among.

[3]

Our swete Lady stod hym by,
With M *and* A *and* R *and* I;
Che wept water *with* here ey,
And alwey the blod folwyd among.

[4]

God, that sit aboue the sky,
With M *and* A, R *and* I;
Saue now al this cumpany,
And send vs joye *and* blysse ammong.

181

Trinity College, Cambridge MS. R 4 20.

XV cent

f. 169 v

Honour be euer, *wit*howtyn ende,
To hym that fro the heuyn discende

[1]

That was Jhesu oure Saueour,
The oonly Son of God Myghty,
That beldyt in that bygly bowre
Whiche is the wombe of mylde Mary

[2]

Mylde that mayden may be cald,
For *wit*h fylthe was she neuer fyled,
Full wele was hyr that had inwolde
In hyr chief chawmbre suche a chylde

The burden and stza. 1, ll. 1, 2, and part of 3 are written again on f. 170 r

[3]
She is the chief of chastyte,
The conclaue and the clostre clene
Of hym that hyr humylite
Commendyth amonge his sayntys be-
dene

[4]

Full worthy is she to *commende*
For hir mekenes, as wytnes wele
That was the cause God Son descende
For to be borne here for oure sele

182

Bodleian Library. MS Arch. Selden B 26

XV cent.

f. 24 r

Hayl, Godys Sone in Trinite,
The secundu in diuinite,
Thy moder is a may.

[1]

Lo, Moises bush shynynge vnbrent,
The floures faire God there present,
Oure Lady *wit*h childe hit be ment,
As profetes saide in here lay.

[2]

This is Gedeonys wulle-felle,
On whom the dewe of heuen dyde
dwelle;
The dewe of heuen on Mary fel
Whan she conceyued Adonay.

[3]
Aronnys rodde, *wit*houte licoure,
By merueyl bare bothe fruyte *and* floure;
So God *and* man, oure Sauyoure,
A clene mayde hath borne this day.

[4]

This Jacobys sterre *wit*h shynynge leme
That Balaam sey in Balakkys reme
Figureth Mary, that in Bedleme
Bare Jhesu *and* leyde in hay

[5]

But God bewreyde by faire figure
His *virginel* progeniture
Nowe Maryes Sone haue vs in cure,
And *graunte* vs blys that lasteth ay

183

Balliol College, Oxford. MS. 354

XVI cent.

f. 176 v.

Newell, newell, newell, newell!
I thank a maydyn euery dele

[1]

Vpon a lady fayre *and* bright
So hartely I haue set my thougth,
In euery place, whereuer I light,
On her I thynk *and* say right nowght.

[2]
She bare Jhesu full of pite,
That all this world *wit*h his hond hath
wrowght,
Soueraynly in mynd she is *wit*h me,
For on her I thynk *and* say right
nowght

[3]
 Trewe love, loke thou do me right,
And send grace that I to blis be
 browght,
 Mary moder, moste of myght,
 On the I thynk *and* say right nowght

[4]
 God, that was on the rode don,
 Grant that all men to blis be
 browght,
And to Mary I mak my mone,
 For on hei I thynk *and* say right
 nowght

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by newell
 At end Explicit

184

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet e 1

XV cent

f 33 r

Man, asay, say, say,
 Make thi mone to Mary, that myld
 m[ay]

[1]
 Of all thi frendes sche is the flowr,
 Sche wyll the bryng to thi honowr,
 Mary to kall thou hast colowre,
 Assay, asay

[2]
 Sche bar Jhesu owr Sauyowr,
 Of al myschyfe sche is socowr,
 Mary is strowne in euery schowr,
 Assay, asay

[3]
 Sche is cundas, full of grace, f 33 v
 That spryngyth *and* spredyth in euery
 place,

burden, 1 2 *The last letters have been destroyed by a tear in MS*
 stza 6, 1 1 *gracius*] MS *gracius*.

Mary to callyn gret ned thou has,
 Asay, say

[4]
 Hyf thou be put in pouerte,
 Or of thi frendes foisakyd thou be,
 Mary his lady of gret pete,
 Asay, say

[5]
 Yyf thou be aferd of thi foly
 Or of thi day wan thou xa[]t dey,
 Mary his lady of gret mercy,
 Asay, say

[6]
 So gracius *and* so gud sche is,
 Sche bryng vs al into blys,
 Ther Mary lady *and* qwen is,
 Asay, say

185

A

British Museum MS. Sloane 2593

XV cent

f 25 r

Synge we, synge we,
 'Regina celi, letare'

[1]
 Holy maydyn, blyssid thou be,
 Godes Sone is born of the,
 The Fader of Heuene worchepe we
 Regina celi, letare

[2]
 Heyl, wyf, heyl, maydyn, heyl, brytgh
 of ble!

Heyl, dowter, heyl, suster, heyl, ful of
 pete!
 Heyl, chosyn to tho Personys Thre!
 Regn[a celi, letare]

[3]
 Thou art empresse of heuene so fre,
 Worthi maydyn in mageste
 Now worchepe we the Trenyte.
 Regina [celi, letare]

[4]

Lady so louely, so goodly to see, f 25 v
 So buxsum in thi body to be,
 Thou art his moder for humylite,
 Regina celi, letare

[5]

These ben curteys kynges of solumte,
 They worchepyd thi Sone with vmylite,
 Mylde Mary, thus rede we,
 Regina [celi, letare]

stza 3, 1 4 MS Regina &c

B

Bodleian Library. MS. Arch. Selden B. 26.
 f. 10 v

Synge we to this mery cumpane,
 'Regina celi, letare.'

[1]

Holy maide, blessyd thou be;
 Godys Sone is born of the,
 The Fader of Heuen, thus lyue we,
 Regina celi, letare

[2]

Thow art emperesse of heuen fre,
 Now art thou moder in mageste,
 Yknytte in the blessed Trinite,
 Regina celi, letare.

[6]

So gracijs, so precyows in ryalte,
 Thus jentyll, thus good, thus fynde we,
 Ther is non swych in non cuntre,
 Regina [celi, letare]

[7]

And therfore knel we doun on our kne,
 This blyssid berthe worchepe we,
 This is a song of humylyte
 'Regina [celi, letare]'

[3]

Hayl, wyf, hayl, maide, bryght of ble!
 Hayl, doughter, hayl, suster, ful of pite!
 Hayl, cosyn to the Persones Thre!
 Regina celi, letare

[4]

Lo, this curteys Kyng of degre
 Wole be thy Sone with solempnite,
 Mylde Mary, this ys thy fee,
 Regina celi, letare.

[5]

Therfore knele we on oure kne,
 Thy blysful berthe now worshype we
 With this songe of melode
 'Regina celi, letare'

British Museum MS. Addit 5665

XVI cent.

f 4 v

Syng we to this mery company,
 'Regina celi, letare'
 Syng we to this mery company,
 'Regina *celi, letare' *f 5 r.

[1]

Benyng lady, blessed mote thou be,
 That barest God in v[ir]ginite,
 Therfor syng we to the,
 'Regina celi, letare,
 Regina celi.'

MS heading [D]e sancta maria

[2]

O quene of heuen, that syttist f 4 v.
 in se,
 O comfort of all captiuite,
 Ryght causeth vs all to syng to the,
 'Regina celi, letare,
 [Regina celi]'

[3]

O blessed branche of hum[il]ite,
 O causer of all felcete,
 With joy and gladdenesse syng we to the,
 'Regina celi, letare,
 [Regina celi]'

stza 2, 1. 1 heuen] MS hereuen

187

A

Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge. MS 383

XV cent.

p 68

*Virgo, rosa virginum,
Tuum precare Filium*

[1]

Alle ye mouwen of joye synge,
Fro heuene ys come god tythyng
Mary mylde, that gode thyng,
Iam conceptit Filium

[2]

Queene of heuene, wel the be!
Godes Sone ys boron of the
For te make vs alle fre
Ab omni labe criminum

[3]

Wanne that he of her bore was
In a ciache wyt hey and gras,
And for houre synne diede on cros,
Surexit die tercia

[4]

Aftur hys ded, in hys vprysyng,
To heuene he toc hys vpstyng;
Ther he dwellus, wytoute lesyng,
Deus super omnia.

[5]

Marie, modur wytoute wemme,
Brytur than the sonne bem,
The has taken wyt hym
Ad celi palacia.

[6]

Tho the we makun houre mone
Pray for vs to thy Sone
That we mowen wyt hym wone
In perhenni gloria

B

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

XVI cent.

f 249 v.

*Virgo, rosa virginum,
Tuum precor Filium.*

[1]

Qvene of hevyn, blessyd mott thou be!
For Godes Son, born he was of the
For to make vs [alle] fre,
Gloria tibi, Domine.

[2]

Jhesu, Godes Son, born he was
In a crybe with hay and gras,
And dyed for vs on the crose,
Gloria tibi, Domine

[3]

To Owr Lady make we owr mone,
That she may pray to her dere Son
That we may to his blis cum;
Gloria tibi, Domine

At end Explicit

188

British Museum MS Sloane 2593

XV cent

f 8 v

A, a, a, a,
Nu[n]c gaudet Maria.

[1]

Mary is a lady bryght;
Sche hagt a Sone of meche myght,
Ouer al this word che is hyght
Bona natalicia

[2]

Mary is so fayr of face,
And here Sone so ful of grace;
In heuene he make us a place,
Cum sua potencia.

[3]

Mary is so fayr *and* sote,
And here Sone so ful of bote,
 Ouer al this word he is bote,
 Bona voluntaria

[4]

Mary is bothe good *and* kynde;

MS transposes stzas 2, 3, the correct order being indicated by prefixed a and b

Euere on vs che haght mende,
 That the fend xal vs not schende,
 Cum sua malicia

[5]

Mary is qwen of alle thinge,
And here Sone a louely Kynge
 God graunt vs alle good endynge!
 Regnat Dei gracia

189

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 13 v

Stella maris, micaris clare,
 Regina celi, letare

[1]

Beholde and see, O lady free,
 Quem meruisti portare,
 God *and* man is he, thus bileve we;
 Regina celi, letare

2]

King Assuere, thy Sonne so dere,
 Quem meruisti portare,
 In blis so clere he hath no pere,
 Regina celi, letare

[3]

Sith thy Sonne is the King of Blis,
 Quem meruisti portare,
 With hym and his thou shalt not mys,
 Regina celi, letare

[4]

That Lorde so good with soo f 14 r
 myelde moode,
 Quem meruisti portare,
 Vpon the roode shedde his hert bloode,
 Regina celi, [letare]

stza 4, 1 4 MS Regina celi &c

[5]

O lady free, glad mayst thou be.
 Quem meruisti portare,
 As he tolde the, aryse did he,
 Regina celi, letare

[6]

By thy swete Childe so meke *and* myelde,
 Quem meruisti portare,
 Man, that was wilde, is reconsiled,
 Regina celi, letare

[7]

That Lorde, that wrought al thing of
 nought,
 Quem meruisti portare,
 Mankynde hath bought *and* to blis
 brought;
 Regina [celi, letare]

[8]

The heuenly quere that Lorde so dere,
 Quem meruisti portare,
 With voices clere lawdith in fere,
 Regina celi, letare

[9]

That Lorde and King to blis vs bringe,
 Quem meruisti portare,
 That we may syng *without* ending,
 'Regina celi, letare'

stza 7, 1 4 MS Regina &c

190

Bodleian Library MS. Arch. Selden B. 26

XV cent.

f 25 v

Nouus sol de virgine
 Reluxit nobis hodie.

[1]

Thow holy doughter of Syon,
 Princesse of Hierusalem,
 Today sprange of the alone
 The grayn of Jesse in Bethleem.

[2]

This day also the bryght sterre
That Balam gan so to magnifye
Aroos of the to stynt *our* werre
And in derknys vs to gye

[3]

Thou ert also aboue echone
A moder and a mayde trywe,
And the yerde eke of Aaron,
That bare this day a burion nywe

[4]

The orient lyght of Nazareth
Thou ert also, to stynt oure stryffe,
That broughtyst forth agaynys deth
This day the sothfast Man of Lyffe

[5]

Thow ert eke the flees of Gedeon,
Ydewed with the Holu Goste,
The chaste temple of Salemon,
Clere as cristal in euery coste.

[6]

Thou ert eke the joye of Israel,
To stynt all oure olde sorwe,
The gate the whyche Ezechiel
Sawe alway clos, bothe eue *and* morwe.

[7]

And thou ert eke the purpyl rose
That whylom grewe in Jerico,
The Fadres wysdom to enclose,
Thou were the temple *and* tour also

191

A

Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 1393.
f 69 v

XV cent

Enixa est puerpera

[1]

A lady that was so feyre *and* bright,
Velut maris stella,
Browght forth Jhesu, full of might,
Parens *et* puella

[2]

Lady, flour of all[e] thing,
Rosa sine spina,
That barist Jhesu, Heuyn King,
Gracia diuina.

[3]

All this world was forlore
Eua peccatrice,
Til that Jhesu was ybore
De te genitrice

[4]

Of al wymmen thou art beste,
Felix fecundata,

British Museum MS Egerton 613

[No burden]

[1]

Of on that is so fayr and bright, f 2 r
Velud maris stella,
Brighter than the dayis light,
Parens *et* puella,

To al very thou art reste,
Mater honorata.

[5]

Wel I wote he is thi Sone,
Ventre quem portasti,
Then wol grant the thi bone
Infans que[m] lactasti

[6]

Hou swete he is, hou meke he is,
Ullus memorauit,
In heuyn he is, *and* heuyn blis
Nobis preparauit

[7]

Of all wymmen thou berist the price,
Mater graciosa,
Grawnt vs all paradyce,
Virgo gloriosa.

B a

XIII cent.

Ic crie to the, thou se to me,
Leuedy, preye thi Sone for me,
Tam pia,
That ic mote come to the,
Maria

[2]

Leuedi, flour of alle thing,
 Rosa *sine* spina,
 Thou bere Jhesu, Heuene King,
 Gracia diuina
 Of alle thou berst the pris,
 Leuedi, quene of parays
 Electa;
 Mayde milde, moder es
 Effecta

[3]

Of kare *consell* thou ert best,
 Felix fecundata,
 Of alle wery thou ert rest,
 Mater honorata
 Bisek him wiz milde mod
 That for ous alle sad is blod
 In *cruce*
 That we moten komen til him
 In luce

[4]

Al this world war forlore,
 Eua peccatrice,
 Tyl our Lord was ybore
 De te genitrice.
 With 'Aue' it went away
 Thuster nyth, and comth the day
 Salutis,
 The welle springet hut of the
 Uirtutis

[5]

Wel he wot he is thi Sone,
 Uentre quem portasti;
 He wyl nout werne the thi bone,
 Paruum quem lactasti
 So hende and so god he his,
 He hauet brout ous to blis
 Superni,
 That haues hidut the foule put
 Inferni

MS has the stanzas in the order 1, 4, 2, 3, 5 The correction is indicated by prefixed a,
 b, and c stza 4, 1 6 comth] MS comgh At end Explicit cantus iste

b Trinity College, Cambridge MS B 14. 39, f 24 v XIII cent.

stza 1, 1 1 Of on] For ou 1 5 icrie the grace of the
 stza 2, 1 1 flour] best 1 5 the] that 1 6 Leuedi] Heie of] in 1 8 Mayde]
 moder moder] ant maidan
 stza 3, 1 1 Of] In 1 3 Of] to 1 5 Bisek] bi hold tou 1 8 That] bidde
 komen] come til] to
 stza 4, 1 1 this] the war] it wes 1 2 Eua] Thoru Eua 1 3 Tyl our Lord]
 toform that jhesu 1 4 De] ex 1 5 With] Thorou it] e 1 6 Thuster]
 The thester
 stza 5, 1 1 he wot] thou wost 1 3 wyl] nul 1 5 hende] god god] mild
 1 6 hauet brout ous to] brnget us alle in to is 1 8 That haues] he hauet

192

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee 1 12
 f. 14 v

By James Ryman, c 1492

O quene of grace, O Mary myelde,
 For vs thou pray vnto thy childe.

[1]

O closed gate of Ezechiel,
 O plenteuous mounte of Daniel,
 O Jesse yerde, O Mary myelde,
 For vs thou pray vnto thy childe

[2]

O perfecte trone of Salamon,
 O flore and fiese of Gedeon,
 O moder of grace, O Mary myelde,
 For vs thou pray vnto thy childe

[3]

O flamed bushe in alle stature
 Of Moyses, of whome nature
 Jhesus hath take, O Mary myelde,
 For vs thou pray vnto thy childe

[4]

O Aaron yerde moost of honoure,
 O moder of oure Savioure,
 O gate of lyfe, O Marie myelde,
 For vs thou pray vnto thy Childe

[5]

O lanterne of eternall light,
By whome of Criste we haue a sight,
O welle of grace, O Marie myelde,
For vs thou pray vnto thy childe

[6]

O spowse of Criste immaculate, f 15 r.
Assumpte to blisse and coronate,
O quene of blis, O Marie myelde,
For vs thou pray vnto thy childe

[7]

Fulfilled is the prophesye,
For why thou hast brought furth Messy
To save mankynde, O Mary myelde,
For vs thou pray vnto thy childe

[8]

Eternally that we may be
With thy swete Son Jhesus and the
In heuyn blisse, O Mary myelde,
For vs thou pray vnto thy childe

193

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee. 1 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f 15 r

O virgyne Marie, quene of blis,
Of thy conforte lete vs not mys

[1]

O closed gate of Ezechiel,
O plenteuous mounte of Daniel,
O moder of Emanuel,
Of thy conforte [lete vs not mys]

[2]

O perfecte trone of Salamon,
O flore and flese of Gedeon,
O florent yerde of Aaron,
Of thy conforte [lete vs not mys]

[3]

O flamed busshe withoute leasure
Of Moyses, of whome nature f 15 v.
Jhesus Criste tooke, O virgyne pure,
Of thy confort [lete vs not mys]

[4]

O quene Hester moost meke of myende,
That were worthy of God to fynde
Mercy and grace for alle mankyende,
Of thy [confort lete vs not mys]

stzas 1, 2, 7, 8, 1 4 MS Of thy conforte &c
stzas 3, 5, 1 4 MS Of thy confort &c

[5]

O stronge Judith, that Holoferne
Decapitate, that was so steine,
Ayenst Sathan to feight vs lerne,
Of thy confort [lete vs not mys]

[6]

O lanterne of eternall light,
By whome of Criste we haue a sight,
'Fulle of alle grace' sith thy name hight,
Of thy comfort [lete vs not mys.]

[7]

O spowse of Criste immaculate,
Aboue alle aungelles sublimite,
In blis of thy Sonne coronate,
Of thy conforte [lete vs not mys]

[8]

O quene of blis perpetuall,
That we whiche be terrestriall
Maye come to blis celestially, f 16 r
Of thy conforte [lete vs not mys]

stza 4, 1 4 MS Of thy &c.

194

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee. 1 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f. 16 r

Sancta virgo Maria,
Dei gentrix pia

[1]

Haile, perfecte trone of Salamon,
Haile, flore and flese of Gedeon,
Haile, ardent busshe of vision,
Dei gentrix pia

[2]

What tyme mankynde hath done amys
 And for his mys was put fro blis,
 By thy mekenes made free it is,
 Dei genitrix pia

[3]

As a swete floure berith his odoure,
 So hast thou borne oure Sauyoure
 To bringe mankynde oute of doloure,
 Dei genitrix pia

[4]

Mankynde was shent and ay forlorne
 For synne that Adam did beforene
 Till Crist Jhesus of the was borne,
 Dei genitrix pia

[5]

Hym that of hevyns not take myght be
 With thy wombe thou haste f 16 v
 geve moost free,
 Bothe God and man, thus beleue we,
 Dei genitrix [pia]

[6]

The prophecy is done, no dowte
 A man thou hast geve all abowte
 To whome heven and erth doth lowte,
 Dei genitrix pia

[7]

O stronge Judith, O Hester meke,
 That the serpentis hede of did streke,

stzas 5, 9, 1 4 MS Dei genitrix &c

At nede of the conforte we seke,
 Dei genitrix pia

[8]

Moder and mayde in one persone
 Was nevyr none but thou allone,
 Wherefore of the Crist made his trone,
 Dei genitrix pia

[9]

As the sonne beame goth thuih the glas,
 Thurgh thy bodie so did he pas,
 Taking nature, as his wille was,
 Dei genitrix [pia]

[10]

In the is complete the prophecye
 Of alle the prophetes, by and by,
 That seide a mayde shulde bere Messye,
 Dei genitrix pia

[11]

O lady free, O quene of blis, f 17 r
 Of thy conforte lete vs not mys,
 For why thy name nowe called is
 Dei genitrix pia

[12]

Lete thy mercy bothe springe and sprede,
 Forsake vs not for oure mysdede,
 But oute of drede to blis vs lede,
 Dei genitrix pia

195

Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 17 r

To hevyn blis that we may come,
 O mater, ora Filium

[1]

O quene of grace and of conforte,
 Whose vertu we cannot reporte,
 At nede to the sith we resorte,
 O mater, ora Filium

[2]

Moder and mayde in one persone
 Was nevyr none but thou alone,

Wherefore, goode lady, here oure mone
 O mater, ora [Filium]

[3]

Sith thou hast born in virginite
 The secunde person in Trinite,
 The Sonne of God in diuinite,
 O mater, ora Filium

[4]

Sith of honoure thou arte so grete f. 17 v
 That next God in blis is thy sete,
 Swete lady, thou vs not forgete,
 O mater, ora Filium

[5]

Sith Criste of the mankynde wolde take
And the his moder so wolde make,
That he hath take thou not forsake;
O mater, ora [Filium]

stzas 2, 5, 6, 1 4 MS. O mater ora &c

The following stanza, written after stza 2, is marked vacat in MS :

For thy meke chaste virginite,
As we rede in diuinitee,
In the restyd the Trinite,
O mater, ora Filium

[6]

Sith Criste by the hath made man free
With his hert bloode vpon a tree,
That for oure synne we lost not be,
O mater, ora [Filium.]

196

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee 1 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f. 17 v

O castitatis lilum,
Tuum precare Filium

[1]

Sith thy Sonne is both God and man,
And by thy meane save vs he can,
That vs possede not fals Sathan,
T[u]m precare [Filium]

[2]

Off thy swete Sonne sith thou mayst
haue
Without delay what thou wilt crave,
That we come not into helle cave,
Tuum [precare Filium]

[3]

Sith alle aungelles the doo obeye, f 18 r
For loue of man, that in the leye,
So that we be not lost for aye,
Tuum precare Filium
stza 1, 1 4 MS Tum precare &c

[4]

Sith quene of blis thou arte electe,
By whome mankynde shulde be protecte,
Fro blis that we be not rejecte,
Tuum precare Filium.

[5]

O blessed quene of paradise,
For oure trespas vs not despise,
But for vs in the lowest wyse
Tuum precare Filium

[6]

That oure offence forgeve may be,
And that we may, O lady free,
Dwelle with thy Sonne Jhesus and the,
Tuum precare Filium
stza 2, 1 4 MS Tuum &c

197

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 18 r

O benigna, laude digna,
Tuo Nato nos consigna

[1]

Sith Criste hath take both flesshe and
blode
For thy clennes and thy myelde mode,
And bought mankynde vpon the rode,
Tuo Nato [nos consigna]

[2]

Sith euery man atte nede doth flee f 18 v.
For helpe and comforte vnto the,
For synne that we ay lost not be,
Tuo Nato nos [consigna]

[3]

Sith by reason, by right and skille,
Thy Sonne thy wille ay woll fulfille,
That the fende ille mankynde not spille,
Tuo Nato [nos consigna]

[4]

Sith thou art quene of euery coost
 And thy Sonne King of myghtes moost,
 So that for synne we be not loost,
 Tuo Nato nos [consigna]

[5]

Sith Crist thy Sonne hath take of the
 Fourme of mankynde like as we be
 stzas 1, 3, 5, 6, 1 4 MS Tuo nato &c

To bringe vs fro captiutee,
 Tuo Nato [nos consigna]

[6]

Sith man to God by the is knytte
 And aboue alle aungelles doth sitte,
 That we come not into helle pitte,
 Tuo Nato [nos consigna]
 stzas 2, 4, 1 4 MS Tuo nato nos &c

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Cambridge University Library. MS Ee. 1 12

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 18 v

O virgo summe decora,
 Pro nobis Cristum exora.

[1]

Sith of right thou mayst not f 19 r
 forsake

Mankyende, the whiche thy Sonne hath
 take,

Oure care and woo for to aslake
 Pro nobis [Cristum exora]

[2]

Sith thou arte quene and thy Sonne King
 Of blis that shalle haue noon endyng,
 To that swete place vs alle to bring
 Pro nobis [Cristum exora]

[3]

Of alle women sith thou art floure
 And moder of oure Sauyoure,
 To save and kepe vs froo doloure
 Pro nobis Christum [exora]

stza 1, 1 4 MS Pro nobis &c

stza 2, 1 4 MS Pro nobis &c

[4]

Sith thou arte the lanterne of light
 Shynyng aboue alle aungelles bright,
 Of hym that we may haue a sight
 Pro nobis Christum [exora]

[5]

Sith thou arte made emperesse of helle,
 The payne wherof no tunge can telle,
 That we for synne therin not dwelle
 Pro nobis Christum [exora]

[6]

Sith oure trust is in the allone
 Next God, that is bothe iii and One,
 To here oure moone and graunte f 19 v
 oure boon
 Pro nobis Christum [exora]

stzas 3-6, 1 4 MS Pro nobis Christum &c

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Cambridge University Library. MS. Ee 1. 12

By James Ryman, c 1492

f. 19 v.

O clemens, O pia,
 O dulcis Maria

[1]

O quene of mercy and of grace,
 O oure comforte in euery case,
 To whome we calle in euery place,
 O clemens, O pia.

[2]

O lady fre, O quene of blis,
 Of thy conforte lete vs not mys,
 For why thy name nowe called is
 O dulcis Maria.

[3]

O oure lodesterre bothe bright *and* clere,
 O quene of blis havyng no pere,
 O spowse of Criste moost swete *and* dere,
 O clemens, O pia

[4]

Moder and mayde in one persone
 Was neur noon but thou allone,
 Wherefor, good lady, here oure mone,
 O dulcis Maria

[5]

O lanterne of eternall light,
 Moost pure and clene, moost clere f 20 r
 and bright,
 Cause vs of Criste to haue a sight,
 O clemens, [O pia]

[6]

O virgyne Mary, meke and myelde,
 For vs thou pray vnto thy chielde
 Fro blis that we be not exielde,
 O dulcis Maria

[7]

O flos campi of swete odoure,
 O Jesse yerde full of honoure,
 O moder of oure Sauyoure,
 O clemens, O pia

[8]

O virgyne pure on, vs thou rue,
 And for oure synne vs not eschew,
 But represent vs to Crist Jhesu,
 O dulcis Maria

[9]

O floure of alle virginite,
 Replete with alle diuinitie,
 O tricle of the Trinitie,
 O clemens, O pia

[10]

O welle of vertu and of grace,
 Returne to vs thy louely face,
 Forsake vs not for oure trespase, f. 20 v
 O dulcis Maria

[11]

O frag[r]ant roose, O lilly chaste,
 O ardent busshe that did not wast,
 Thyne eye of grace vpon vs cast,
 O clemens, O pia.

[12]

With louely chere pray thy Sonne dere,
 King Assuere, in blis so clere,
 That we in fere to hym may appere,
 O dulcis Maria.

stza 5, 1 4 MS O clemens &c.

stza 8, 1 3 Crist Jhesu] MS Jhesu Crist, with transposition indicated

200

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee. 1 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 20 v

Salve, sancta parens,
 Omni labe carens.

[1]

O heuenly sterre so clere and bright,
 In whome did light the Sonne of Right,
 Wherefore we singe with alle oure myght,
 'Salve, sancta parens'

[2]

As the sonne beame goth thurgh the glas,
 The Sonne of God thurgh the did pas,
 Taking nature, as his wille was,
 Omni labe carens

[3]

Whenne Criste thy Sonne had f 21 r
 suffred payne
 And rose fro deth to lyfe agayne,
 To the he seide, and not in vayne,
 'Salve, [sancta parens]'

[4]

As grete payne tho it was to the
 Thyne owne dere Sonne in peyn to se
 As vnto hym nayled on tree,
 Omni labe carens.

[5]

But with alle joye thou were replete
 Whenne thy dere Sonne with the did
 mete
 And grete the *wylh* thies wordes swete
 'Salue, sancta [parens']

[6]

No wonder was yf thou were gladde,
 Seyng for whome thou haddest be sadde,
 Thy Sonne, of whome alle joye is hadde,
Omm labe carens

stza 3, 1 4 MS Salue &c

[7]

O moder of bothe God and man,
 Aftur oure myght and as we can
 We sey to the, as he seide than,
 'Salue, sancta parens'

[8]

Pray Criste that he vs not forsake,
 That benignely of the hath take
 Nature, mankynde fre for to make,
Omm labe carens.

stza 5, 1 4 MS Salue sancta &c

201

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 21 v

Aue, regina celorum,
 Flos et decus beatorum

[1]

Haile, full of grace, Criste is *wylh* the;
 Of alle women blessed thou be,
 And blessed be the frute of the,
Mater Regis angelorum

[2]

Haile, swete moder of Crist Jhesu,
 Haile, virgyne pure; on vs thou rue
 And for oure synne vs not eschewe,
O Maria, flos virginum

[3]

Haile, flos campi of swete odoure,
 Haile, moder of oure Sauyoure,
 Haile, virginall floure of grete honoure,
Velud rosa vel lilium.

[4]

Haile, lanterne of eternall light,
 As the sonne beame as clere *and* bright;
 Of Criste that we may haue a sight
Funde preces ad Filium

[5]

Haile, quene Hester *wylh* louely chere,
 King Assuere, thy Sonne so dere,
 Thy prayer clere pray thou to here
Pro salute fidelium.

202

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f. 22 r.

Gaude, mater gloriosa,
 Super omnes speciosa.

[1]

Haile, spowse of Criste oure Savioure,
 Haile, lilly floure of swete odoure,
 Haile, quene of blis of grete honoure,
Super omnes speciosa.

[2]

Haile, vessell of all purite;
 Haile, moder of humilite,
 Haile, chaste floure of virginite,
Super omnes speciosa.

[3]

Haile, Jesse roote full of vertue,
 Haile, holy moder of Jhesu,
 Haile, fragrant rose moost faire of hue,
 Super omnes speciosa

[4]

Haile, lylly floure *withouten* thorne,
 Haile, of whome Criste Jhesus was borne;
 Haile, virgyne afture and beforne,
 Super omnes speciosa

[5]

Haile, spowse of Criste louely and dere,
 As the sonne beame as bright *and* clere;
 Haile, oure conforte bothe ferre *and* nere,
 Super omnes speciosa

[6]

O moder myelde, for vs thou pray f 22 v.
 Vnto thy childe that we come may
 To heven blis, that lasteth aye,
 Super omnes speciosa.

stza 4, l 1 lylly] MS lylly

203

Cambridge Universty Library MS. Ee 1 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 25 r

There sprunge a yerde of Jesse moore,
 There was neuer none suche f 25 v
 before,
 Ne non shal be
 This yerde was Marie, virgyne fre

[1]

As Aaron yerde *withoute* moistoure
 Hath florissshed and borne a floure,
 So hath she borne oure Savyoure
Withouten touche of dishonoure
 Of mannes sede,
 For God his self in her did brede.

[2]

King Assuere was wrothe, iwis,
 Whenne Quene Vasty had done amys,
 And of her crowne priuat she is,
 But, when Hester his yerde did kis,
 By hir mekenes
 She chaunged his moode into softnes.

[3]

King Assuere is God Almyght,
 And Quene Vasty synag[ogu]e hight,
 But, when Vasty had lost hir lyght,
 Quene Hester thanne did shyne full
 bright,

For she forth brought
 The Sonne of God, that alle hath
 wrought.

[4]

As Moyses yerde, that was so goode,
 Turned the waters into bloode,
 So did Mary moost myelde of f 26 r.
 moode
 Vnder the cros, whereas she stooode
 Ful sore weping
 Her teres ran with blode bleding.

[5]

She is that yerde that yevith vs light
 Of Criste oure King to haue a sight;
 She is redy bothe day and nyght
 To yelde oure cause to God Almyght,
 To save oure sore,
 That quene of blis for euirmore.

[6]

Now beseche we that yerde so free
 Mediatrix for vs to be
 Vnto that King of Magestee,
 In blis that we his face may see
Withoute endyng
 Afture this fynalle departing.

stza 3, l 4 forth] MS forsothe.

204

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee. 1. 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f 78 r

Stella celi, micaris clare;
Regina celi, letare.

[1]

O quene of blisse, thy Son Jhesus,
Quem meruisti portare, f 78 v
God *and* man is, we bileue thus,
Regina celi, letare.

[2]

O lady free, the King of Grace,
Quem meruisti portare,
Hath ordeyned the a joyfull place,
Regina celi, letare.

[3]

O spowse moost bright, thy Son alone,
Quem meruisti portare,
Thy place hath dight next to the trone,
Regina celi, [letare]

[4]

O moder dere of God and man,
Quem meruisti portare,
Thou art more clere than tunge tell can,
Regina celi, [letare]

[5]

O moder myelde, thy Son so good,
Quem meruisti portare,
For man so wiede died on the rode,
Regina celi, letare
stza 3, 1 4 MS Regina celi &c

[6]

O meke of myende, thy Son also,
Quem meruisti portare,
Hath brought mankyende fro peyn *and*
woo,
Regina celi, letare

[7]

O virgyn pure, as he behight
Quem meruisti portare,
He rose full sure by his grete myght,
Regina celi, letare

[8]

O emperesse, that Empeoure
Quem meruisti portare,
In oure distresse he is socoure,
Regina celi, letare

[9]

O heuenly sterre, the Prince of Peas,
Quem meruisti portare,
Oure goostly werre by the doth seace,
Regina celi, letare.

[10]

For vs thou pray Emanuell,
Quem meruisti portare,
So that we may in heven dwell,
Regina celi, letare
stza 4, 1 4 MS Regina celi &c

205

Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 1. 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f 79 r

O quene of pitee, moder of *grace*,
In the high citee *graunt* vs a place.

[1]

O quene of pitee and of *grace*,
O swete lady, to thy dere chielde,
That King, that Lorde of *euery* place,
Pray thou for vs, thy *seruauntes*
myelde,
Fro blisse that we be not exiled f 79 v.
For oure offence, trespas, and synne,
But that swete place that we may
wynne

[2]

O princesse of eternall peace,
O lady of aungelles moost bright,
Pray thy dere Sonne oure woo to seace
And bing vs fro derkenes to light,
Of hym that we may haue a sight,
That died for vs on the roode tree
And shed his blode to make vs free.

[3]

O emperesse *withouten* pere,
 O queen also of heven blisse,
 Of Crist Jhesu, thy Son so dere,
 What thou wilt aske thou shalt not
 mysse,
 For he is thyne, and thou art his.
 O swete lady, sith it is soo,
 Defende mankyende fro endeles
 woo

[4]

O floure of alle virgintee,
 O moder of oure Savioure,
 O chast bowie of the Trinitee,
 O virgyne pure moost of honour,
 Be oure comfort, help, *and* socoure,
 And vttrly thou not forsake
 Mankynde, the which thy Son hath
 take

[5]

O gate of lyfe, moder *and* wyfe,
 O hope and trust of synners alle,
 In angwishe, woo, trouble, *and* stryfe
 For thy comfort we crie *and* calle,
 Bothe olde and yonge, both gret *and*
 small,
 Therefore oure help *and* comfort be,
 Sith oure trust is onely in the.

[6]

O louely spowse *and* peramour
 Of Crist, that is bothe God f. 80 r
 and man,
 Thou hast born chield *without* doloure,
 And so noon other woman can
 Do thou thy cure, swete lady, than,
 Sith thou haast borne the Lord of
 Alle,
 So that mankyende be not made
 thralle

[7]

O lantern of eternall light,
 O myrroure of humiltee,
 In whom the Holy Goost did light
 Bicause of thy virgintee,
 Kepe mankyende fro captiuitee
 And fro that woofull place of helle,
 With the fowle fende that it not
 dwelle

[8]

O heuenly sterre most bright *and* clere,
 Of alle sterres of hevyn so bright,
 O swete lady, oure prayere here,
 And beoure guyde both day *and* nyght,
 That we may please that King of
 Myght
 So that we may come to that blis
 Wherof the joye eternall is

206

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet. e. 1

XV cent.

f 25 v

Salve, regina,
 Mater misericordie.

[1]

O blyssedfull berd, full of grace,
 To all mankynd thou art solas,
 Quene of hevyn in euery place,
 Salue.

[2]

To owr helth thou bar a chylde
 And yet *with* syn wart neuer fylyd,
 Mary moder, mek *and* myld,
 Salue

[3]

Fro the fend thou vs defend,
 And of syn thou vs ame[n]d;
 Mary, thi mercy thou to vs send;
 Salue.

[4]

O worthy whyght, we worship the,
 Full of mercy *and* of pyte;
 Wherefor we syng in ech degre,
 'Salue'

[5]

And lat vs not fro the fale,
 And therto we cry *and* also call,
 Both yong and old, grett *and* small,
 'Salue'

[6]

And bryng vs to thi Sonns blysse,
 Wher that thi wonnyng is;
 Of that we pray the that we not mys;
 Salue

207

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 77 v

Salve, regina glorie,
Mater misericordie.

[1]

Hayle, oure lod sterre bothe bright *and*
clere,

Hayle, welle of grace and of pitee,
Hayle, spowse of Crist louely *and* dere,
Mater misericordie.

[2]

Hayle, floure of alle virginitee;
Hayle, full of grace, Crist is *with*
the;

Hayle, temple of the Trinitee,
Mater misericordie.

[3]

Hayle, quene of blisse, emperesse of hell,
Hayle, doughter Syon full of beautie,
Hayle, closed gate of Ezechiell,
Mater misericordie

[4]

O fragrant rose, O lilly chaste,
O violete of puritee,
Thyn ey of grace vpon vs cast,
Mater misericordie.

[5]

O quene of blisse, O virgyn pure,
For confort we resorte to the;
On vs therfore do thou thy cure,
Mater misericordie

[6]

In tyme of nede, bothe grete and small,
For subsidie we calle to the,
And by thy name thus we the call:
'Mater misericordie'

[7]

What tyme mankyende had done amys,
By thy mekenesse it was made free
And brought ayene to heven blisse,
Mater misericordie

[8]

As the son beame goth thurgh the glas,
The Son of God passed thurgh the,
Takyng nature, as his wille was,
Mater misericordie.

[9]

With the glorie of thy Son swete,
O quene of blisse, O lady free,
Heven and erthe bothe be replete, f 78 r
Mater misericordie f 77 v

[10]

Moder and mayde in one persone f 78 r
Was neur noon, ne noon shall be,
But thou alone, O heven trone,
Mater misericordie.

[11]

O lantern of eternall light,
That gave them light that myght not
see,
Cause vs of Crist to haue a sight,
Mater misericordie.

[12]

O virgyne pure, O quene of blis,
Cause vs to be in blisse *with* the,
Wherof the joye eternall is,
Mater misericordie

208

Cambridge University Library. MS. Ee 1. 12

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 87 v.

Salve, regina glorie,
Mater misericordie.

[1]

O Jesse yerde florigerat,
The fruyte of lyff is sprunge of the,
The Prynce of Peas desiderat,
Mater misericordie.

[2]
O quene of blisse celestially,
Childryn of Eve, we call to the
Here in this vale terrestrially,
Mater misericordie

[3]
When all mankynde for syn was lost,
The Kyng of Grace was born of the
By vertu of the Holy Gost,
Mater misericordie

[4]
As the sonne beame goth through the
glasse,
The Sonne of God passid throughe the,
And so bothe God and man he wasse,
Mater misericordie.

[5]
Thatte Lord thatte in thy wombe did
rest,

The whiche hath made and f 88 r.
create the,
Thou hast fedde with thy holy brest,
Mater misericordie

[6]
Thatte Eve hath take away fro us
Thou yeldist with thi fruyte Jhesus;
Therefore thy name is callyd thus.
'*Mater misericordie*'

[7]
The ierarchies with ordres nyne,
For cause that Crist is born of the,
They honowre the with laude dyuyne,
Mater misericordie

[8]
Besiche thatt Kyng of myghtes most,
The whiche hath take mankynd of the,
For oure syn thatte we be not lost,
Mater misericordie.

209

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12
f 88 r

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

Salve, regina glorie,
Mater misericordie.

[1]
O stronge Judith so full of myght,
By thy vertu we be made fre,
For thou hast putte oure foo to flyght,
Mater misericordie

[2]
O meke Hestere so fayre of face,
Kyng Assuere for loue of the
Hath take mankynd vnto his grace,
Mater misericordie

[3]
O benigne meyde, modere and wyff,
Oure joye is wonne only by the, f 88 v
Sothly thou art the gate of lyff,
Mater misericordie.

[4]
Whom alle this world, thatt ys so wyde,
Myght not receyue, he lyght in the
And became man to be our gyde,
Mater misericordie

[5]
We be most fre, that were most thrall,
By thi mekenes, O lady fre;
Wherfore of right thus we the call
'*Mater misericordie.*'

[6]
Sith thou hast born oure Sauyowre,
And alle oure trust is leyde in the,
Defend us ay fro all dolowre,
Mater misericordie.

[7]
Lete notte the fende with all his fraude
Make thrall thatt thy Sone hath made
fre,
In blysse thatte we may gyff you laude,
[*Mater misericordie*]

[8]
Pray Crist, thy Sonne, that high Justyse,
Thatte we may dwell with hym and
the
In the sweete blysse of paradyse,
[*Mater misericordie.*]

210

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee 1 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f. 88 v

Salue, regina glorie,
Mater misericordie.

[1]

O fayre Rachel semely in syght,
Ther is no spotte of syn in the, f 89 r
Therfore of ryght thy name shall hight
Mater misericordie

[2]

As Holy Writte thus concludith,
For cause oure helthe is wone by the
Thou art bothe Ester and Judith,
Mater misericordie.

[3]

Holofernes, the fende, is hede
With his owne swerde, O lady fre,
Thou hast smytte of and made hym
dede,
Mater misericordie.

[4]

Aman alsoo, the fende, oure foo,
Thou hast hangyd vppon a tre,
Thus thou hast brought mankynd fro
woo,
Mater misericordie.

[5]

O spowse of Crist so sweete and dere,
Ther is no creature like the,
In heuen ne erthe thou hast no pere,
Mater misericordie

[6]

Alle creaturys dothe the honowie
And doith obey, lady, to the,
For thou hast born oure Sauyowre,
Mater misericordie

[7]

Blessid thou be of wommen alle,
For the sweete fruyte that came of the
Hath made us free, thatte ay were
thralle,
Mater misericordie

[8]

Sith thou hast borne the Kyng of Grace,
And alle oure trust restith in f 89 v.
the,
In blysse cause us to haue a place,
Mater misericordie

211

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee 1 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 89 v

Salue, regina glorie,
Mater misericordie

[1]

Adam and Eve, thatte were vnywse,
Were putte with there posterite
Fro the swete blysse of paradyse,
Mater misericordie

[2]

Butte thy swete Sone, Jhesus so good,
To bryng us fro captiuite
Hath sufferd deth and shed his blood,
Mater misericordie

[3]

Jhesus, thy swete Sone, and no moo,
Thatte Kyng of alle felicite,
Hath take us fro derknes and woo,
Mater misericordie

[4]

By vertu of his woundys wyde
Thatt Lorde of alle humylyte
Hath ouercome the prynce of pryde,
Mater misericordie

[5]

Pray Crist thatte he us not forsake
For oure syn and inquite,
Butte into blysse thatt he us take,
Mater misericordie

212

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 97 r.

Maria, mater gracie,
Mater misericordie.

[1]

O prynces of eternall peas,
O lady of all angelles bright,
Pray Crist oure bondage to releas
And brynge us fro derknes to lyght,
Of hym thatte we may haue a syght
Thatt toke bothe flesshe *and* bloode
of the,
Mater misericordie

[2]

O quene of pite and of grace,
Pray thou for us, thy seruantes myld,

Thatte the dothe serue in euery f 97 v
place,
Fro blisse thatte we be nott exyled,
Thoughe thatt we be wickyd *and*
wyld,
Yeitt we do hope and trust in the,
Mater misericordie

[3]

O emperesse withowten pere,
With Crist reignyng above in blys,
For us pray to thy Sonne so dere
Thatt we may reigne *with* hym *and*
his,
And of his joye neuere to mys,
But withowte ende theryn to be,
Mater misericordie

213

Huntington Library Christmas carolles newly Inprynted (Richard Kele) c 1550

p [44]

Salue, regina, mater misericordie,
Uita, dulcedo, et spes nostra, salue

[1]

O uery lyfe of swetnes and hope,
Of thy mercy sende vs a drope,
As thou bare Jesu, that our kynd dyd
grop

[2]

Unto our helth thou bare that chyld,
With spot of syn thou were neuer defyld,
Mary mother, bothe meke and myld

The repetition of the burden is indicated after stzas 1-4 by Salue regina mater
misericordie vita &c burden, l 1 *misericordie*] Orig *misericordie*

[3]

We synners, lady, to the we crye
In this world to haue mercy;
We synge to the yet or we dye

[4]

To the we call euer at our nede,
A frende specyall for all mannes nede,
Thou floure on felde of Adams sede.

[5]

Thy eyen of pyte from vs not hyde
Whyle we here in this world abyde,
Thou gouerne vs and be our guyde.

214

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f 9 r

Vita, dulcedo, et spes
Nostra, Maria, tu es.

[1]

Perles prynces of euery place,
Of heuen, of erthe, of see, of sonde,
Moder of mercy and of grace,
Helpe thy seruauntys in euery londe
Oure woo thou sese, oure joy increse,
Graunt us that pease that is endlese

[2]

Pray thy Sone to vnbynde oure bonde
And brynge us owte of care f 9 v
and woo

And defende us with his right honde
And kepe us fro the fende, oure foo
Oure woo thou sease, [oure joy
inrese,
Graunt us that pease that is end-
lese]

[3]

Thoughe thatte Adam, oure first parent,
And Eve alsoo haue done offense,
Lete notte mankynde for ay be schent,
Sith thou art quene of indulgense
Oure woo thou sease, [oure joy
inrese;
Graunt us that pease that is end-
lese]

[4]

Ourelyffe, oure sweetnes, oure truste alsoo,
Thou art only, therfore we calle
Only to the and to no moo,
Chyldryn of Eve, exyles most thralle
Oure woo thou sease, [oure joy
inrese,
Graunt us that pease that is end-
lese]

[5]

Here in this vale of care and woo,
Sith thou art oure mediatrise,
Thyn eyen of mercy, of grace alsoo,
Turne thou to us in mercyfull wyse.

stzas 2-4, 1 5 MS Oure woo thou sease c^o.
stza 4, 1 4 Chyldryn] MS Cchyldryn
stzas 5-8, 1 5 MS Oure woo thou sease c^o

Oure woo thou sease, [oure joy
inrese;
Graunt us that pease that is end-
lese]

[6]

O sweete Mary most meke and fre,
Thatt blessid fruyte of thy wombe,
Jhesus,
After thatte we departyd be
Fro thys exyle, schewe thou to us
Oure woo thou sease, [oure joy
inrese,
Graunt us that pease that is end-
lese]

[7]

O sweete lady, atte domysday
When the false schalle us accuse,
For us vnto thy Sone thou pray,
For syn thatte he us notte refuse
Oure woo thou sease, [oure joy
inrese,
Graunt us that pease that is end-
lese]

[8]

Lete notte the fende with alle his fraude
Brynge us to payn and endles f 10 r
woo,
Butte thatte to God we may gyff laude
In blysse with the and many moo,
Oure woo thou sease, [oure joy
inrese,
Graunt us that pease that is end-
lese]

215

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee 1 12
f. 96 r

By James Ryman, c 1492.

Mekely we syng and seye to the,
'Maria, spes nostra, salue '

[1]

Childryn of Eve, bothe grete and small,
Here in this vale of wrechidnesse
With grete wepyng to the we call
For helpe and grace in oure distresse,
And, as oure tunges can expresse,
Mekely we syng and seye to the,
'Maria, spes nostra, salue.'

[2]

Thou art, lady, and euer shalt be,
Queene of mercy, moder of grace;
Therefore atte nede, O lady fre,
Turne vnto us thi glorious face,
And confort us in euery case,
Syth we do syng and seye to the,
'Maria, spes nostra, salue '

[3]

Thoughe itte be muche thatte we offende,
 Yeit we be thyne for euermore;
 Therfore thy grace to us extende,
 Pure virgyn after and before,
 For syn that we be notte forlore,
 Syth we do sing and seye to the,
 'Maria, spes nostra, salue'

[4]

Thow doist habunde so in all wise
 With goodness, grace, and all vertu,
 So thatte oure laude cannott suffice
 To the, sweete moder of Jhesu,
 But yet oure prayers not f 96 v.
 eschewe,
 Sith we do sing and seye to the,
 'Maria, spes nostra, salue'
 burden *The mutual M serves for both lines*

[5]

Sweete and benigne mediatrise,
 Thyn eyen of grace on us thou cast,
 Sith thou art quene of paradise,
 And lete not oure hope be in wast,
 Butt schewe us thy Sonne atte the
 last,
 Sith we do sing and seye to the,
 'Maria, spes nostra, salue'

[6]

O meke and mylde, full of pite,
 For us pray to thatt Prince of Pease
 Thatte we may cum to thatt cite
 "Wheroff the joye shall neuer sease
 Butte multiple and euer encrease,
 Sith we do sing and seye to the,
 'Maria, spes nostra, salue'
stza 2, 1 4 vnto] MS vnto vnto

216

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 96 v

O regina clemencie,
 O mater indulgencie.

[1]

O floure of all uirginite,
 O moder of oure Sauyoure,
 O chast boure of the Trinite,
 Be oure confort, help, and socoure,
 And defende us fro all doloure,
 Atte nede to the sith we do fle,
 O mater indulgencie.

[2]

O louely spowse and paramoure f 97 r.
 Of Crist, thatte is bothe God and man,
 Fro peyn of helle bittere and sowre
 Pray hym kepe us, as he best can,

Thatt for oure sake hadde woundes
 wan
 And with his bloode hath payede
 oure fe,
 O mater indulgencie

[3]

O gate of liffe, moder and wyffe,
 O hope and trust of synners all,
 In care and woo, sorowe and stryffe,
 Confort thou vs, bothe grete and small,
 Mekely to the sith we do call
 With hert and mynde, O lady fre,
 O mater indulgencie

217

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 102 r

O regina clemencie,
 O mater indulgencie.

[1]

O Jesse yerde florigerat,
 The fruyte of liffe is sprunge of the,
 The Prynce of Pes desiderat
 And Kyng of highe regalite.

[2]

O quene of blisse celestiall,
 Childryn of Eve, we calle to the
 Here in this vale terrestriall,
 Bothe highe and lowe in oure degre.

[3]

Thatte Lorde thatte in thy wombe didde
rest,
The whiche hath made and creatt the,
Thou hast fedde with thy holy brest
In all clennes and purite

[4]

O meke Hester so fayre of face,
Kyng Assuere, for loue of the,
Hath take mankynde ayen to grace
And fro all syn hath made it fre

[5]

O benigne meyde, moder and wyffe,
Oure joy is wonne only by the,
Sothly thou arte the gate of liffe
The whiche Ezechiel didde se

[6]

Pray thy sweete Sonne, that high f 102 v.
Justice,
Thatt we may dwell with hym and the
In the sweete blisse of paradyce,
Wherof endyng never shall be

At end Amen

218

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1. 12

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 101 r

Regina celi, letare,
With God and man alsoo,
Quem meruisti portare
Withowten peyn and woo

[1]

Regina celi, letare, f 101 v
For Crist, thy Sonne so dere,
Quem meruisti portare
With gladde and joyfull chere,
Nunc te gaudet amplexare
In blisse, thatt is so clere,
Et corona coronare
As quene withowten pere.

[2]

Resurrexit, sicut dixit,
Thy Sonne Jhesus so fre,

At end. Amen Jhesu, fili David, miserere nobis

Quem gens seua crucifixit
And naylde vppon a tre
Mortem uicit et reuixit,
And them with hym toke he
Quos amara mors afflixit,
In blisse with hym to be.

[3]

O Maria, flos uirginum,
Most fayre and sweete, iwys,
Velud rosa vel lilium
Whoys blossome schalle not mys,
Funde preces ad Filium,
Bothe God and man thatt ys,
Pro salute fidelium,
Thatt he may graunt us blisse.

219

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee. 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 103 v

To the we make oure mone,
Moder of Crist, alone.

[1]

Sith thou hast born the Kyng of Grace,
Thatt sittith so highe in trone,
Therefore atte nede in euery case
To the we make our mone.

[2]

Sith thou art quene of euery place,
Thou maist graunt us oure bone;
Therefore, while we haue tyme and space,
To the we make our [mone]

[3]

Sith of mercy thou berist the mace,
 And so doth othere none,
 Therfore before thy Sonny's face f 104 r
 For us make thou thy mone

[4]

Sith all oure trust is putte in the
 Next vnto God alone,
 Therfore, moder of Crist so fre,
 At nede here thou *our* mone

[5]

When we shall dye and yelde *our* gost
 And owte of this worlde gone,
 Besiche thatte Lorde of myghtes most
 Mekely to here *our* mone.

[6]

When we shall stonde atte domysday
 Before thy Sonne echone,
 Be oure confort then, we the pray,
 Modere of Crist, alone

220

Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 1. 12
 f 5 r.

By James Ryman, c. 1492

Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis.

[1]

O moder mylde, mayde vndefylde,
 Thatte we so wylde be notte begylde
 And euer exylde fro Crist and hys,
 Ora *pro nobis*

[2]

O quene of grace most fayre of face,
 Of alle solace ledyng the trace,
 Off the highe place thatte we nott mys,
 Ora [pro nobis]

[3]

O lady fre off highe degre,
 Thatte we may se thy Sone and the,
 And euer to be where alle joy ys,
 Ora *pro nobis*.

[4]

Thatte Crist us sende grace to amende
 Oure tyme myspende or we hense
 wende,
 And atte oure ende to graunte us blys,
 Ora [pro nobis]

stzas 2, 4, 1 4 MS Ora c^o

221

Cambridge University Library. MS. Ee. 1. 12
 f 5 r

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis.

[1]

O uirgyn chast both furst and last,
 That in tyme past by feith stedfast
 Conceued hast the Kyng off Blys,
 Ora *pro nobis*.

[2]

Oure wickydnesse we do confesse,
 And oure excesse we do expresse;

In oure distresse haue mynde of this,
 Et ora *pro nobis*

[3]

O lady fre of high degre, f 5 v.
 That we may se thy Sone and the,
 And euer to be where alle joye ys,
 Ora *pro nobis*

222

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1. 12
 f 5 v

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis

[1]

O lyly flowre of swete odowre,
 In whos chast bowre oure Sauyours
 With grete honowre conceyued is,
 Ora *pro nobis*

[2]

O moder mylde, mayde vndefylde,
 Thatte we so wylde be not exylde
 Fro thy swete chylde and fro all his,
 Ora *pro nobis*.

[3]

Thatte Crist us sende grace to amende
 Oure tyme myspende or we hense
 wende,
 And atte oure ende to graunt us blys,
 [Ora *pro nobis*]

223

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 5 v

Sancta Maria, ora *pro nobis*.

[1]

O spowsesse most dere, most bryght,
 most clere,
 In heuen quere hauyng no pere,
 To Assuere, the Kyng of Blys,
 Ora [*pro nobis*]

[2]

O quene of grace most fayre of face,
 Of alle solas ledyng the trace,
 Of the highe place thatte we not mys,
 [Ora *pro nobis*.]

[3]

O highe prynces of blys endles, f 6 r.
 To the Prynce of Pes for us thou pres,
 Vita et spes nostra cum sis,
 Ora *pro nobis*.

224

Cambridge University Library. MS. Ee. 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 6 r

Sancta Maria, ora *pro nobis*

[1]

O tryclyn of the Trinite,
 Replete with alle diuinite,
 O flowre of alle uirginite,
 Ora *pro nobis*.

[5]

O sweete lady so meke and mylde,
 Vnto Jhesu, thy blessid chylde,
 Fro blysse thatt we be notte exylde,
 Ora *pro nobis*.

[6]

Holy moder of Crist Jhesu,
 Thatte is the Lorde of alle vertu,
 Thatte he with grace may us renu,
 Ora *pro nobis*.

[2]

O blessid quene of heuen blys,
 Wheroff the joye eternalle is,
 Of the whiche blis thatte we not mys,
 Ora *pro nobis*

[3]

O emperesse of helle alsoo,
 Into thatte place thatt we not goo,
 Where is derkenes and endles woo,
 Ora *pro nobis*.

[7]

Holy virgyn of virgyns alle, f 6 v.
 Thatt thy sweete Sone Jhesus may calle
 Vs vnto hym, bothe grete and smalle,
 Ora *pro nobis*.

[4]

O spowsesse of Crist, oure Sauyowre,
 The whiche restyd in thy chast bowre,
 Thatte he kepe us fro alle dolowre,
 Ora *pro nobis*

[8]

Thatte we, whiche be terrestrialle,
 May leue this lyff so bestialle
 And come to blysse celestiale,
 Ora *pro nobis*.

225

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1. 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 6 v

Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis.

[1]

O spowsesse of Crist and paramour
Most of vertu, most of honowre,
O moder of oure Sauyowre,
Ora pro nobis

[2]

O emperesse of helle alsoo,
Where is bothe payn and endles woo,
Vnto thatte place thatt we not goo,
Ora pro nobis

[3]

O blessid quene of paradise,
Thatt Crist thy Sone, that high Justise,

Att his comyng us notte despise,
Ora pro nobis.

[4]

O prynces of eternalle pese,
Thatt Crist oure care and woo may sese
And oure solas and joy increse,
Ora pro nobis

[5]

O pure uirgyn of uirgyns alle,
Thatte we may dwelle, both gret and
smalle,
With Crist and the in heuen halle,
Ora pro nobis.

226

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f 7 r

Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis.

[1]

O meke Hester so mylde of mynde,
Thatte hast fownde grace for alle man-
kynde,
Of God thatt we mercy may fynde,
Ora pro nobis

[2]

O stronge Judith, thatte of dydde
smyght
The hede of Holoferne, thatte knyght,
Thatte we may putte the fende to flight,
Ora pro nobis.

[3]

O closyd gate, throughe which alone
Jhesus didde passe, and othere none,
To Crist thy Sone sittyn in trone
Ora pro nobis

[4]

O Jesse yerde, the whiche didde flowre
And bare the fruyte of alle honowre,
That Crist defende us fro dolowre,
Ora pro nobis.

[5]

To God, that is of myghtis most,
Fadere and Sone and Holi Gost,
So thatte for syn we be not lost,
Ora pro nobis.

227

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1. 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 7 r.

Cum sola sis spes hominum,
Ora pro nobis Dominum.

[1]

O blessid mayde, moder and wyffe,
Graunter of pease, seaser of stryffe,
When we schalle die and ende our lyffe,
Ora pro nobis Dominum

[2]

The flesshe, the worlde, the fende alsoo,
Assawte us ay to worke us woo,
Into ther snare thatte we notte goo,
Ora pro nobis Dominum.

[3]

O swete lady, thou be oure gyde f 7 v.
By nyght and day atte euery tyde,
Into no syn that we notte slyde,
Ora pro nobis Dominum

[4]

Of syn and vice thatte we may sease,
And in uertu ay to encrease,
And lede oure lyffe in goostly pease,
Ora pro nobis Dominum.

[5]

Thatte we by grace so may procede
In wylle, in thought, in worde, and dede,
Thatte heuyn blysse may be oure mede,
Ora pro nobis Dominum.

228

Cambridge University Library MS Ee. i. 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f. 7 v

O clemens, O pia,
O dulcis Maria.

[1]

Sith thou hast born the Kyng of Grace,
The Lorde, the Prynce of euery place,
Be oure confort in euery case,
O dulcis Maria.

[2]

Whatte thou wilte axe of thy swete
Sone,
In heuen and erthe itte schalle be done;
For thy mekenes this hast thou wone,
O dulcis Maria.

[3]

Therefore, sith thou art quene of blys,
In tyme of nede haue mynde of this
Of thy conforte lete us notte mys,
O dulcis Maria

[4]

O dere suster, O mylde moder, f 8 r
Pray to thy Sone Crist, oure broder,
Sith thou mayst best of alle oder,
O dulcis Maria

[5]

Vppon mankynde do thou thy cure,
So thatte of blysse we may be sure
Wherof the joy schalle ay endure,
O dulcis Maria.

229

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee i 12

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 8 v.

O mater summi Iudicis,
Succurre nobis miseris.

[1]

O sweete lady, O urgyn pure,
O mater summi Iudicis,
On us mekely do thou thy cure;
Succurre nobis miseris.

[2]

Atte domysday, when we haue f 9 r.
nede,
Tuis preclaris meritis
Then, we the pray, in worde and dede
Succurre nobis miseris

stza 2, 1 4 miseris] MS misereris

stza 3, 1 4 The end of the line has been cut away by the binder

[3]

Crist, thy sweete Sone, thoughe we
offende,
Qui lux est veri luminis,
Yet, sweete lady, atte oure last ende
Succurre nobis miser[is]

[4]

Haue mynde, thou art the quene of blys
Et mater experts criminis;
Haue mynde, lady, and thenke on this:
Succurre nobis miseris

[5]

For oure trespas and oure offense
Ne dampnemur cum impis,
Sith thou art quene of indulgense,
Succurre nobis miseris.

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354

By John Audelay(?), XVI cent

f 219 r.

'Aue Maria,' now say we so;
Mayd *and* moder were neuer no mo

[1]

Gaude Maria, Cristes moder,
Mary myld, of the I mene,
Thou bare my Lord, thou bare my broder,
Thou bare a louly child *and* clene
Thou stodyst full still *withowt* blyn
Whan *in* thy ere that arand was
done so,
Tho graci^{us} God the lyght withyn,
Gabrielis nuncio.

[2]

Gaude Maria, yglent *with* grace,
Whan Jhesus thi Son on the was bore,
Full nygh thy brest thou *gan* hym brace,
He sowked, he sighhed, he wepte full
sore.
Thou fedest the flour that neuer shall
fade
Wyth maydons mylke *and* songe
therto,
'Lulley, my swet, I bare the, babe,
Cum pudoris lillio'

[3]

Gaude Maria, thy myrth was away
Whan Cryst on crose, thy Son, *gan* die
Full dully on Gud Fryday,
That many a moders son yt sye.
Hys blode vs browght from care and
stryf,
His watery wovndes vs wissehe from
wo;
The thyrd day, from dethe to lyff,
Fulget resurreccio
stza 1, 1 8 Gabrielis] MS Grabrielis

b. Bodleian Library MS Douce 302, ff. 31 v., 30 r XV cent (burden and stzas. 1-5).

MS heading Et aha de sancta maria no] non
burden, 1 2 Mayd] moder moder] maydon were] was
stza 1, 1 2 myld, of the I mene] moder of thynemne 1 4 louly] cumle 1 5.
blyn] wene 1 6 that] this done so] doo 1 7 Tho] when between 11.
7 and 8 aue maria vt supra
stza 2, 1 1 yglent] y gret. 1 2 on] of 1 3 gan] con 1 4 sowked] secud
sighhed] soukid 1 5 the] that
stza 3, 1 1 myrth] myght. 1 2 on crose, thy Son, *gan*] thi son on cros con
1 5 browght] boght 1 6 wissehe] waschid 1 7 thyrd] in
stza 4, 1 2 blossom] the blossom blowith] blomrth hull] the hull 1 3

[4]

Gaude Maria, thou byrde so bryght,
Bryghtter than blossom that blowith
on hill;
Joyfull thou were to se that sight
Whan the appostles, so swet of will,
All *and* sum, dide shryt full shryll
Whan the fayrest of shape went you
fro,
Fro erth to hevyn he styed full still,
Motuque fertur proprio

[5]

Gaude Maria, thou rose of ryse,
Maydyn *and* moder both jentill *and*
fre,
Precius prynces perles of pris,
Thy bowr ys next the Trynnye.
Thy Son, as lawe askyth aright,
In body *and* sowle the toke hym to,
Thou regned *with* hym, right as we
fynd,
In celi palacio.

[6]

Now, blessid byrde, we pray the a
bone
Before thy Son for vs thou fall
And pray hym, as he was on the rode
done
And for vs drank asell *and* gall,
That we may wone *withyn* that wall
Wher euer ys well *withowt* wo,
And gravnt that grace vnto vs all
In perhenni gaudio
At end Explicit de quinque gaudia

Joyfull] Ful joyful that sight] seche a lyght 1 4 Whan] And al appostles]
 postils 1 5 Fore al and sum thai stod ful stil 1 6 the] omits. went] he
 swond 1 8 Motuque] motu
 stza 5, 1 1 thou] that of] on 1 2 Maydyn and moder] moder and maid
 both] omits 1 3 prynces perles] perrles princes pris] pes 1 5 lawe askyth
 aright] loue al knon of kynd 1 6 In] Thi the] he 1 7 regned] restist
 right] ther

231

British Museum MS Sloane 2593

XV cent

f 9 r

I may synge of a may,
 Of joyis fyve and merthis most

[1]

The ferste joye, as I you telle.
 With Mary met Seynt Gabrielle.
 'Heyl, Mary, I grete the welle,
 With Fader and Sone and Holy Gost '

[2]

The secunde joye, in good fay,
 Was on Crystemesse Day,
 Born he was of a may,
 With Fader [and Sone and Holy
 Gost]

stzas 2, 3, 5, 1 4 MS with fader &c

[3]

The thredde joye, withoutyn stryf
 That blyssful berthe was ful ryf
 Qwan he ros fro ded to lyf,
 With Fader [and Sone and Holy Gost]

[4]

The forte joye, in good fay, f 9 v.
 Was vpon Halewyn Thursda[y]
 He stey to heuene in ryche aray,
 With Fader and Sone and Holy Gost

[5]

Th[e] fyfte joye, withoutyn dene
 In heuene he crownd his moder clene,
 That was wol in the eyr asene,
 With Fader [and Sone and Holy Gost.]

stza 5, 1 3 in] MS wil .

232

A

St John's College, Cambridge. MS. S 54

XV cent

f. 2 r

A, a, a, a,
 Gaudet cely domina.

[1]

Mary myld, for loue of the
 Glad and blythe now may we be;
 I yow telle, os ye may see,
 Tua quinque gaudia

[2]

The fyrst joy that was sente the
 Was qwan Gabryell gret the
 And seyde, 'Mary, of chastite
 Effisieris grauida '

[3]

The second joy, it was full good
 Qwan Crst of the toke flesch and blode,
 Withoutyn synne, with myld mode,
 Enixa est puerpera

stza 2, 1 2 Gabryell] MS grabryell

stza 3, 1 1 secund] MS secnd 1 3 mode] MS mede

stza 5, 1 1 fourth] MS in 1 3 fay] MS say

[4]

The third joy was of gette myth f 2 v.
 Qwan Crst was on the rode dyth,
 Dede and beryd for oure ryth,
 Surrexit d[i]e tersia

[5]

The fourth joy was on [a] day,
 Qwan Crst to hewyn toke the way,
 God and man, this is oure fay,
 Ascendit supra scidera

[6]

The fifth joy in the gan lyth
 Qwan thou were in hewyn with hym
 dyth;
 All Holy Chyrche thou hast in myth,
 I[n] tua potencia.

stza 4, 1 1 third] MS in

stza 6, 1 1. fifth] MS v

B

Bodleian Library, MS Eng poet e. 1

XV cent

f. 45 r

A, a, a, a,
Gaude celi domina

[1]

Mary, for the loue of the
Glad *and* mery schal we be,
Whe schal syng vnto the
Tua quinque gaudia

[2]

The fyrste joy that came to the
Was whan the aungel greted the
And sayd, 'Mary, ful of charyte,
Aue, plena gracia'

[3]

The secund joye, that was ful good
Whan Goddes Son tok flesch *and* blood,
Withowt sorow *and* changyng of mood
Enixa est puerpera

MS heading Off the 5 joyes of owr lady

[4]

The thyrd joy was ful of myght
Whan Goddes Son on rood was pyght,
Deed *and* buryed *and* layd in syght,
Surrexit die tercia.

[5]

The fourth joy was on Holy Thursday,
Whan God to heven tok hys way,
God *and* man, withowten nay,
Ascendit supra sydera

[6]

The fyfth joy is for to come
At the dredful day of dome,
Whan he schal deme vs, al *and* some,
Ad celi palacia

[7]

Mary to serue God gyue vs grace,
And grete hyr with joys in euery place,
To cum afor hyr Sones face
In seculorum secula

C

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

XVI cent.

f. 223 v

Ay, ay, ay, ay,
Gaude celi domina

[1]

Mary, for the loue of the
Blyth *and* glad may we be,
And I shall syng, as ye may se,
Sua quinque gaudia

[2]

The fyrst joy was sent to the
Whan Gabryell greted the
And sayd, 'Hayle, Mary, in chastite
Efficiaris gravida'

[3]

The second joy was full gud
Whan Cryst toke both flesshe *and* blod,
Withowte syn talkyng of mode
Inexsa est puerpera

stza 4, l. 1. 1. thirde] MS ^{inde}.
stza 6, l. 1. 1. fifth] MS ^vth

[4]

The thirde joy was of gret myght
Whan Jh[es]u was on the rode dyght,
Dede *and* buryed in all menys syght,
Surrexit die tercia.

[5]

The fourth joy was, withowt [n]ay,
Whan Jhesu to hell toke the way,
And with hym com gret aray
Ad celi palacia

[6]

The fifth joy was on Holy Thursday
Vnto hevyn he toke the way,
God *and* man, *and* so he ys for ay,
Assendit super sidera

stza 5, l. 1. 1. fourth] MS ^{inde}th
At end Explicit

233

Balliol College, Oxford. MS 354.

XVI cent.

f. 228 v.

Gawde, for thy joyes five,
Mary, moder, maydyn, *and* wyff.

[1]

Gaude, to whom Gabryell was sent,
From Nazareth to Galalie,
And said that God *Omm*potent
Wold haue his Son be born of the

[2]

Gaude thow bare hym *withowt* payn,
And with payn thow saweste hym dy
on tre,

But gaude whan he rose agayn,
For he appered firste to the

MS marks burden fote stza 3, 1 r thow] MS thowe thow At end Explicit

[3]

Gaude thow saweste hym assende
By his own strenth above the skye,
An hoste of angelles down he sent
And assumpste thy sowle *with* thy
bodye

[4]

Gaude thy dignyte ys gret,
For next vnto the Trynyte
Above all seyntes is thy sete,
And all joye is in the sight of the.

[5]

Gaude, moder *and* maydyn pure,
For thy joyes shall never cesse
(Therof thow art siker *and* sure)
But ever florisshe *and* encrease

234

A

Trinity College, Cambridge. MS O 3. 58.

XV cent.

recto

Alma Redemptoris mater

[1]

As I lay vpon a nyth,
My thowth was on a beide so brith
That men clepyn Marye ful of myth,
Redemptoris mater

[2]

To here cam Gabryel wyth lyth
And seyde, 'Heyl be thou, blysfyl wyth'
To ben clepyd now art thou dyth
Redemptoris mater.'

[3]

At that wurd that lady bryth
Anon conseyuyd God ful of myth;
Than men wyst weel that sche hyth
Redemptoris mater

[4]

Qwan Jhesu on the rode was pyth,
Mary was doolfyl of that syth
Til sche sey hym ryse vprith,
Redemptoris mater.

[5]

Jhesu, that syttyst in heuene lyth,
Graunt vs to comyn beforn thi sith
Wyth that berde that is so brith,
Redemptoris mater

burden, 1 r Alma] MS Alma a

B

Bodleian Library. MS Arch Selden B. 26.

XV cent.

f. 13 v.

Alma Redemptoris mater

[1]

[A]s Y lay vpon a nyght,
My thought Y say a semly syght
That callid was Mary bright,
Redemptoris mater.

[2]

Ther come Gabriel with lyght
And saide, 'Haile, thou swete wyght'
To be clepyd thou art ydyght
[Redemptoris mater.]

[3]

Ther she conceyved God Almyght,
That was in stalle *with* here al nyght,
And there men knewe what he hyght,
Redemptoris mater

The burden is again written in full after the first stanza

[4]

Whan Jhesu was on the rode ypyght,
Mary was sory of that syght
Tyl that she say hym ryse vpryght,
Redemptoris mater.

[5]

And after to heuen he toke his flyght,
Ther he is now in blysse bryght,
And *with* hym that swete wyght,
Redemptoris mater.

C

British Museum. MS Sloane 2593.

XV cent.

f 30 v

Alma Redemptoris mater.

[1]

As I lay vpon a nyght,
My thowt was on a mayde bryght
That men callyn Mary of myght,
Redemptoris mater.

[2]

To here cam Gabriel so bryght
And seyde, 'Heyl, Mari, ful of myght'
To be cald thou art adyght
Redemptoris [mater']

[3]

After that word that mayde bryght
Anon conseuyd God of Myght,
And therby wyst men that che hyght
R[edemptoris mater.]

[4]

Ryght as the sunne schynyt in glas,
So Jhesu in his moder was,
And therby wyt men that che was
R[edemptoris mater]

[5]

Now is born that babe of blys,
And qwen of heuene his moder is,
And therfore think me that che is
R[edemptoris mater]

[6]

After to heuene he tok his flyght,
And ther he sit *with* his Fader of Myght;
With hym is crownyd that lady bryght,
Redemptoris mater

stza 4, 1 r. Ryght] MS. Rryght.

D

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354.

XVI cent.

f 222 r.

Now syng we all in fere,
'Alma Redemptoris mater.'

[1]

As I me lay on a nyght,
Me thougt I sawe a semly wyght
That clepid she was ryght
Alma Redemptoris mater

[2]

To her com an angell *with* gret lyght
And sayd, 'Hayle be thou, blessid
wyght'
To be cleped thou art right
[Alma Redemptoris mater]

[3]

At that word the maydyn bryght
 Anon conceyved God Almyght;
 Then knew Mary what she hyght.
 [Alma Redemptoris mater]

stzas 2, 3, 1 4 MS vt supra.

[4]

Whan Jhesu on the rode was dyght,
 Mary was sorofull of that syght
 Tyll after she sawe hym ryse vpright,
 Alma Redemptoris mater.

At end Explicit

235

a

Bodleian Library. MS Arch. Selden B. 26.

XV cent.

f 23 r.

Hayl, Mary, ful of grace,
 Moder in virginite.

[1]

The Holī Goste is to the sent
 From the Fader Omnipotent,
 Now is God wthyn the went
 While the angel seide, 'Aue.'

[2]

Whan the angel 'Aue' byganne,
 Flesh *and* blode togedre ranne;
 Mary bare bothe God *and* manne
 Thorwe the vertu of the dignite

[3]

So seith the gospel of Syn Johan
 God *and* man is made al one
 In flesh *and* blode, body *and* bone,
 O God in personys thre

[4]

And the prophete Jeremye
 Telleth in his prophecie
 That the Sone of Marie
 For vs deyde vppon a tre

[5]

Moche joye was vs ygraunte
 And in erthe pees yplaunte
 Whan ybore was that faunte
 In the londe of Gahle

[6]

Mary, graunte vs of the blys
 Thereas thy Sonys wonynge ys,
 Of that we haue ydone amys
 Pray for vs pur charite.

A later hand has drawn a crude sketch (of a cock?) opposite stza 5 and has added the following stanza at the end of the carol

Hayl, blyssyd lade, qwych hays born
 God Son in Trinite,
 In the, laydy, he tuk hys plays
 Qwen the angel sayd, 'Aue'

b *Trinity College, Cambridge* MS. O 3 58, recto XV cent.

c *Huntington Library* Christmas carolles newly Inprynted (Richard Kele), p [43], (stzas 2-6), c 1550.

burden 1. r. Hayl, Mary, ful] b 1 1 (MS faded) 1 2 virginite] b virgyny—y—te
 —e—e.

stza 1, 1 4 While] b Q[u]an
 stza 2, 1 4 b Thorw vertu *and* thowr dyngnyte c Through the vertue of benygnyte
 stza 3, 1 2 al] b but c bothe 1 3 blode, body] c breed/blode 1 4 O] c One
 stza 4, 1 2 Telleth] b c Told 1 4 For vs deyde] b Schuld deye for vs c For vs
 sholde dye vppon a] b on rode c on
 stza 5, 1 1 c He hath Joye to you graunted was vs ygraunte] b to vs was graunth
 1 2. yplaunte] c hath plaunted 1 3 ybore] b that born c yborne that] b this
 faunte] c faynted.

stza 6, 1 1 of] b c omit 1 2 Thereas] b Ther c where Sonys wonynge]
 c sone dwellynge 1 3. Of] c And of haue] b han 1 4 Pray] c Thou pray
 pur] c for

At end b Amen c Finis.

236

British Museum MS Sloane 2593.

XV cent.

f. 28 v

Nowel, el, el, el, el, el, el, el,
el, el, el, el, el, el, el, el¹

[1]

'Nowel, el,' bothe eld *and* yying,
'Nowel, el,' now mow we syng
In worchepe of *our* Heuene Kyng,
Almyty God in Trinite.

[2]

Lestenyght, lordynges, bothe leue *and*
dere,
Lestenynt, ladyis, *with* glad chere,
A song of *merthe* now mow ye here,
How Cryst *our* brother he wolde be

[3]

An aungyl fro hefne was sent ful f. 29 r.
snel,
His name is clepyd Gabriel,
His ardene he dede ful snel
He sat on kne *and* seyde, 'Aue.'

[4]

And he seyde, 'Mary, ful of grace,
Heuene *and* erthe in euery place
With me, the tyme of lytyl space,
Reconsild it xuld be'

[5]

Mary stod styll as ony ston,
And to the aungyl che seyde anon,
'Than herd I neuere of manys mon;
Me thinkit wonder thou seyst to me'

[6]

The aungyl answerd anon ful wel,
'Mary, dryd the neuer a del,
Thou xalt conseiue a chyld ful wel,
The Holy Gost xal schadue the'

[7]

Mary, on bryst here hand che leyd,
Styll xe stod, *and* thus xe seyde:
'Lo, me here, Godes owyn handmayd,
With herte *and* wil *and* body fre.'

[8]

Mary moder, mayde myld,
For the loue al of thi chyld,
Fro helle pet thou vs schyld;
'Amen, amen,' now synge we.

237

A

Bodleian Library. MS Eng poet. e. 1

XV cent.

f. 26 r.

Regina celi, letare.

[1]

Gabriell, that angell bryght,
Bryghter than the sonne is lyght,
Fro hevyn to erth he [to]ok hys flyght,
Letare.

[2]

In Nazareth, that gr[et] cete,
Befor a maydyn he knelyd on kne
And seyde, 'Mary, God is *with* the;
Letare.

[3]

'Heyll, Mary, full of grace,
God is *with* the *and* euer was;
He hath in the chosyn a place,
Letare'

[4]

Mari was afraid of that syght,
That cam to her *with* so gret lyght;
Thanseyd the angell, that was so bryght,
'Letare.

[5]

'Be not agast of lest ne most;
In the is *conseyud* the Holy Gost,
To saue the sovles that war forlost;
Letare.'

stza 1, l 3, stza 2, l 1 The text is damaged by small holes in MS

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

XVI cent.

f 221 v

Now syng we, syng we,
 'Regina celi, letare'

[1]

Gabryell, that angell bryght,
 Bryghtter than the son lyght,
 From hevyn to erth he toke his flyght,
 Regina celi, letare

[2]

In Nazareth, in that cyte,
 Before Mary he fell on kne
 And sayd, 'Mary, God ys *with* the,
 Regina celi, letare

[3]

'Hayle be thou, Mary, of mytes most,
 In the shall lyght the Holy Gost,
 To saue the sowles that were lost,
 Regina celi, letare'

[4]

Hayle be thou, Mary, maydyn shen,
 From the fendes, that be so kene,
 Thou kepe *and* save vs all from tene,
 Regina celi, letare

At end Explicit

238

A

Balliol College, Oxford. MS. 354

XVI cent

f 219 v

Nova, nova.
 'Aue' fitt ex 'Eva.'

[1]

Gabriell of hygh degre,
 He cam down from the Trynyte,
 From Nazareth to Galalye,
 Vith nova

[2]

He mete a maydyn in a place,
 He kneled down before her face;
 He sayd, 'Hayle, Mary, full of *grace*.'
 Vith nova

[3]

When the maydyn sawe all this,
 She was sore abashed, ywys,
 Lest that she had done amys;
 Vith nova.

[4]

Then sayd the angell, 'Dred not you;
 Ye shall conceyve in all vertu
 A chyld whose name shall be Jhesu'
 Vith nova.

[5]

Then sayd the mayd, 'How may this be,
 Godes Son to be born of me?
 I know not of manys carnalite'
 Vith nova.

[6]

Then said the angell anon ryght,
 'The Holy Gost ys on the plyght,
 Ther ys nothyng vnpossible to God Al-
 myght.'
 Vith nova.

[7]

Then sayd the angell anon,
 'Ytt ys not fully vi moneth agon
 Syth Seynt Elizabeth conceyved Seynt
 Johan.'
 Vith nova.

[8]

Then said the mayd anon a-hye,
 'I am Godes own truly,
 Ecce ancilla Domini.'
 Vith nova

At end Explicit

B

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet. e 1.

XV cent

f. 27^r 1.

Noua, noua
'Aue' fit ex 'Eva'

[1]

Gabryell of hyghe degree
Cam down from the Trentyte
To Nazareth in Galilee,
With noua

[2]

He fond the mayd al in hyr place,
He knelyd down befor hyr face
And seyde, 'Al heyl, full of grace'
With noua.

[3]

'Thou shalt conseyve and ber a chyld
Thou with syn wer neuer defyld,
Thou hast fond grace, thou Mary myld'
With noua

MS is badly damaged The restoration of the text in stas 5, 6 follows Wright

[4]

The byrd, abasshyd of all ble,
Answerd and seyde, 'How may this be?
Man thorow syn tovydhyd neuer me'
With noua.

[5]

[The angell s]eyd onto that free, f 27^r v.
['The Holy Gost sh]al lyght in the.
[God and] m[an in] on shal be'
With noua

[6]

S[1]x [m]onthy[s] i[s] ner gon
Syn Elyz[abeth con]seyvd Johan,
She th[at was barre]n a babe haue
borne.'
With noua

[7]

The ve[rgyn said] vnto the fere,
'Now hys we[ll be] don in me here,
And Godes mayd now se me here'
With noua.

239

a

Bodleian Library MS Eng. poet e 1

XV cent.

f 51 v

'Nowell, nowell!'

This is the salutacion off the aungell
Gabriell.

[1]

Tydynges trew ther be cum new, sent
frome the Trinite
Be Gabriel to Nazaret, cite off Galile
A clene mayden and pure virgyn, thorow
hyre humilite,
Conceyvid the secund person in diuinite

[2]

Whan he fyrst presentid was before hyre
fayere visag,
In the most demuere and goodly wys he
ded to hyre omag
And seid, 'Lady, frome heven so hy,
that Lordes herytag
The wiche off the borne wold be, I am
sent on messag

[3]

'Hayle, virgyne celestiaall, the mekest
that euer was,
Hayle, temple off deitie and myrrour off
all grace;
Hayle, virgyne puer, I the ensure, within
full lyty[l] space
Thou shalt receyue and hym conceyue
that shal bryng gret solace.'

[4]

Sodenly she, abashid truly, but not al
thyng dysmaid,
With mynd dyscret and mek spyryt to
the aungel she said,
'With what maner shuld I chyld bere,
the wiche euer a maid
Haue lyvid chast al my lyf past and
neuer mane asaid?'

[5]

Than ageyne to hire certeyn answered
the aungell,
'O lady dere, be off good chere, and dred
the neuer a dell.

Thoushalt conceyue in thi body, mayden,
very God hymself,

In whos byrth heven *and* erth shal joy,
callid Emanuell.

[6]

'Not [y]it,' he seid, 'vi monethys past,
thi cosyn Elyzabeth,
That was baren, conceyvid Sent Johan,
tru it is that I tell

stza 4, 1 2 aungel] MS aungel

Syn she in ag, why not in yought f 52 r.
mayst thou *conceyue* as well,
If God wyl, whome is possybyll to haue
don euery dell'

[7]

Thane ageyne to the aungell she answered
womanly,

'Whateuer my Lord commaund me do
I wyll obey mekely

Ecce, sum humilima ancilla Domini,
Secundum verbum tuum,' she seid, 'fiat
mihi'

b *The Hon Mrs R Douglas Hamilton, Oakley House, Diss* Brome MS, f 79 v.
XV cent (burden and stzas 1, 2, 4-7).

c. *Balliol College, Oxford* MS 354, f 229 v. XVI cent (burden and stzas 1-3, 7)

d *Bodleian Library* MS. Eng poet e 1, f 41 r. XV cent, contemporary with a
(burden and stza 1).

burden, 1 1 b Newell Newell N N c newell newell newell newell d Nowell nowell
nowell 1 2 salutacion] b song the (2)] b c omit aungell] c omits c marks burden
fote and indicates its repetition after each stanza by newell

stza 1, 1 2 to] c from cite] c to a Cite 1 3 and] b c a thorow] c by 1 4
Conceyvid] c hath born d hath conceyuyd secund person] c d person second
diuinite] d deyte

stza 2, 1 1. he fyrst] c that he 1 2 In] b With the] b c omit he ded to hyre]
b to hyr he ded 1 3 frome] b of 1 4 The wich] c For he borne] c now born
wold] b c wyll on] b of c on the

stza 3, 1 2 detie] c the deite and] c hayll 1. 3 full] c a 1 4 receyue,
conceyue] c transposes

stza 4, 1 1 she] b omits 1 2 mynd] b wynd (altered from wynges). 1 3 With]
b Be.

stza 5, 1 1 hire certeyn] b owre lady thus 1 3 conceyue] b Rec (MS faded)
in] b on mayden] b mayd very God hymself] b godes very selle 1 4 heven] b
bothe heuyn callid] b omits

stza 6, 1 1 'Not [y]it,' he seid] b yt ys not yyt vi] b sex Elyzabeth] b Elyzabell
1 2 Sent Johan] b a chyld tru it] b trewth tell] b the tell 1 3 Syn] b Sythe
mayst thou] b ye may

stza 7, 1 1 ageyne to the aungell she] c bespak the virgyn agayn and 1 2 What-
euer] b c Watsoeuer. commaund] c comaundith do] b to do c omits obey]
b yt a bey. mekely] c trewly 1 4 verbum tuum] b tuum verbum she seid]
b c omit

At end b a nearly obliterated note The song of a maydyn c Explicit

240

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354.

XVI cent

f 219 v

[1]

Now we shuld syng *and* say, 'Newell'
Quia missus est angelus Gabriell.

From hevyn was sent an angell of light
Vnto a cyte that Nazareth hyght,
Vnto a mayd, a byrde so bryght
And full of blis,
Nomen Maria virginus.

[2]

The angell went furth, *and* nowght he
 sest;
 Before that mayden he *hym* sone drest
 He sayd, 'All hayle' Thou art full blest
 And *gracius*,
Quia tecum est Dominus '

[3]

Whan Mary this hard, astoned was she
 And thought what thys gretynge myght
 be
 The angell her shewed of *grace* plente
 And gret solas,
 Et dixit, 'Maria, ne timeas '

[4]

The angell sayd, 'Thou maydyn myld,
 Thou shalt conceyve *and* bere a chyld,
 Thy maydynhed shall neuer be defyled
 Call hym Jhesus,
Hic erat Altissimi Filius '

stza 1, 1 3 byrde] MS bryde

[5]

Whan Mary, as bryght as crystall ston,
 Thes wordes hard, answered anon
 And asked how all this myght be done
 And sayd, 'How so,
Quia virum non cognosco ?'

[6]

The angell said, 'Thou maydyn still,
 The Holy Gost shall the fulfill '
 The mayd answered *with* woyse so shryll
 And sayd mekely,
 'Ecce ancilla *Domini*.'

[7]

Sone after this this chyld was borne
 In Bedleme in a wynters morne
 Now make we mery hym beforne
 And syng, 'Newell '
Quia missus est angelus Gabriell

At end Explicit

241

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354.

XVI cent

f. 230 v.

What, hard ye not? The Kyng of
 Jherusalem
 Is now born in Bethalem

[1]

I shall you tell a gret mervayll
 How an angell, for ovr awayll,
 Com to a mayd *and* said, 'All hayll'

[2]

'All hayll' he said, *and* 'full of grace,
 God is *with* the now in this place,
 A child thou shalt bere in lytill space '

[3]

'A child?' she said, 'How may that be?
 Ther had never no man knowlage of me '
 'The Holy Gost,' he said, 'shall light in
 the.

[4]

'And, as thou art, so shall thow be,'
 The angell sayd, 'in virgynite,
 Beffore *and* after in euery degree.'

[5]

The mayd answered the angell agayn.
 'Yf God will that this be sayn,
 The wordes be to me full fayn.'

[6]

Now will we all, in rejoysynge
 That we haue hard this good tydyng,
 To that child 'Te Deum' syng.

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 what hard ye not.
 stzas 2, 3, 5 what hard stza 4 what hard ye not &c After stza 6 it is replaced by:
 te deum laudamus At end Explicit

242

British Museum MS Sloane 2593

XV cent.

f. 10 r

Nowel, el, el, el, el, el, el, el, el, el,
el¹

Mary was gret with Gabriel

[1]

Mary moder, meke *and* mylde,
Fro schame *and* synne that ye vs
schyllde,
For gret on grownd ye gon with childe,
Gabriele nuncio.

[2]

Mary moder, be not adred,
Jhesu is in your body bred,
And of your bryst he wil be fed
Cum pudoris lilio.

[3]

Mary moder, the frewt of the
For vs was naylid on a tre,
In heuene is now his mageste,
Fulget resurrecio

[4]

Mary moder, the thredde day
Vp he ros, as I yow say,
To helle he tok the ryghte way,
Motu fertur proprio

[5]

Mary moder, after thin Sone
Vp thou steyst, *with hym* to wone,
The aungele wern glad *quan* thou were
come
In celi palacio

243

a

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f. 11 r

Alma Redemptoris mater,
Quem de celis misit Pater

[1]

The aungell seyde of high degree,
'Haile, full of grace, God is with the,
Of alle women blessed thou bee,
Alma Redemptoris [mater']

[2]

When she harde this, that mayden free,
In his worde sore affrayde was she
And thought what greting this myght
be,
Alma Redemptoris [mater.]

[3]

'Drede not, Marie,' to here seyde he,
'Thou haast founde grace, thou mayden
free,
Of God, that is in persones three,
Alma Redemptoris [mater.]

[4]

'Thou shalt conceyve and bere the same,
A Sonne of grete honoure and fame
Whome thou shalt calle Jhesus by name,
Alma Redemptoris [mater']

[5]

'This Sonne that shalle be borne of the,
That shall be of soo high degree,
The Sonne of God called shall be,
Alma Redemptoris [mater.]

[6]

'And God shall geve hym Dawid see,
And in Jacobes howse reigne shall hee,
Of whoose kungdom none ende shall be,
Alma Redemptoris [mater']

[7]

Mary seide to the aungell than,
'How shall this be? Tell, yf thou can,
Sith I purpose to knowe no man,
Alma Redemptoris [mater']

[8]

The aungell seide, 'O lady free, f 11 v
The Holy Goost shalle light in thee,
Be whome Criste shalle conceyved be,
Alma Redemptoris [mater]

[9]

'Elizabeth, thy cosyn, loo,
In here age that bareyn did go,
Hath conceyved a childe also,
Alma Redemptoris mater.'

[10]

To that aungell of high degree
'Goddess handemayde beholde,' seide
she;
'As thou hast seide, be done to me,'
Alma Redemptoris [mater.]

b *Cambridge University Library* MS. Ee 1 12, ff 81 v, 82 r. c. 1492 (burden and stzas. 1-11)

burden, 1 2 *omits*

stza 1 (*and all following stanzas*), 1 4 R (*with mark of abbreviation*)

stza 2, 1 2 In] Of affrayde] aferde

stza 5, 1 2 That] And

stza 6, 1 1 And in the sete of mageste 1 2 And in Jacobes howse] Of his fadere ay

stza 7, 1 1 Mary] Sche to] vnto 1 3 purpose] entende

stza 9, 11 2, 3 *transposes*

244

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee 1 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 11 v

Inquit Marie Gabriell,
'Concipies Emanuel'

[1]

The aungell seide of high degree,
'Haile, full of grace, Crist is with the,
Of alle women blessed thou be,
Concipies Emanuel.'

[2]

This mayden marveyled in her f 12 r
thought
How and what wyse this shulde be
wrought
The aungell seyde, 'Mary, drede nought,
Concipies [Emanuel]

[3]

'Drede not,' he seide, 'thou mayden
myelde;
Thou shalte conceyve and bere a childe,
And be a moder vndefielde,
Cui nomen Emanuel

[11]

He toke his leve, that aungell bright,
Of here and went to blisse full right,
And she hath borne the King of Myght,
Alma Redemptoris [mater]

[12]

Glorious lady, quene of blisse,
Of thy comforte late vs not mysse,
Sith thy swete name now callid is
Alma Redemptoris [mater.]

[13]

Lete thy mercy bothe springe *and*
sprede,
Forsake vs not for oure mysdede,
But out of drede to blisse vs lede,
Alma Redemptoris [mater.]

[4]

'This childe that shalle be born of the
Shall be of grete and high degree
And Sonne of God callid shall be,
Cui nomen Emanuel

[5]

'And God shalle geve hym Daudid see,
And in Jacobes hows reigne shall he,
Of whose kingdome non ende shal be,
Cui nomen Emanuel'

[6]

To the aungelle this mayden free
Thanne seide, 'Telle me how this shal be,
Sith man shall be vnknow of me,
Vt pariam Emanuel.'

[7]

'Drede not,' heseide, that aungell bright;
'The Holy Goost in the shalle light,
And thurgh vertu of God Almyght
Concipies Emanuel

[8]

'Elizabeth, thy cosyn, loo,
In here age vi monethes agoo
Hath conceyved a childe alsoo
Concipies Emanuel'

[9]

Magnifyng God manyfolde, f 12 v.
'Goddess handemayde,' she seyde, 'be-
holde
To me be done as thou hast tolde,
Vt pariam Emanuel'

stza 2, 1 4 MS Concipies, &c

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Cambridge University Library. MS. Ec. 1. 12

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 12 v

Nowel, nowel, nowel, nowel,
Nowel, nowel, nowel, nowel'
Inquit Marie Gabriell,
'Concipies Emanuel'

'Sith I purpose to knowe no man,
Vt pariam Emanuel?'

[1]

'Hayle, full of grace, Criste is *with* the,'
To Mary seide aungel Gabriell,
'Of alle women blessed thou be,
Concipies Emanuel.'

[6]

'The Holy Goost shalle light in the,
And God shalle shadowe the eche dele,
The Sonne of God this childe shal be,
Cui nomen Emanuel

[2]

Whenne she hurde this, she dredde *and*
thought
What greting this was that he did
telle.
The aungell seide, 'Mary, drede nought,
Concipies Emanuel

[7]

'Elizabeth, thy cosyn, loo,
In here age, though it be mervell,
Hath conceyved a childe also
Concipies Emanuel'

[3]

'Thou hast founde grace, thou mayden
myelde,
Before God, that in the dothe dwelle,
Thou shalt conceyve and bere a childe,
Cui nomen Emanuel.

[8]

'Goddess handemayde beholde,' seide
she
To Gabriell, that archaungell,
'Thy worde in me fulfilled be,
Vt pariam Emanuel'

[4]

'He shall be grete and callid shall be
The aungel of full grete f 13 r
counsell;
In Dauid see aye reigne shalle he,
Cui nomen Emanuel.'

[9]

He toke his leve, that aungel bright,
And went to blisse, therin to f 13 v.
dwelle,
And she hath borne the King of Myght,
Cui nomen Emanuel.

[5]

'How shalle this be' this mayden
thanne
Seide, forsothe, vnto the aungelle,

[10]

Thus it was done, as I haue seide,
As God it wolde, so it befelle
Of Mary, wyfe, moder, *and* mayde,
Nunc natus est Emanuel.

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Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 40 v

A meyden myelde a chielde hath bore,
Mankyende to blis for to restore.

[1]

As longe before prophesy seyde, f 41 r
With vs to dwelle now Criste is come,
Borne of Mary, moder *and* meyde,
To make vs free, bothe alle *and* sume.

[2]

As the sonne beame goth thurgh the
glas,
And as [a] floure berith his odoure,
So Criste Jhesus conceyved was
And borne of her *withoute* doloure.

[3]

'Haille, full of grace, Criste is *with* the,'
To her seide aungell Gabriell;
'Of alle women blessed thou be,
Thou shalt conceyve Emanuell'

[4]

This meyden myelde to hym seyde than,
'How shall this be that thou doest
telle,
Sith I purpose to know noo man,
And shall conceyve Emanuell'

[5]

'The Holy Goost shall light in the,
And God shall shadew the eche dele
And worke right so that thou shalt be
The moder of Emanuele.'

[6]

'The handemayde of oure Lorde be-
holde,'
She aunswered hym, that mayden
myelde,
'To me be done as thou hast f. 41 v.
tolde,'
And furthwithall she was *with* chielde.

[7]

And *withoute* maternall doloure
She hathe borne Criste, that heuenly
King,
That virginal floure moost of honoure,
Out of thraldom mankyende to
bringe.

[8]

Glorie mote be, good Lorde, to the,
With the Fader and Holy Goost,
That art born of a virgyn free,
Bothe God *and* man, of myghtes most

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Cambridge University Library. MS Ee. 1 12.

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f 67 v

In Criste Jhesu be we alle gladde,
By whome oure joye endeles is hadde.

[1]

The high Fader of blisse aboute
Hath sent his Sonne to take nature,
For his grete charite and loue,
Of Marie myelde, that virgyn pure,
And so on vs to do his cure
And to bringe vs fro endeles woo
And fro the feende, oure goostely foo.

[2]

Gabriell of so high degre
Was sent fro God (Scripture seith soo)
To Nazareth of Galilee,
And to Marie thus seide he thoo:

'Haile, full of grace *withoute* woo,
The Lorde God is dwelling *with* the,
Of alle women blessed thou be.'

[3]

Whenne she hurd this, she was afrayde
And thought what greting this myght
be
'Drede not, Marie,' the aungell seyde,
'Thou hast founde grace, thou may-
den free,
Before one God in persones thre.
Thou shalt conceyve *and* bere the
same,
The Sonne of God, Jhesus by name.

[4]

'He shalle be grete *and* called shall be
The Sonne of the Highest of Alle,
And God shall geve hym Dauid see,
And ay shall reigne in Jacobes halle,
Whose hugh kingdome is eternall,
For of heuen *and* erthe alsoo
He is the Lorde, there is no moo '

[5]

Marie seide to the aungell than,
'Howe shall this be that thou f 68 r.
doest light,
Sith I purpose to know no man,
And shall conceyve the King of
Myght?'

He aunswered her, that aungell
bright,

'The Holy Goost shall light in the,
Bywhome Cрист shall conceyved be

[6]

'Elizabeth, thy cosyn, loo,
In her olde age that bareyn went,
Hath conceyved a chielde alsoo
By grace of God omnipotent,

Wherefore, good lady, geve concent,
For there shall be neur a worde
Impossible vnto that Lorde '

[7]

Magnifyng God manyfolde,
Vnto the aungell then seide she,
'The handemayde of oure Lorde be-
holde;
As thou hast seyde, be done to me '
Thus conceyved this mayden free
By her mekenes God *and* man thoo
To bringe mankyende fro endeles
woo

[8]

This mayden myelde hath borne a
chielde,
As *prophetes* seide longe tyme before
To save mankyende, that was exielde,
And to blisse it for to restore.
Oure joye is wonne for eurmore,
For Criste hath brought man-
kyende fro woo
And fro the fende, oure mortall foo

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Cambridge University Library. MS Ee. 1. 12.
f 68 r

As Gabriell archaungell seyde,
Now Criste is borne of a pure meyde

[1]

That archaungell shynyng full bright
Came vnto Marie, that myelde mayde,
Bringyng tydynges fro God Almyght,
And vnto her mekely he sayde,
'Haile, full of grace, be not afayde;
God is *with* the in euery place,
Thou shalt conceyve the King of
Grace.'

[2]

'Howe shalle this be,' this mayden f 68 v
than
Seyde to that archaungell so bright,
'Sith I purpose to knowe no man,
And shall conceyve the Sonne of
Myght?'
'The Holy Goost in the shall light,
And thurgh his working thou shalt be
Moder of God in *persones* thre.'

By James Ryman, c 1492.

[3]

'Ecce ancilla,' thenne seide she,
'Beholde the handemayde of oure
Lorde,
The wille of God be done in me
In dede, in thought, in wille *and*
worde '
And thus, as Scripture bereth recorde,
Marie, that mayde moost of
honoure,
Hath borne Jhesus, oure Sauyours.

[4]

The *prophecy* fulfilled is
Of the *prophetes* now, alle *and* sume,
For why the Faders Sonne of Blis
To save mankyende is man become,
To hym therfore be we not dume,
But lete vs singe *and* make alle
myrth
In honoure now of his swete birth.

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Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 77 r

Mary hath borne alone
The Sonne of God in trone

[1]

Thus to her seide an aungell thoo
'Haile, full of grace withouten woo,
Thou shalt conceyve and bere alsoo
Both God *and* man alone'

[2]

This mayden seide to the aungell,
'How shalle this be, to me thou tell,
A mayde sith I entende to dwell,
Witnesse of God alone?'

[3]

The aungell saide, 'O mayden free,
The Holy Goost shall light in the,
And thurgh his workyng thou shalt be
Moder of God alone'

[4]

'Goddess handemayde beholde,' seide
she,
'As thou hast seide, be done to me,
As oure Lorde wille, so moote it be;
His wille be done alone'

[5]

He toke his leve, that aungell bright,
Of hir and went to blisse full right,
And she hath born, as he behight,
Both God *and* man alone

250

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 82 r.

'Heyle, Mary, meyden meke and
mylde,
Thou shalte conceyue and bere a
'chylde

[1]

An angelle, thatte was fayre and bryght,
Came to Mary with fulle grete lyght,
And vnto here he seyde fulle ryght,
'Thou shalt conceyue and bere a
chylde.'

[2]

When she hurde this, that blessid f 82 v.
meyde,
Sore in here mynde she was afreyde
Of theys wordys thatte he hadde seyde.
'Thou shalt conceyue and bere a
chylde'

[3]

'Drede notte,' he seide, thatt angelle
bright,
'Thou hast founde grace in Goddys sight;
Withyn thy wombe by his grete myght
Thou shalt conceyue and bere a
chylde'

[4]

She seide vnto the angell than,
'Hou shall this be? Telle, if thou can,
Sith I *purpose* to knowe no man,
Thus to conceue and bere a chylde?'

[5]

He seyde, 'God, thatt is withowte ende,
The Holi Gost to the shall sende,
And, by grace thatt he shall extende,
Thou shalt conceyue and bere a chylde

[6]

'Thou shalt calle hym Jhesus by name,
A chylde of grete vertu and fame;
The Sonne of God shal be the same.
Thou shalt conceyue and bere a chylde

[7]

'In the highe sete of mageste
Of his Faderes ay reigne shalle he,
Of whoys kyngdome none end f 83 r
shall be
Thou shalt conceyue and bere a
chylde.'

[8]

Sche answerde hym, thatt meyden fre,
 'As thou hast seide, be done to me,
 The wille of God fulfylld be,
 Thus to conceyue and bere a chylde '

[9]

He toke his leue, thatte angelle bright,
 Of here and went to blysse full right,
 And, by the grace of God Almyght,
 Sche conceyuyd and bore a chylde

251

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12
 f. 83 r

By James Ryman, c 1492.

Thys ys fulle tru; this ys fulle tru
 Who can sey 'Nay' to thys?
 Mary ys modere of Jhesu,
 And God hys Fadere ys.

[1]

An angelle bright came downe wth
 light,
 A message for to do,
 Vnto that meyde, and thus he seyde
 Fulle mekely here vnto

[2]

'Haylle, Mary mylde, ay vndefylde,
 The Lorde God ys wyth the,
 And his owne chylde so meke and mylde
 Of the nowe born wylle be '

[3]

Also he seyde vnto thatte mayde, f 83 v.
 Thatte was so meke and fre,
 'Of women alle, bothe grete and smalle,
 Ay blessyd motte thou be '

[4]

Off thatte tydyng thatt he dydde bryng
 This meyden meruelde sore,
 Hou thatte hyghe Kyng thatt made al
 thyng
 Of here wombe wolde be bore.

[5]

Thatte angelle bright than seide full
 right,
 'Drede not, Mary so fre;
 Thou hast founde grace before the face
 Of God in persones thre.

[6]

'In thy wombe thou shalt conceyue now
 A chylde and bere the same
 Of highe degre this childe shall be;
 Jhesus shalle be his name.

[7]

'The Lord of Alle to hym gyffe shalle
 A sete of mageste
 Above in blysse, as right itte ys,
 Wheroff none ende shalle be '

[8]

Sche answerd than, 'Telle, if thou can,
 Hou this dede shalle be wrought,
 Sith I intende notte to offende
 With man in dede ne thought '

[9]

'The Holⁱ Gost, of myghtys most, f 84 r
 Fro blysse shalle lyght in the,
 By whoys vertu of Crist Jhesu
 The moder thou shalt be

[10]

'Beholde alsoo, Elizabeth, loo,
 Thatte barayn long hath gon,
 In here old age by highe suffrage
 Hath conceyuyd Saynt Jhon.

[11]

'Thatt Kyng and Lord that wth a
 worde
 Hath made al thyng of nought,
 Thus dede in the now do shalle he
 Atte his wylle with a thought '

[12]

'Beholde,' she seyde, 'Godd^{es} hand-
 meyde,'
 To hym, thatt maydyn mylde,
 'Thy worde in me fulfylld be;'
 And soo she was with chylde.

[13]

Thatte angelle bright tho went full right
 Ayen to heuyn blys,
 And, as he seyde, thatt blessyd meyde
 The moder^e of God ys.

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Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12
f 84 r

By James Ryman, c 1492

A meyden mylde hath born a chylde,
Mankynde ayene to by,
Hys name Jhesus ys callyd thus
And here name mylde Mary f 84 v

[1]

O man of molde, mekely beholde
Hou God mankynd hath take,
As prophetis told many a folde,
Of a meyde for thy sake

[2]

An angelle bright came downe with
light,
True tydyngys for to telle;
He seyde full right, 'The Kyng of Myght
In the truly wyllle dwelle'

[3]

Alsoo he seide vnto thatte meyde,
'Thou shalte conceyue a chylde,
And thou shalt be, as I telle the,
A meyden vndefylde'

[4]
Of this thatt meyde was sore afreyde,
Butte yett she dydde inclyne,
And so fulle sone this dede was done
By Goddys grace dyuynne

[5]

'Behold,' she seyde, 'Goddys hand-
meyde,
Thy worde be done in me'
And anon ryght by Goddys myght
That tyme with chylde was she.

[6]

The Holī Gost, of myghtys most, f 85 r.
Did make thatte meyde indede
To conceyue than bothe God and man
Wythowten manys sede.

[7]

Bothe day and howre lete us honowre
Mary, thatte meyden mylde,
Thatt nowe to us hath born Jhesus,
And she neuere defylde.

253

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12
f. 85 r.

By James Ryman, c 1492.

Mary so myld (Scripture seyeth thus)
Hath borne a chylde namyd Jhesus.

[1]

An angelle came vnto thatte mayde
And knelyd downe vppon his kne,
And vnto here mekely he seyde,
'Haille, fulle of grace, God ys with the

[2]

'Of alle women blesid thou be,
Thou shalt conceyue and bere alsoo
The Sone of God, O lady fre,
Withowten peyn, dolowre, and woo.'

[3]

'Telleme,' sheseyde, thattmeyden, than,
'Hou I shalle conceyue and bere a
chylde,
Syth I entende to knowe no man
Butte ever to be clene, vndefylde.'

[4]

The angelle seyde, 'The Holī Gost f 85 v.
Fro blysse aboue shall lyght in the,
And Goddys Sone, of myghtes most,
By his vertu conceyuyd shall be.'

[5]

'Ecce ancilla,' then seyde she
And thankyd God many a fold,
'The wille of God fulfyllid be
In me, angelle, as thou hast told'

[6]

And, as God wold, so itte was done.
By here mekenes in virginite
Sche conceyued thatte tyme ful sone
The Secunde Personē in Trinite.

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Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1. 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f. 87 r

Mary so mylde, so meke, so fre,
Hath borne a chylde of hyghe degre,
And his name ys Jhesus

[1]

An angelle seide to thatte meyde so fre,
'Hayle, fulle of grace, God is with the,
Of alle women blessid thou be,
Thou shalt conceyue Jhesus'

[2]

When she hurde this, thatt blessid
meyde,
Sore in here mynde she was afreyde
Of theys wordys thatte he hadde seyde
'Thou shalt conceyue Jhesus'

[3]

'Drede not,' he seide, thatte angelle
bryght,
'Thou hast founde grace in Goddys
syght;
Withyn thy wombe by his grete myght
Thou shalt conceyue Jhesus'

[4]

Sche seide vnto thatte angelle than,
'Hou shalle this be? Telle, if thou can,

Sith I entende to knowe no man,
And shalle conceyue Jhesus?'

[5]

He seide, 'God, thatt is withowte ende,
The Holi Gost to the shalle sende,
And, by grace thatte he shalle extende,
Thou shalt conceyue Jhesus

[6]

'Elyzabeth by highe suffrage
Hath conceyuyd in here old age
A chylde alsoo, withowte bondage
Thou shalt conceyue Jhesus.'

[7]

Sche answerd hym, thatt meyde f. 87 v.
so fre,
'As thou hast seide, be done to me,
The wille of God fulfyllyd be,
Thus to conceyue Jhesus.'

[8]

He toke his leue, thatt angell bryght,
Of here and went to blysse full ryght,
And forthwithall, as he behyght,
Sche conceyuyd Jhesus

255

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1. 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f. 10 r.

I bryng tydyngys thatte be fulle tru.
Who can sey 'Nay' to thys?
Mary is moder of Jhesu,
And God ys Fader ys.

[1]

An angelle came with fulle grete light
And seyde, 'Haylle, fulle of grace,
The Lord of Alle by his grete myght
In the hath take a place'

[2]

And forthewithalle the Holi Gost
Into here wombe dyd light,

And so thatte Lorde, of myghtys most,
Was born of here by right

[3]

Laude we thatte Lorde with hert and
mynde,
And loue we hym alsoo,
Thatte of a mayde hath take mankynde
To bryng us owte of woo

[4]

God bryng us alle vnto thatte blys
Wheroff none ende schal be,
Where thatte maydyn and moder ys
Wyth Crist, here Sone so fre.

256

Huntington Library Christmas carolles newly Inpnynted (Richard Kele). c 1550

p [26]

'Nowell, nowell, nowell, nowell'

This sayd the aungell Gabryell

[1]

Lordes *and* ladyes all bydene,
For your goodnes *and* honour
I wyll you synge all of a quene p [27]
Of all women she is the floure

[2]

Of Jesse there sprange a wyght,
Isay sayd by prophesy,
Of whome shall com a man of myght,
From dethe to lyfe he wyll vs bye

[3]

There cam an aungell bryght of face,
Flyenge from heuyn with full gret
lyght,
And sayd, 'Hayle, Mary, full of grace,
For thou shalt bere a man of myght.'

[4]

Astonyed was that lady free,
And had meruayle of that gretynge,

Heading in original A new caroll of our lady

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1-7 Nowell &c. stza. 8
Nowell Nowell &c

'Aungell,' she sayd, 'how may that be,
For neuer of man I had knowynge?'

[5]

'Diede the nothyng, Mary mylde,
Thou art fulfilled with great vertew,
Thou shalt conceyue and bere a chylde
That shall be named swete Jesu'

[6]

She knelyd downe vpon her knee p [28]
'As thou haste sayd, so may it be.
With hert, thought, *and* mylde chere,
Goddess handmayd I am here.'

[7]

Than began her wombe to sprynge,
She went with chylde without man,
He that is Lorde ouer all thyng
His flesshe *and* blode of her had than.

[8]

Of her was borne our Heuen Kynge,
And she a mayden neuer the lesse;
Therefore be mery, *and* let vs synge
For this new Lorde of Chrystmas.

257

Cambridge Unversity Library. MS. Ee 1 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 26 r.

Vnto Marie he that loue hath,
To here synge he, 'Magnificat'

[1]

Thus seide Mary of grete honoure.
'My soule my Lord dothe magnifie,
And in my God and Sauyoure
My spirite rejoyseth verily.

[2]

'For he the mekenes hath beholde
Of his handemayde, that Lorde f 26v
so good,
That I am blessed manyfolde
All kynredes shall sey, of myelde
moode

[3]

'For he, that is so full of myght,
So grete thinges to me hath done,
Holy his name is ay of right,
By whome our goostly helth is won.

[4]

'And in alle tho that hym doth drede
(Truly thus seithe Holy Scripture)
His mercy doth bothe spring *and* sprede,
And of heven they be fulle sure.

[5]

'Thys myghty Lorde of grete renowne
By his swete Sonne the helthe hath
wrought
Of meke people and hath put downe
Prowde people onely with a thought.

[6]

'Tho that desireth that Lorde,oure helth,
That King of Grace soo goode *and*
swete,
Fro whome cometh alle goodenes *and*
welth,
With alle vertue they be replete.

[7]

'Of his grete mercy havying f. 27 r
myende,
He toke nature in Ysraell
And became man to save mankynde,
To oure faders as he did telle'

[8]

Joye be to God in Trinitie,
Fader and Sonne and Holī Goost,
That was *and* is *and* ay shall be
Bothe in *and* One, of myghtes most

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Cambridge University Library. MS Ee. 1 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 68 v.

'Awake, Joseph, awake, awake,
And to Marie thy way thou take.'

[1]

Josephe wolde haue fled fro that mayde,
Not for noo synne ne for offence,
But to abyde he was affrayde
In here so good *and* pure presence,
Extans virgo concipiens,
The mysterie for cause he knew
In her of so full grete vertue.

[2]

'With her,' he seide, 'why shulde I
dwell?

Than I of degre she is more,
And in vertue she doth excelle,
I wille deperte from her therefore'
But God, that hath alle grace f 69 r
in store,
Sent an aungell, that was full bright,
Vnto Joseph vpon a nyght

[3]

And vnto hym that aungell seide,
'Drede not, Josephe, sonne of Dauid,
To take Marie thy wyfe, that mayde,
For why the chielde that she goth *with*
Is Goddes Sonne; be not afrayde
Long time before Scripture hath sayde
That a pure mayde shulde bere a
chield
Tosavemankynde, that was exield.'

[4]

Joseph arose *and* went full right
Vnto Marie, that mayden myelde,
And thurgh vertue of God Almyght
He founde that mayden grete *with*
chielde;
And yet she had hym not begielde,
For why Jhesus, the Sonne of Right,
Fro blis into her wombe did light

[5]

Beholde how Eve, that woman wielde,
Hath borne hir frute in care and woo,
But virgyne Marie, moder myelde,
Hath borne her frute, but nothing soo,
For she hath borne Criste *and* no moo
For to defende vs fro the feende
And geve vs blisse *withouten* ende.

[6]

The frute of deth Eve gave to vs,
But that pure mayde *and* moder dere
Gave vs the frute of lyfe, Jhesus,
Wherefore next God she hath no pere
Aboue in blisse ne in erthe here,
For why her sete is next the trone
Of God, that is bothe in *and* One.

259

British Museum MS Addit 5665

XVI cent.

f 10 r

'Meruelenoght, Josep, on Mary mylde,
Forsake hyr not tho she be *with*
childe

Maruell not, Josep, of Mare mylde,
Forsake hir not tho she be *with*
chylde'

[1]

'I, Josep, wonder how hit may be, f 10 v
I, Josep, wonder how hit may be,
That Mary wex gret when Y and she
Euer haue leuyd in chastite,
Iff she be *with* chylde, hit *ys *f 11 r
not by me'

'Meruell not, Joseph,
Merwell noght, Joseph.

[2]

'The Holy Gost *with* mercifull f 10 v
disstens

In here hathe entryd *withowte* offenses,

burden, l 2 tho] MS they l 4 tho] MS thos stza 1, l 1 hit] *in margin in another hand for this deleted*

stzas 2-4, ll 1, 5 *These lines are to be repeated in singing, as written in stza 1*
MS heading In die nativitat

God and man conceyued by hys *presens*,
An[d] she virgyn pure *withowte* violens.

Meruell no[t,] Joseph'

[3]

'What the angell of God to me f 11 r.
dothe say

I, Joseph, muste and will vmble obay,
Ellys *priuely* Y wolde haue stole away,
But now will Y *serue* here tille that Y
day'

'Meruell not, Josep'

[4]

'Josep, thou shalt here mayde *and*
moder fynde,

Here Sone Redemptor of all mankynde
Thy forefaderes of paynes to vnbynde;
Therefor muse not this mater in thy
mynde,

Meruell not, [Joseph']

260

British Museum MS Addit 24542

XIX cent. (transcript).

f. 178 r

'M[er]vell nothyng, Joseph, that Mary
be *with* child,
She hath conceyved *vere* God *and*
man *and* yet she undefiled.'

[1]

'Conceyved man, how may that be by
reason broght abowte?'

'By gode reason above all reasons, hit
may be *withowten* dowte

For God made man above all reasons
of slyme erthe most wyld;

Wherfore, Joseph, *mervell* not thaghe
Mary be *with*e chylde

[2]

'Mary was bothe wyf *and* mother, *and*
she a verrey mayde,

And conceyved God, our brother, as
prophetts before hade saide.

Sithe God made reason, why may not
reason of his werks be begyld?

Wherfore, Joseph, *mervell* not though
Mary be *with* chylde

[3]

'The erthe, ayer, sonne, *and* mone, fyre,
water, *and* every sterr

Is gode reason that above all reasons
shuld passe *our* reasons ferr.

To reason *with* hym that made reason
our reasons are but wyld;

Wherfore, Joseph, *mervell* not though
Mary be *with* child'

[4]	[5]
The hye <i>and</i> holy sacrament in verrey forme of bred	God, angell, soole, <i>and</i> devyll lett all clerks determyne,
Is God and man, flesshe <i>and</i> blode, he that was quyck <i>and</i> ded	By reason the be, but what the be reason cannot defyne
Did reason this dede? Nay, nay; reason is ferr begylde,	Then serve the fyrst, <i>and</i> save the thrydde, the forte let be resyld,
Hit is gode reason above all reasons, Mary to be <i>with</i> child.	And mervell no more, but fast beleve Mary was maide <i>with</i> child

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 Mervell nothyng Joseph
&c stzas 2, 3 Mervell nothyng Joseph stzas 4, 5 Mervell not Joseph

261

Bodleian Library. MS. Eng poet e 1

XV cent

f. 47 v

'Nowel, nowel, nowel,'
Syng we *with* myrth;
Cryst is come wel,
With vs to dewell,
By hys most noble byrth

And euery dell
Hys trewe gospell
In hys apostles fraught.

[4]

'Thys goostly case
Dooth me embrace
Withowt dyspyte or moke,
With my derlyng
Lullay to syng
And louely hym to roke

f 48 r

[1]

Vnder a tre
In sportyng me,
Alone by a wod syd,
I hard a mayd
That swetly said,
'*I am with* chyld this tyd

[5]

'*Withowt* dystresse
In grete lyghtnesse
I am both nyght *and* day;
This heuenly fod
In hys chyldhod
Schal dayly *with* me play.

[2]

'Gracyusly
Conceyuyd haue I
The Son of God so swete,
Hys gracyous wyll
I put me tyll,
As moder hym to kepe

[6]

'Soone must I syng
With rejoycyng,
For the tym is all ronne
That I schal chyld,
All vndefyld,
The Kyng of Hevens Sonne.'

[3]

'Both nyght *and* day
I wyl hym pray
And her hys lawes taught,

MS heading A song vpon (now must I syng &c)

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1, 3-6 nowell &c stza 2.
novell &c

262

Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 1 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 22 v.

Rarissima in delicias,
Iam ueni, coronaberis.

[1]

Come, my dere spowse and lady free,
Come to thy Sonne in heven blis,
For why next me thy place shal be,
Iam ueni, coronaberis

[2]

Come, my myelde dove, into thy cage,
With joye and blis replete whiche is,
For why it is thyne heritage,
Iam ueni, coronaberis

[3]

Moost faire and swete, moost meke and
myelde,
Come to thy Sonne and King of Blis;
Moder and mayden vndefelde,
Iam ueni, [coronaberis]

[4]

Thou art alle fayre, my spowse moost
dere,
And spotte of synne in the noon is,

stzas 3, 4, 1 4 MS iam ueni &c

Come fro Liban, to me appere,
Iam ueni, [coronaberis]

[5]

Thy stature is assymylate f 23 r
To a palme tree and thy bristes
To grapes, spowse immaculate,
Iam ueni, coronaberis

[6]

Off alle clennes I am the floure,
The felde wherof thy pure soule is,
O virginall floure moost of honoure,
Iam ueni, coronaberis

[7]

Thy blessed body was my bowre,
Wherefore my blis thou shalt not mys,
And alle santes shalle the honoure,
Iam ueni, coronaberis

[8]

With thy brestes so pure and clene
Thou haste me fedde; wherfore, iwis,
Of heven blis thou shalt be quene,
Iam ueni, coronaberis

263

a

British Museum MS Addit. 5465

ff. 67 v, 68 r

By John Lydgate (except burden),
XVI cent

[1]

'A, gentill Jhesu!'
'Who is that that dothe me call?'
'I, a synner that oft doth fall'
'What woldist thou haue?'
'Mercy, Lord, of the I crave'
'Why, louyst thou me?'
'Ye, my maker I call the'
'Than leue thi syn, or I nyll the,
And thynk on this lesson that now I
teche the'
'A, I will, I will, gentyll Jhesu'

'Vppon the cross nailid I ff 68 v., 69 r.
was for the,
Suffyrd deth to pay thi rawnsum;
Forsake thi syn, man, for the loue of
me,
Be repentant, make playne confession.
To contrite hartes I do remission,
Be not dispayryd, for I am not
vengeable,
Gayne gostly enmys thynk on my
passion,
Whi art thou froward syth I am
merciable?

[2]

'My bloddy woundes downe ff. 69 v, 70 r.
 railyng be this tre,
 Loke on them well, *and* haue com-
 passion,
 The crowne of thorne, the spere, the
 nailis thre,
 Percide hand *and* fote of indignacion,
 My hert ryven for thi redempcion
 Lett now vs twayne in this thyng
 be trefable
 Loue for loue be just *conuencion*,
 Why art thou froward sith I am
 merciable?

[3]

'I hade on Petur *and* ff. 70 v, 71 r
 Mawlden pyte
 For thi contrite of thy *contricion*,
 Saynt Tomas of Indes, in crudelite
 He put his handes depe in my syde
 adowne
 Role vp thi matur; grave it in thi
 reson.
 Syth I am kynd, why art thou
 vnstable?
 My blode best triacle for thi trans-
 gression;
 Be thou not froward syth I am
 merciable.

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by A jentill Jhesu
 stza 4, l 5 save] *1st voice* have
 stza 5, l 7 moders] *erased in all parts, on f 72 v. replaced by justys in a later hand*
 Signature Sheryngam

[4]

'Thynk agayne pride on ff. 71 v, 72 r.
 my humilite,
 Cum to scole, record well this lesson
 Gayne fals envy thynk on my charyte,
 My blode all spent by distillacion
 Whi did I this? To save the from
 prison
 Afore thi hart hang this litell table,
 Swettur than bawme gayne gostly
 poyson
 Be thou not affraide sith I am
 merciable'

[5]

Lord, on all synfull here ff. 72 v, 73 r.
 knelyng on kne,
 Thy deth remembryng of humble
 afeccion,
 O Jhesu, graunt of thi benignite
 That thi fyve wellis plentuous of fu-
 sion,
 Callid thi fyve woundes by computa-
 cion,
 May washe vs all from surfettes re-
 probable
 Now for thi moders meke mediacion,
 At hir request be to vs merciable.

- b. Bodleian Library MS Laud misc 683, ff 14 v-15 v. XV cent
- c. Bodleian Library. MS. Laud misc 598, f. 50 r XV cent
- d. Bodleian Library. MS Rawl. poet 32, ff 31 v., 32 r XV cent
- e. Jesus College, Cambridge MS. 56, ff. 70 v.-71 v. XV cent
- f. Cambridge University Library. MS Kk 1 6, ff 196 v., 197 r XV cent
- g. Cambridge University Library MS. Hh. 4 12, f 85 r and v. XV cent.
- h. British Museum MS Harley 2255, f 111 r and v XV cent
- i. British Museum MS Addit 29729, f 131 r and v XV cent (stzas 1-3, 5)
- j. British Museum MS Cotton Caligula A 11, f. 134 v. XV cent
- k. T. FitzRoy Fenwick, Esq., Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham MS Philipps 8299, f. 83 v XV cent (adds unique stanza)
- l. St. John's College, Oxford. MS 56, f 84 r. (fragment) XV cent
- m. British Museum MS Harley 5396, f 294 r and v. XV cent.
- n. Bodleian Library MS Hatton 73, f 4 r. XV cent. (stza. 5)

For all variant readings except those of m and n see MacCracken, H. N., ed., *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, Pt. I (Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. CVII, London, 1911), pp. 252-4.

MS heading m (*in later hand*) Our Lordys Exhortacyon
 burden *only in a*
 stza 1, 1 3 man] m omits 1 7 Gayne] m A gayne
 stza 2, 1 4 Percide] m Teyd fote] m feet 1 6 now] m omits 1 8 art thou]
 m artow
 stza 3, 1 2 m For the gret constreynt of ther contrycyon 1 3 Saynt] m A Geyn
 (*altered from seyn*) 1 4 handes] m hand adowne] m down 1 6 art thou]
 m artow
 stza 4, 1 1 my] m myn 1 5 from] m fro 1 6 Afore] m Afor 1 7 gayne]
 m gey all 1 8 affraide] m froward
 stza 5, 1 1 kne] m n ther kne 1 2 deth] n passion of] n with 1 3 of] n them
 of 1 4, 5. fyve] m v 1 6 washe] m washyn all from] m fro all surfettes
 improbable] m surfetes repreuable n forfettys repugnable 1 8 hir] n oure
 At end m Explicit vnicum librum

264

British Museum. MS Addit. 5465.

XVI cent.

ff 122 v., 123 r

[1]

In a slumbir late as I was,
 I harde a voice lowde call *and crye*,
 'Amende the, man, of thi trespase,
 And aske forgoeveness or eyur thou
 dye'

'Beholde,' he saide, 'my ff 123 v., 124 r
 creature,
 Whome I did make so lyke vnto me,
 What payns I sofferd, I the ensure,
 Where thou were thrall, to make the
 free

In a slumbir late as I was,
 I harde a voice lowde call *and crye*,
 'Amende the, man, of thi trespase,
 And aske forgoeveness or eyur thou
 dye'

Vpon the cross with naylis thre
 Fast I was naylyd for thyne offence,
 Therefore remembir the or thou go
 hence'

The repetitioun of the burden after the stanza is indicated by In a slumbir vt supra

265

Huntington Library. Christmas carolles newly Inpnynted (Richard Kele). c 1550

p. [2]

Now synge we, as we were wont
 'Uexilla Regis prodeunt.'

[1]

The Kinges baner on felde is playd,
 The crosses mistry can not be nayd,
 To whom our Sauyours was betrayd,

And for our sake,
 Thus sayth he.

'I suffre for the;
 My deth I take

[2]

'Behold my shankes, behold my knees,
 Beholde my hed, armes, and thees;
 Beholde, of me nothyng thou sees

But sorowe and pyne,
 Thus was I spylt,
 Man, for thy gylte,
 And not for myne

[3]

'Behold my body, how Jewes it donge
 With knots of whipcord *and* scourges
 strong,
 As stremes of a well the blode out sprong
 On euery syde;
 The knottes were knyrt,
 Ryght well made with wyt;
 They made woundes wyde.

[4]

'Man, thou shalt now vnderstand, p [3]
 Of my head, bothe fote and hand,
 Are four c and fyue thousand
 Woundes and syxty,
 Fyfty and vii
 Were tolde full euen
 Upon my body

[5]

'Syth I for loue bought the so dere,
 As thou may se thyself here,
 I pray the with a 1yght good chere,
 Loue me agayne,
 That it lykes me
 To suffre for the
 Now all this payne

[6]

'Man, vnderstand now thou shall,
 Insted of drynke they gaue me gall,
 And eysell mengled therwithall,
 The Jewes fell,
 These paynes on me
 I suffred for the,
 To bryng the fro hell

[7]

'Now, for thy lyfe thou hast mysled, p [4]
 Mercy to aske be thou not adred,
 The lest drop of blode that I for the bled
 Myght clense the soone
 Of all the syn
 The worlde within,
 If thou haddest doone

[8]

'I was more wrother with Judas
 For he wold no mercy aske
 Than I was for his trespas
 Whan he me solde,
 I was euer redy
 To graunt hym mercy,
 But he none wolde

[9]

'Lo, how I hold my armes abroad,
 The to receyue redy isprede'
 For the great loue that I to the had
 Well may thou knowe
 Some loue agayne
 I wolde full fayne
 Thou woldest to me shewe

[10]

'For loue I aske nothyng of the p [5]
 But stand fast in faythe, *and* syn thou
 fle,
 And payne to lyue in honeste,
 Bothe nyght and day,
 And thou shalt haue blys
 That neuer shall mys,
 Withouten nay.'

[11]

Now, Jesu, for thy great goodnes,
 That for man suffred great hardnes,
 Saue vs fro the deuyls cruelnes,
 And to blys vs send,
 And graunt vs grace
 To se thy face
 Withouten ende

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1, 2 Now syng we &c
 stzas 3-10 Now syng we &c stza 11 Now &c
 stza 1, 11 1, 2 *One initial T serves for both lines*
 At end Fmss

266

St John's College, Cambridge. MS. S 54

XV cent.

f. 9 r

'Fadyr, my wyll yt is
 Nolo mortem peccatoris'

[1]

'Fadyr, I am thin owyn chyld
And born of Mary mek *and* myld,
 Fadyr, now my wyll yt is
 Nolo mortem peccatoris

[2]

'My hert is sore qwan I bethynk
And se mene trespas *and* in syn synk
 For all that is done amyse
 Nolo mortem [peccatoris]

[3]

'Thou falce fend, *with* all thi slent,
Y wyll no more mankynd be schent;
Of hem thou getyst no ryght, ywys,
[Nolo mortem peccatoris']

stza 2, 1 4 MS Nolo mortem &c
stzas 3, 4, 1 4 MS vt supra

[4]

Now mak we both joy *and* myrtht
In worschyp of *Cristys* owyn byrtht
This is Goddes owyn word, ywys
['Nolo mortem peccatoris']

stza 3, 1 3 ryght] MS ryghht
stza 4, 1 1 myrtht] MS myghht

267

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f 47 r

Hec sunt verba Saluatoris
'Nolo mortem peccatoris'

Taking mercy, leving my myght,
Nolo mortem peccatoris

[1]

'Haue myende for the how I was borne,
How with scourges my flesshe was
torne,
And how I was crowned with thorne,
Nolo mortem peccatoris

[3]

'Thinke how mekely I toke the felde,
Vpon my bak bering my shelde,
For payne ne dethe I wolde not yelde,
Nolo mortem peccatoris.

[2]

'Haue myende also how lowe I ligh
Into a mayde so pure and bright,

[4]

'Lyft vp thy hert now, man, and see
What I haue done and doo for the;
Yf thou be lost, blame thou not me;
Nolo mortem peccatoris'

268

Cambridge University Library. MS. Ee. 1 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 47 v.

Thus seith Jhesus of Nazareth
'Of a synner I wille noo deth.'

[3]

Mary Magdalene did grete offence,
And yet with hir Crist did dispence
And gave her grace and indulgence,
Of a synner he wille no deth

[1]

Yf thou thy lyfe in synne haue ledde,
Amende the now, be not adredde,
For God his grace for the hath spredde,
Of a synner he wille no deth

[4]

She asked grace *with* hert contrite
And foryeuenes of hir delictē,
And he forgave here anone right;
Of a synner he wille no deth

[2]

Yf thou haue done as mekill ylle
As hert may thinke and dede fulfille,
Yf thou axe grace, thou shalt not spille;
Of a synner he wil no deth

[5]

Man, yf thou wilte thy synne forsake
And vnto Crist amendes make,
Thy soule to blis then wil he take,
Of a synner he wille no deth.

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 47 v

Reuert, reuert, reuert, reuert,
O synfull man, geve me thyn hert

[1]

Haue myende howe I mankyende f 48 r
haue take

Of a pure mayde, man, for thy sake,
That were moost bonde moost fre to
make,

O synfull man, [geve me thyn hert]

[2]

Haue myende, thou synfull creature,
I toke baptye in thy nature

Fro filthe of synne to make the pure;

O synfull man, geve [me thyn hert]

[3]

Haue myende, man, how I toke the
felde,

Vpon my bak bering my shelde;

For payne ne dethe I wolde not yelde;

O synfull man, yeve me [thyn hert]

[4]

Haue myende, I was put on the rode
And for thy sake shedde my hert blode

Beholde my payne; beholde my moode;

O sy[n]full [man, yeve me thyn hert]

[5]

Beholde me, hede, hande, foote, and
side,

Beholde my woundes fyve so wyde;

Beholde the payne that I abyde;

O synfull man, yeve me thyn hert.

stzas 1, 7, 8, 1 4 MS O synfull man &c

stza 2, 1. 4 MS O synfull man geve &c

stza 3, 1 4 MS O synfull man yeve me &c

stza 4, 1 4 MS O sy[n]full &c.

[6]

Haue myende, man, how fast I was
bounde

For thy sake to a pilloure rounde,
Scorged till my bloode fell to grounde,

O synfull [man, yeve me thyn hert]

[7]

Haue myende how I in fourme of bred
Haue left my flesshe and blode to wedde,
To make the quyke whenne thou art
dedde,

O synfull man, [yeve me thyn hert]

[8]

Haue myende, man, how I haue f 48 v.
the wrought,

How *with* my bloode I haue the bought,
And how to blis I haue the brought;

O synfull man, [yeve me thyn hert]

[9]

O synfull man, beholde and see
What I haue done and do for the.

Yf thou wilte be in blis *with* me,

O synfull man, yeve me thyn hert

[10]

Bothe for my dethe and paynes smert,
That I suffred for thy desert,

I aske no more, man, but thyne hert;

Reuert, reuert, reuert, reuert.

stza 6, 1 4 MS O synfull &c.

British Museum. MS. Royal 17 B xliii

c 1500.

f 184 r

Com home agayne,

Com home agayne,

Minowine swet hart, com home agayne;

Ye are gone astray

Owt of your way;

There[fore] com h[o]me agayne

[1]

Mankend I cale, wich lyith in frale,

For loue I mad the fre;

To pay the det the prise was gret,

From hell that I ransomed the.

[2]
 Mi blod so red for the was shed,
 The prise it ys not smale,
 Remembre welle what I the tell,
And com whan I the kale.

[3]
 Mi prophetes all, they ded the cale,
 For loue I mad the free,
 . . . : . . . : . . .

[4]
And I miselfe *and* mi postels twelfe,
 To prech was all mi thovth
 Mi Faders kyngedom both hole *and* sound,
 Which that I so derly bouth
 stza 1, 1 2 mad] MS nad
 stza 3, 1 1 all, they] MS all the they

[5]
 Therefore refreyne, *and* torne agayne,
And leve thyne owene intent,
 The which it is *contrare*, iwas,
 Onto mi *commavndment*

[6]
 Thow standest in dout *and* sekest
 about
 Where that thow mayst me se;
 Idovles be set, mony for to gyt,
 Wich ys made of stone *and* tre f 184 v.

[7]
 I am no stoke, nor no payncted bloke,
 Nor mad by no mannes hand,
 Bot I am he that shall los the
 From Satan the phinnes bonde.
 stza 5, 1 1 Therefore] MS there re fore.
 stza 7, 1 3 am] MS an

271

National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 18. 7 21.

c 1372.

f 124 v

Lu[u]eli ter of loueli eyghe,
Qua dostu me so wo?
 Sorful ter of sorful eyghe,
 Thou brekst myn herte a-to

[1]
 Thou sikkest sore,
 Thi sorwe is more
 Than mannis muth may telle,
 Thou singest of sorwe,
 Manken to borwe
 Out of the pit of helle

[2]
 I prud *and* kene,
 Thou meke an[d] clene
 Withouten wo or wile;
 Thou art ded for me,

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by Luueli (*underlined*).
 stza 3, 1 3 yerte] MS yepete.

And I lue thoru the,
 So blissed be that wile.

[3]
 Thi moder seet
 Hou wo the beet,
And therfore yerne sche yerte;
 To hire thou speke,
 Hire sorwe to sleke,
 Suet, suet wan, thin herte.

[4]
 Thin herte is rent;
 Thi bodi is bent
 Vpon the rode tre;
 The weder is went,
 The deuel is schent,
 Crist, thoru the mith of the

272

Bodleian Library. MS. Douce 302
 f 30 v.

I haue a loue is Heuen Kyng;
 I loue hys loue fore euermor.

By John Audelay, XV cent.

[1]
 Fore loue is loue *and* euer schal be,
And loue has bene ore we were bore;
 Fore loue he askys non other fe
 Bot loue ayayn; he kepis no more.
 I say herefore.

[2]

Trew loue is tresoure, trust is store
 To a loue to Godis plesyng,
 Bot leude loue makis *men* elore,
 To loue here lust *and* here lykyng
 I say herefore

[3]

In good loue *ther* is no syn,
Witho[u]t loue is heuenes;
 Herefore to loue I nyl not bly[n,]
 To loue my God *and* his goodnes
 I say herefore

[4]

For he me louyd or I him knew,
 Therefore I loue him altherbest;
 Ellis my loue I myght hit rew,
 I loue *with him* to take my rest
 I say herefore

[5]

Of al loueres that euer was borne,
 His loue hit passid euerlechon;
 Nad he vs louy[d] we were forelorne,
With[ou]t is loue trew loue is non
 I say herefore

MS heading de amore dei

273

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354.

XVI cent

f. 223 r.

Into this world now ys cum
Christe, redemptor *omnium*.

[1]

O worthy Lord *and* most of myght,
 Eterne Rex Altyssime,
 The to honowr me thynkyth ryght,
Iam lucis orto sidere

[2]

As thou art Lord of worthynes,
 Conditor alme *siderum*,
 All vs to bryng owf of derknes,
Christe, redemptor *omnium*

[3]

With bemys clere of righttuysnes
Aurora lucis rutilat,
 In joy therof *with* all gladnes
Uox clara, ecce, intonat

[4]

Now glorius Lord *and* worthy Kyng,
Jhesu, Saluator seculi,
 Grant vs thy blys euerlastyng,
Summi lorgitor primu.

At end Explicit

274

St John's College, Cambridge MS S. 54.

XV cent.

f. 10 r.

Now *Jhesus*, rector *anime*,
Ne cademus sustine.

[1]

God, that all this word has wroghth
 And *with precious* blod hath both,
 Of us synfull *men* haue thoute;
Ne cademus sustine.

[2]

Thou arth Lord that mad all thyng,
 For all *grace* is in thi geuyng,
 Thou saue us fro the fendes fowndyng,
Defe[n]sor noster, Domine.

stza 1, 1 1 word] MS wrod

stza 3, 1 2 flesch] MS fendes

stza 4, 1 1 our] MS your

[3]

We haue in enmys qwere that we wende
 The werd, the flesch, *and* the fende;
 Thou saue us fro hem, that we not
sche[n]de,
Incidiantes reprime

[4]

In alloure leue wyll [we] are here
 We haue but wo, *trauyll*, *and* care,
 Mete, dry[n]ke, *and* cloth—we haue no
 more

Pro nostro graui opere.

stza 2, 1 2 geuyng] MS geuynyng.

fende] MS flesch 1 3 Thou] MS. That

275

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12
f. 8 v

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

Fili Marie uirginis,
Succurre nobis miseris

[1]

O sweete Jhesu so meke and mylde,
Fili Marie uirginis,
Fro blysse thatt we be notte exylde,
Succurre nobis [miseris]

[2]

We scholde be lost for oure offense,
Set tue matris meritis,
As thou art Lorde of Indulgense,
Succurre nobis miseris.

[3]
Oure sowlys made to thi likenesse,
Natura nostra fragilis,
Therfore in oure gostly sikenesse
Succurre nobis miseris

[4]

Vppon a tre thou madist us fre
Effusione sanguinis,
Therfore alle we, Lorde, besiche the,
Succurre nobis miseris

[5]

Thoughe with the filthe we be infecte
Primi parentis criminis,
Fro blysse thatte we be not reiecte,
Succurre nobis miseris.

stza 1, l 4 MS Succurre nobis c^o

276

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee 1 12
f. 46 v.

By James Ryman, c. 1492

Of thy mercy lete vs not mys,
Fili Marie uirginis.

[1]

O King of Grace and Indulgence,
By whome alle thyng hath existence,
Forsake not man for his offence,
Fili Marie uirginis

[2]

Haue mercy, Lorde, haue mercy on me,
For thi mercyes that so grete be,
For why my soule dothe trust in the,
Fili [Marie] uirginis

[3]

My prayere, Lorde, as swete encense,
Be directed to thy presence;
Forgeve my synne and negligence,
Fili Marie uirginis.

[4]

Thou shalt not, Lorde, despise, but know
A contrite hert and meked lowe,
Lorde, fro thy face thou me not throw,
Fili Marie uirginis

[5]

With thy grace, Lorde, thou vs f 47 r.
enspire,
Inflame vs with goostely desire,
And of thy loue burne vs with fire,
Fili Marie uirginis

[6]

That we may come vnto that blis
Wherof the joye eternall is
Graunte vs, thou Prince of alle princes
Fili Marie uirginis.

stza 2, l 4 MS Fili uirginis &c.

In the lower margin of the page the burden is written again in a hand of cent XVI
with notation of the melody Of thy marci lete vs not mys fili marie uirginis

277

British Museum MS Addit. 5665

XVI cent.

f 32 v.

Jhesu, Fili Dei.
Miserere mei
Jhesu, Fili Dei,
Miserere me*

*f 33 r

[2]

Thou came fro heuen, fro thi fe, f 32 v.
To this worlde, a man to be,
Therfor Y crye deuoteli,
'Miserere mei,
[Miserere mei']

[3]

[1]

Glorius God in Trinite,
Well of man and pyte,
Thus cryed the woman of Canany
'Miserere mei,
Miserere mei'

As thou haddest vn hu pyte,
So Y pray thou haue vn me;
Glorius God in Trinite,
Miserere mei;
[Miserere mei]

MS heading de natiuitate

Signatures f 32 v Smert f 33 r Trouluffe

278

Huntington Library Christmas carolles newly Inpnynted (Richard Kele) c 1550

p [47]

Jesu Christe, Fili Dei viui, mise[rere
no]bis,
Alleluya

[3]

Jesu, preserue vs, and be our spede,
With grace to socour vs at our nede,
To do thy pleasure in worde and dede
That now syngeth this
'Miserere nobis'

[1]

Moost souerayn Lorde Chryst [Jesu,
Born of a mayd that euer was true,
With grace and goodnesse thou vs endue
That now singeth this.
'Miserere nobis.'

[4]

Punysh not synners by thy myght,
But with mercy medled with ryght,
So that we may lyue in thy syght
That now syngeth this
'Miserere nobis.'

[2]

Lorde of mercy by propre condycion,
That of mankynd made the redemption,
Graunt vs now this petycion
That now syngeth this
'Miserere nobis'

[5]

[Now] God graunt vs repentaunce p [48]
[A]nd space for to do penaunce
And good lyfe to haue contynuaunce,
That we may syng this
'Miserere nobis'

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 Jesu christe fili dei viui
stzas 2, 4 Jesu christe fili dei viui &c stza 3 Jesu christe. &c
At end Finis

The text of the burden and of stanzas 1, 5 is damaged by a tear in the leaf

279

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12

By James Ryman, c 1492

f. 36 r.

O Christe, Rex gencium,
O vita viuencium

[1]

O orient light shynyng moost bright,
O Sonne of Right, adowne thou light,
And by thy myght now geve vs light,
O Christe, Rex [gencium]

[2]
O Savvoure moost of honoure,
Cum fro thy towre, cease oure f 36 v.
doloure,

Bothe day and houre waityng socoure,
O vita viuencium

[3]
O we in payne wolde, in certeyn,
Thou woldest refrayne, Lorde, and
restreyn

Thyn hande ageyn of myght and meyn,
O *Christe*, Rex gencium

[4]
O Jesse rote moost swete and soote,
In ryende and rote moost full of boote,
To vs be bote, bounde hande and foote,
O vita viuencium

[5]
O Assuere, Prince without pere,
Come fro thy spere, to vs draw nere,

Oure prayer here, O Lorde moost dere,
O *Christe*, Rex gencium

[6]
O cornere stone, that makist both one,
Here oure grete mone, and graunt our
bone;
Cume downe anone, save vs echeone,
O vita viuencium.

[7]
O Prince of Peas, oure bonde release;
Oure woo thou cease, and graunt vs peas
In blis endeles, that shall not cease,
O *Christe*, Rex gencium.

[8]
O King of Myght and Sonne of f 37 r
Right,
O endeles light so clere and bright,
Of the a sight thou vs behight,
O vita viuencium

stza 1, 1 4 MS O *Christe* Rex &c

280

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee 1 12
f 42 v

By James Ryman, c 1492

My herte is sette alone
On God, bothe Thre and One.

[1]
I loue a loue that loueth me well,
To alle mankyende whiche is socoure,
And his name Emanuell;
Of alle louers he is the floure

[2]
His moder is a virgyne pure
In worde, in dede, in wille, and
thought,
Of whome he toke mortall nature
To save mankyende, that had mys-
wrought

[3]
He was dede and beried in sight
And rose ayene on the thirde daye
And steyed to blis by his grete myght,
That was and is and shall be ay.

[4]
He is called King Assuere;
Hester his moder callid is;
Crowned they be bothe 11 in fere,
He King, she quene, of heven blis

[5]
Oure Lorde Jhesus of Nazareth,
That for ouresakeshed his hert bloode
And on the crosse did suffre deth,
To vs mote be eternall foode

stza 3, 1 2 thirde] MS m^{de}.

281

Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 1. 12
f 43 v.

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

God, bothe in and One,
Is oure comforte alone

[1]

Adam and Eve did geve concent
Vnto the feende, that vile serpent,
Wherfore mankyende to helle was sent
Without comfort alone

[2]

Whenne it therin long tyme hadde
layne,
Crist, Goddes Sonne, came, in certayne,
To take nature and suffre payne
To comfort it alone

[3]

As the sonne beame gothe thurgh the
glas,
Thurgh virgyne Marie he did pas,
Taking nature, as his wille was,
To save mankynde alone

[4]

That Lorde so good vpon the f 44 r
roode
Suffred vile dethe and shed his bloode,
Whoos flesshe and bloode is endeles
foode
To feithfull man alone.

[5]

Now beseche we that King of Grace
In blis for to graunte vs a place,
And hym to se there face to face,
That is bothe in and One.

282

Bodleian Library. MS. Eng. poet. e. 1.
f 31 r

XV cent

Off al the knottes that I se
I prese the knot in Trinite

[1]

An aungell fro heu[e]n gan lyth;
A greth a maydyn that was so bryth;
A treu knot ther was knyht
Betwyn them both in Trinite

[2]

After this that fayyrlly fod,
For hus he bled his hart blod
Qwan he was don on the rod,
The knottes war knyt with nales in

[3]

Wettnes of apostyll Johan
He rose hup and wold gon,
The knot was knyht with marbyl ston
Thorow the vertu of the Trinite

[4]

On Scher Thursday he steyd to heu[e]n,
Hys Fader hym blyssyd with myld
steu[e]n,
For to fulfyll the deddes wyll,
The knot was knyt with persons in

[5]

God xal rysyn at domusday
Hys v knottes for to spray;
To al men he xal say,
'Lo, man, wat knot I knyht for the '

283

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee 1 12

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 44 v

Honoure to the alone,
That art bothe in and One.

[1]

O Lorde, by whome al thing is wrought,
And *without* whom is wrought right
nought,
With hert, *with* myende, *with* f 45 r
wille, and thought,
Honour to the alone

[2]

O, whiche haast made bothe day and
nyght,
The firmament and sterres bright,
The sonne and mone to yeve vs light,
Honour to the alone

[3]

O, whiche hast take mortall nature
Of moder Marie, virgyne pure,
For to redeme eche creature,
Honour to the alone

[4]

O Fader *without* begynnyng,
O Sone of the Fader beyng,
O Holy Goost of bothe in *proceeding*,
Honour to the alone

[5]

O Fader, in whome alle strength is pight,
O Sone also, that Wisdome hight,
O Holy Goost, fro whome alle grace doth
light,
Honour to the alone

[6]

O in *persones* in one vnite,
Beyng but one God and one light,
One in substance, *essens*, *and* myght,
Honour to the alone

[7]

O Fader, O Sonne, O Holy Goost,
O in *and* One, of myghtes moost,
Of lest and moost in *euery* coost
Honour to the alone

284

Cambridge University Library. MS. Ee. 1 12

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 50 r

O, O, O, O, O, O, O, O,
O Deus sine termino.

[1]

O Fader *without* begynnyng,
O Sonne and Holy Goost also,
O in and One *without* ending,
O Deus sine termino

[2]

O in *persones* in one vnite, f 50 v
Beyng but one God and no moo,
One in substance, *essens*, *and* myght,
O Deus sine termino.

[3]

O, whiche hast made bothe day *and*
nyght,
Heaven *and* erthe rounde like an O,
By thy wisdom and endles myght,
O Deus sine termino

[4]

O, whiche of nought al thing hast
wrought,
O verbum in principio,
O, *without* whom is wrought right
nought,
O Deus sine termino.

[5]

O Prince of Peas, O Heven King,
O fynall ender of oure woo,
O, whose kingdome hath non ending,
O Deus sine termino.

[6]

O maker of eche creature,
O supplanter of oure foo,
O Sonne of Marie, virgyn pure,
O Deus sine termino.

[7]

We beseche the *with* alle oure myght,
Or we depart this worlde fro,
Of forgevenes of oure delictē,
O *Deus* sine termino

[8]

Criste graunte vs grace, that we come
may
To heven blisse, whenne we hens goo,
That deyed for vs on Good Friday
Et regnat sine termino

285

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1. 12.
f. 59 r.

By James Ryman, c. 1492

Te *Patrem nostrum* inuocamus,
Te *Deum verumque* laudamus

With cherubyn and seraphyn
Te *Deum verum*[que] laudamus.

[1]

Thy creatures terrestriall,
Te *Patrem nostrum* inuocamus,
With the high courte celestiall
Te *Deum verumque* laudamus.

[5]

O Lorde moost dere, that hast no pere,
Te *Patrem nostrum* inuocamus,
With the swete quere of apostles dere
Te *Deum verumque* laudamus

[2]

By daye and nyght, as it is right, f. 59 v.
Te *Patrem nostrum* inuocamus,
With aungelles bright, *with* alle oure
myght,
Te *Deum verumque* laudamus

[6]

O endeles God and man so fie,
Te *Patrem nostrum* inuocamus,
With thy prophetes in their degree
Te *Deum verumque* laudamus

[3]

O heuenly King, that aye shall reigne,
Te *Patrem nostrum* inuocamus,
With potestatis of myght *and* mayne
Te *Deum verumque* laudamus.

[7]

O Prince, that put oure foo to flight,
Te *Patrem nostrum* inuocamus,
With thy hoost of martres so bright
Te *Deum verumque* laudamus.

[4]

By whome al thung, Lorde, did begynne,
Te *Patrem nostrum* inuocamus,

[8]

Fader *and* Sonne *and* Holy Goost,
Te *Patrem nostrum* inuocamus,
Bothe ii *and* One, of myghtes moost,
Te *Deum verumque* laudamus.

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Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1. 12
f. 59 v

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

Alpha et O quem vocamus,
Te *Deum verum* laudamus

[2]

O oure Fader celestiall,
Oure foo committe so bestiall;
We, thy children terrestriall, f. 60 r
Te *Deum verum* [laudamus]

[1]

O God *and* man sempiternall,
That hast made vs free that were thrall,
Bothe grete *and* small, to the we calle,
Te *Deum* [verum laudamus]

[3]

To the, O Lorde so full of myght,
Aungelles alle of heuen so bright
Be assistant bothe day *and* nyght
'Te *Deum verum* [laudamus]'

[4]

The hevens also so bright *and* clere,
 Moost specially the heuen empere,
 Dothe laude the aye, O Lorde so dere
 'Te Deum [verum laudamus ']

[5]

The potestates vniversall
 In thy high courte imperiall
 Geveth the honoure perpetuall
 'Te Deum verum [laudamus ']

[6]

Cherubyn *and* seraphyn with loue
 ardent
 Eurmore crie with one assent,
 'O Lorde God Sabaoth Omnipotent,
 Te Deum [verum laudamus ']

[7]

Of the appostles the glorious quere,
 O King *and* Prince *and* Lorde moost
 dere,
 Geveth the laude *and* honoure in fere
 'Te Deum [verum laudamus ']

[8]

The prophetes alle in their degree,
 O endeles God in persones thre,
 Thanke *and* preysing they geve to the
 'Te Deum [verum laudamus ']

[9]

O heuenly Prince moost glorious,
 The tryumphe wonne laborious,

burden, 1 2 verum] MS *verumque*
 stzas 1, 4, 6-13, 1 4 MS Te deum &c
 stza 2, 1 4 MS Te deum *verumque* &c
 stzas 3, 5, 14, 1 4 MS Te deum *verum* &c

287

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f. 60 v

Dulciter pangamus,
 'Te Deum laudamus.'

[1]

O Fader of high majeste,
 The Sonne and Holi Goost with the,
 Bothe in *and* One the knowlege we,
 Te Deum [laudamus]

Thy martirs singe victorius
 'Te Deum [verum laudamus. ']

[10]

O endeles God, Fader of Light,
 Alle Holy Church, as it is right,
 Lawde *and* preyse the bothe day *and*
 nyght
 'Te Deum [verum laudamus ']

[11]

Thy Sonne with the also, Jhesus,
 Now man become for loue of vs,
 We laude *and* honoure, seying thus
 'Te Deum [verum laudamus ']

[12]

The Holy Goost, that dothe procede
 Of you both in, as seith oure crede,
 We laude *and* preyse in worde *and* dede,
 Te Deum [verum laudamus.]

[13]

Bothe in *and* One we knowleche the,
 One in Godhede, in persones thre,
 That eur were *and* ay shall be,
 Te Deum [verum laudamus]

[14]

O swete Jhesu, that on the roode
 Hast redemed vs with thy hert bloode,
 With contrite hert *and* with myelde
 moode
 Te Deum *verum* [laudamus]

[2]

O Sonne of God, Criste, Heuen King,
 On his right side in blisse sitting,
 Oure iuge to be in tyme comyng,
 Te Deum [laudamus]

[3]

O Holy Goost ay proceeding
 Of the Fader eurlasting
 And of the Sonne withoute ending,
 Te Deum [laudamus.]

[4]

O in persones in one vnite,
 Beyng but one God *and* one light,
 One in substaunce, essens, *and* myght,
 Te Deum [laudamus.]

[5]

Incessantly, Lorde, aungelles alle,
 Apostles, potestates vniuersall,
 stzas 1-4, 1 4 MS Te deum &c

Cherubyn, *and* seraphyn to the doth call,
 'Te Deum [laudamus]'

[6]

Fro day to day, Lorde, we blesse the,
 And *withoute* ende thy name *prays*e we,
 Of whose kingdome noon ende shall be,
 Te Deum [laudamus]
 stzas 5, 6, 1 4 MS Te deum &c

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Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12
 f 60 v

By James Ryman, c 1492

Alpha et O quem vocamus,
 Te Deum verum laudamus

[1]

Fader and Sonne *and* Holī Goost,
 We knowle the in euery coost,
 Bothe in *and* One, of myghtes moost,
 Te Deum verum [laudamus]

[2]

Thre persones, one God, one light,
 One in substaunce, essence, *and* myght,
 By day *and* nyght, as it is right,
 Te Deum [verum laudamus]

[3]

O high Fader, by whome al thing
 Onely hathe take a begynnyng,
 Of whose kingdome is none ending,
 Te Deum verum [laudamus]
 stzas 1, 5, 1 4 MS Te deum verum &c
 stzas 2, 6, 1 4 MS Te deum &c

[4]

O Sonne of the Fader of Myght,
 Onely bigote of hym by right,
 As God of God *and* light of light,
 Te Deum verum [laudamus]

[5]

O Holy Goost, that doost *procede*
 Of the Fader *and* Sonne indede f 61 r.
 Onely by loue (this is oure crede),
 Te Deum verum [laudamus]

[6]

O endeles God, of myghtes moost,
 That thou hast made lete not be lost,
 Sith, thy seruauantis in euery cost,
 Te Deum [verum laudamus]
 stzas 3, 4, 1 4 MS Te deum verum &c

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Cambridge University Library. MS Ee 1 12
 f 61 r

By James Ryman, c 1492

[2]

Singe we alle this tyme thus
 'Te Deum laudamus.'

[1]

The High Fader of blisse aboue
 Sent his owne Sonne to oure behoue,
 Whome alle this worlde is bounde to
 love
 Te Deum [laudamus]

To become man he lothed nought
 Of a pure mayde in dede *and* thought,
 To make man fre, that he had wrought
 Te Deum [laudamus]

[3]

Whenne he was borne, that Lorde *and*
 King,
 Oute of thraldome mankyende to bringe,
 With one accorde aungelles did singe,
 'Te Deum [laudamus.]'

[4]
 Cherubyn *and* seraphyn *with* voices
 clere,
 The appostles, the prophetes and martirs
 in fere
 Eurmore laudeth that Lorde so dere
 'Te [Deum laudamus']

[5]
 The ierarchies *with* ordres nyne
 To hym assiste and aye incline
 stzas 1, 3, 5, 1 4 MS Te deum &c
 stza 2, 1 4 MS Te deum &c

And honoure hym *with* laude di-
 uine
 'Te Deum [laudamus.]'

[6]
 Alle Holy Churche *with* melodie,
 As it is right, dothe magnifie
 His holy name and glorifie
 'Te Deum laudamus.'

stza 4, 1 4 MS Te &c

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Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12
 f. 61 r

By James Ryman, c 1492.

Dulciter pangamus,
 'Te Deum laudamus'

[1]
 Of a mayde Criste did not forsake
 Mankyende to take, man fre to make
 And into blisse *with* hym to take
 Te Deum [laudamus]

[2]
 Alle erthly creatures that be
 Mote laude *and* preyse that Lorde so fre
With hert *and* myende, to whom singe
 we,
 'Te Deum [laudamus]

[3]
 O perfecte God, O perfecte man,
 That for vs hast take woundes wan,
With hert, wille, and thought, as f. 61 v
 we can,
 Te Deum [laudamus]
 stzas 1, 3, 7, 1 4 MS Te deum &c

[4]
 O shaper of heuen, erthe, se, *and* sonde,
 O Lorde *and* Prince of euery londe,
 That hast made vs fre, that were bonde,
 Te Deum [laudamus]

[5]
 For thy grete gyftes manyfolde
 Lent to *seruantes* bothe yonge *and* olde,
 The whiche thou hast create of molde,
 Te Deum [laudamus]

[6]
 O Criste, that thus hast take nature
 Of myelde Marie, that virgyne pure,
 Of heuen blis to make vs sure,
 Te Deum [laudamus]

[7]
 O Fader, O Sonne, O Holi Goost,
 O Thre *and* One, of myghtes moost,
 Thy myelde *seruantes* in euery coost,
 Te Deum [laudamus]
 stzas 4-6, 1 4 MS Te deum &c.

291

Cambridge University Library. MS. Ee. 1. 12
 f. 89 v.

By James Ryman, c 1492.

Dulciter pangamus,
 'Te Deum laudamus.' f 90 r

[1]
 O Fader of Eternall Blys,
 Qui semper es ingenuus,
 Of whom alle grace *procedyng* ys,
 Te Deum [laudamus]

[2]
 O Kyng of Myght and lyght of lyght,
 Qui Patris extas Filius,
 By day and nyght, as itte is ryght,
 Te Deum [laudamus.]

[3]
O Crist, thatt art becum alsoo
Marie primogenitus
To bryng us owte of payn *and* woo,
Te Deum [laudamus]

[4]
Of the Fadere and Sone indede,
O Amor, Sancte Spiritus,
stzas 1-5, 1 4 MS Te deum c^o.

Eternally thatte doist procede,
Te Deum [laudamus]

[5]
Fadere and Sone and Holi Gost,
Alpha et O quem credimus,
Bothe iii and i, of myghtes most,
Te Deum [laudamus]
stza 5, 1 2 O] MS OO

292

Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 1 12

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 90 r

Te Patrem rite uocamus;
Te Deum Uite laudamus

[1]
O endles God of Mageste,
Te Patrem rite vocamus; f 90 v.
Lord of alle thyng we knowlege the,
Te Deum Uite laudamus.

[2]
O Sone of God namyd Jhesus,
Ad te sine lite clamamus,
That sheddist thi bloode for to ese us,
Te Deum Uite [laudamus]

stza 2, 1 4 MS Te deum uite c^o

[3]
O Holy Gost, alsoo indede
Te fontem uite pulsamus,
Of them bothe ii that doist procede,
Te Deum Uite laudamus

[4]
Fadere and Sone and Holi Gost,
Vt tibi rite credamus,
Bothe iii and i, of myghtes most,
Te Deum Uite lauda[m]us

[5]
O Lorde and Kyng, to blysse us bryng,
Deuote qui te oramus,
Withowte endyng thatte we may syng,
'Te [Deum Uite laudamus.]'

293

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee 1 12

By James Ryman, c 1492

f 90 v.

Syng we alle thys tyme thus
'Te Deum laudamus'

[1]
Fadere of Blisse omnipotent,
For thou hast made and create us,
Mekely therfore with on assent
Te [Deum laudamus]

[2]
The ierarchies of ordyrs nyne,
They say, 'Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus,'
Lorde of Vertu, with laude diuine
Te [Deum laudamus]

[3]
O Kyng of Myght and lyght of f 91 r
lyght,
Jhesu, that hast redemyd us,
By day and nyght, as it ys ryght,
Te [Deum laudamus]

[4]
Of the Fadere and Sone indede,
O Holi Gost (Scripture seeth thus,)
Eternally thou doist procede;
Te [Deum laudamus]

[5]
Fadere and Sone and Holi Gost,
As Holy Chyrche so techith us,
Bothe iii and i, of myghtes most,
Te [Deum laudamus]

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Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f 91 r

Alpha et O quem vocamus,
Te Deum verum laudamus

[1]

O endles God of Majeste,
Alpha et O quem vocamus,
Of whoys kyngdom none ende shall be,
Te Deum verum laudamus

[2]

O Sone of God, thatt Jhesus hight,
Ad te pia mente clamamus,
For thou camyst downe to geue us light,
Te Deum verum laudamus

burden, l 1, stza 1, l 2 O] MS OO
stza 3, l 1 and Sone] MS repeats

[3]

Fader and Sone and Holh Gost,
Vt in fide maneamus,
Bothe in and i, of myghtes most,
Te Deum verum laudamus

[4]

By day and nyght, as it is ryght, f 91 v
A laude tua non cessamus,
Butte with the tyght of alle oure myght
Te [Deum verum laudamus]

[5]

O Lorde and Kyng, to blysse us bryng,
Te toto corde rogamus,
Withowte endyng thatt we may syng,
'Te [Deum verum laudamus]'

stza 4, l 4 MS Te c^o

295

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1. 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 91 v.

Syng we alle thys tyme thus
'Te Deum laudamus.'

[1]

The Sonne of God, thatte all hath
wrought,
To take nature he lothyd nought
Of a pure meyde in dede and thought,
T[e Deum laudamus]

[2]

This Lorde was born in an oxe stalle,
To make us fre, the which were thralle;
Therefore syng we, bothe sum and alle,
'Te Deum [laudamus]'

stza 2, l 4 MS Te deum c^o.

[3]

The ierarchies with ordrys nyne
To hym assiste and ay inclyne,
Therefore syng we with laude dyuynne,
'Te Deum [laudamus]'

[4]

This childe thatte nowe is born to us
Ys Goddes Sonne (Scripture seyeth thus),
And his name is callyd Jhesus,
Te Deum [laudamus]

[5]

Alle Holy Churche with melodie,
As itte is right, dothe magnyfie
His holy name and glorifie
'Te Deum laudamus'

stzas 3, 4, l 4 MS Te deum c^o

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Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 1. 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f 92 r

Nowe syng we thys tyme thus
'Te Deum laudamus.'

[1]

O endles God of Majeste,
On in Godhede, in persons thre,
Lorde of all thyng we knowlege the,
Te Deum laudamus,

[2]

Angelles of heuen, that be so bryght,
And potestates so full of myght
Sey vnto the, as itt is ryght,
'Te Deum laudamus'

[3]

Cherubyn and seraphyn with loue
ardent
Sey vnto the with on assent,
'Lorde of Vertu omnipotent,
'Te Deum laudamus'

[4]

With endles voice they seye to the,
'Heuyn and erthe, Lorde, replete be
With glorie of thy majeste,
'Te Deum laudamus'

[5]

The quere of the apostlys dere
Laudeth the ay with voicis clere,
stza 6, 1 3 O] MS OO.

And thus they sey with louely chere:
'Te Deum laudamus'

[6]

The number of the prophetes alsoo
Laudeth the ay with many moo,
Seyng to the, 'Alpha et O,
'Te Deum laudamus'

[7]

The hoste of martirs bright and clere
Laudeth the, Lorde, thatt hast no pere,
And thus they seye to the in fere
'Te Deum laudamus'

[8]

Fadere and Sonne and Holī Gost, f 92 v.
Bothe iii and i, of myghtes most,
We knowlege the in euery cost,
'Te Deum [laudamus]
stza 8, 1 4 MS Te deum c^o

297

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12.
f. 92 v

By James Ryman, c. 1492

Syng we alle thys tyme thus
'Te Deum laudamus'

[1]

O swete Jhesu, we knowlege this
Thatte thou art Kyng of Heuen Blis,
And endles God thy Fader is;
'Te Deum [laudamus]

[2]

The Virgyns wombe thou hast not for-
sake,
Butte thou of itte mankynd hast take,
Man, thatte was bonde, fre for to make,
'Te Deum laudamus]

[3]

Deth ouercome and sette aside,
Thou hast openyd heuens full wide
To feithfull men thatt the abyde,
'Te Deum [laudamus]

[4]

Thou sittist atte thi Faders right honde
Above in blisse, we vnderstonde,
The juge to be of euery londe,
'Te Deum [laudamus.]

[5]

Therefore helpe us, thou Lorde so goode,
Thatt hast bought us with thi hert
bloode,
To whom we syng nowe with mylde
moode,
'Te [Deum laudamus]

[6]

Make us, goode Lorde Jhesu most fre,
Withe endles joye rewardid to be
With thy saynctys in blysse with the,
'Te Deum [laudamus]

[7]

Saue us, goode Lorde Jhesu, alsoo,
And defende us fro endles woo, f 93 r.
Into thi blisse thatte we may goo,
'Te Deum laudamus

[8]

Goode Lorde, by day and eke by nyght
We laude and prayse the with oure
myght
And blisse thy name, as itt is right;
'Te Deum [laudamus]

[9]	[10]
Thatte itte may please the, Lord, we pray For to kepe us fro syn this day, In blisse thatte we may sing for ay, 'Te Deum [laudamus]	Thy mercy, Lorde, on us mot be, Thatte with thy bloode hast made us fre, Sith we do trust only in the. Te Deum [laudamus]
stzas 1, 3, 8-10, 1 4 MS Te deum c ^o stza 5, 1 4 MS Te c ^o	stza. 2, 1 4 MS T ^o . stza 6, 1 4 MS Te deum c ^o

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[1]	[2]
Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12 f 93 r Synge we alle thys tyme thus 'Te Deum laudamus '	By James Ryman, c. 1492 O Sonne of the Fader of Myght, Ay procedyng of hym by right, As God of God and lyght of lyght, Te Deum [laudamus]
[1]	[3]
O Fader of high majeste, O Sonne and Holi Gost, all thre, On God, on lyght, we knowlege the, Te Deum [laudamus]	O Holi Gost, thatte doist procede Of the Fader and Sonne indede Only by loue, as seyeth oure crede, Te Deum [laudamus]
stzas 1-3, 1 4 MS Te deum c ^o .	

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[1]	[2]
Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12 f 93 r Nowe syng we thys tyme thus 'Te Deum laudamus ' f 93 v	By James Ryman, c 1492 He hath bought us, thatt Lorde so goode, And made us fre with his hert bloode; Therefore syng we now with mylde moode, 'Te Deum [laudamus]
[1]	[3]
The Sonne of God, oure Lorde Jhesus, Ys man becum for love of us; Therefore syng we, and sey we thus 'Te Deum [laudamus]	The Holi Gost he didde us sende To dwelle with us ay withowte ende And fro alle ille us to defende; Te Deum [laudamus]
stza 1, 1 4 MS Te deum c ^o .	stzas 2, 3, 1 4 MS Te deum c ^o .

300

[1]	
Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12. f 93 v Dulciter pangamus, 'Te Deum laudamus '	By James Ryman, c 1492. The Faders Sonne of Heuen Blis Of a pure meyde man becum ys To saue mankynde, thatte did amys; Te Deum [laudamus]

[2]

When he was born, thatt Lorde and
Kyng,
Owte of thraldome mankynde to bryng,
With on accorde angelles didde synge,
'T[e Deum laudamus']

stzas 1, 3, 1 4 MS *Te deum c*^o

[3]

Cherybyn and seraphyn alsoo,
Tronis, potestates, and many moo
Fulle sweetly sunge to that Lorde tho,
'Te Deum [laudamus']

301

Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1 12
f 94 r.

By James Ryman, c 1492

Dulciter pangamus,
'Te Deum laudamus'

[1]

The Sonne of God hath take nature
Of mylde Mary, thatt uirgyn pure,
To saue mankynde (thus seith *Scripture*);
T[e Deum laudamus']

[2]

When he was born, thatte Lorde and
King,
Owte of thraldome mankynd to bring,
With on accorde angelles didde sing,
'T[e Deum laudamus.']

[3]

O Lorde most dere, that hast no pere,
With the sweete quere of apostlys dere,
Bothe farre and nere *with* joyfull chere
T[e Deum laudamus']

[4]

The potestates vniversall f 94 v.
In thi highe court imperiall

Geuyth the honowre perpetuall
'T[e Deum laudamus']

[5]

Cherubyn and seraphyn *with* loue ardent
Euermore crie with on assent,
'O Lorde of Vertu omnipotent,
T[e Deum laudamus']

[6]

O endles God in persons thre,
Thi prophetes alle in ther degre,
Laude and honowre they geue to the
'T[e Deum laudamus.']

[7]

O heuenly Prince most glorious,
The triumphe wonne laborious,
Thi martirs sing victorious,
'T[e Deum laudamus.']

[8]

With confessours, virgyns alsoo,
With heremites and many moo,
For thou hast brought us owte of woo,
T[e Deum laudamus']

302

Cambridge University Library MS Ee. 1. 12
f 93 v.

By James Ryman, c 1492.

Te Patrem inuocamus,
Te Deumque laudamus.

[1]

To Crist Jhesu, thatte Lorde and Kyng,
Of whos kyngdome is none f 94 r
endyng,
With melody nowe lete us syng,
'T[e Deum laudamus']

[2]

Thatt blessid Lorde didde not forsake
To his Godhede mankynde to take,
Man, thatte was bonde, most fre to
make;
T[e Deum laudamus']

[3]
The bitternes of dethe alsoo
Thatte Lorde hath take with peyn and woo,
To take us fro the fende, oure foo,
T[e Deum laudamus]

[4]
His sowle went downe tho into helle
And toke oute man, thatte there did
dwelle,

stza 1, 1 4 MS T².

Fro the fowle fende, thatt is so felle,
T[e Deum laudamus]

[5]
He ros ayen on the thirde day
For to schewe us the joyfull way
To heuen blisse, thatt lastith ay,
T[e Deum laudamus]

stza 5, 1 1 thirde] MS m^{de}.

303

Cambridge University Library. MS. Ee. 1 12

By James Ryman, c 1492.

f 94 v

Te Deum laudamus,
Te Dominum confitemur

[1]
Eternall God, Fader of Light,
Thatt madist al thyng by thi grete
myght,
With worde and dede, as itte is right,
T[e Deum laudamus]

[2]
All thyn angelles in ther degre,
Heuens and all thatte in them be,
Incessantly they seye to the,
'T[e Deum laudamus]

[3]
Cherubyn and seraphyn with loue ardent
Sey vnto the with on assent,
'Lorde of Vertu omnipotent,
T[e Deum laudamus]

[4]
With endles voice they seye to the, f 95r
'Heuen and erthe, Lorde, replete be
With glory of thy mageste;
T[e Deum laudamus]

[5]
The quere of thy apostlys dere
Laudith the ay with louely chere,
And thus they seye with vois clere
'T[e Deum laudamus]

[6]
The number of thy prophetes alsoo
Geuyth the honowre with many moo,
And thus they seye 'Alpha et O,
T[e Deum laudamus]

[7]
The hoste of martirs bright and clere
Laudith the ay, thatte hast no pere,
And thus they seye to the in fere
'T[e Deum laudamus]

[8]
O highe Fader of Mageste,
Thy Sonne and Holi Gost with the,
On God, on Lorde, in persons thre,
T[e Deum laudamus]

[9]
O Sonne of the Fader of Myght,
Ay procedyng of hym by right,
As God of God and light of light
T[e Deum laudamus]

[10]
O Holi Gost, thatte doist procede
Off the Fader and Sonne indede
Only by loue, as seieth oure crede,
T[e Deum laudamus]

stza 6, 1 3 O] MS OO

304

Cambridge University Library. MS Ee 1 12.

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f. 95 v

With hert and mynd, *with* will and
thought,
Dulciter pangamus
To God most kynd, thatt all hath
wrought,
'Te Deum laudamus'

[1]

O endles God, bothe in and One,
Fader and Sonne and Holy Gost,
Euere sitting in heuen trone
As Lord and King of myghtes most,
Therefore to the in euery cost
Carmen istud modulamus
With contrite hert, withowten bost.
'Te Deum verum laudamus.'

[2]

For thou art God omnipotent,
The ordres ix of angelles bright

With on voice and with on assent
Sey, '*Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus*,' to the
of right,
Therefore to the by day and nyght
Carmen istud modulamus
With all oure strenthe, with all *our*
myght
'Te Deum verum laudamus'

[3]

Thi creaturis celestiall,
Thatte be in blisse with the so clere,
And we alsoo terrestriall
Laude and preyse the bothe farre and
nere,
And vnto the, O Lord most dere,
Carmen istud modulamus
With melody and louely chere
'Te Deum verum laudamus.'

305

Cambridge University Library. MS. Ee 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

f. 8 r

Pater de celis, *Deus*,
Miserere nobis

[1]

O highe Fader of Heuen Blys,
Sith Crist thy Sone *our* broder is,
For his swete loue forgyff *our* mys,
Et miserere nobis

[2]

O Sone of God namyd Jhesus,
Sith with thy bloode thou hast bought us,
Therefore to the we sey all thus
'Miserere nobis.'

[3]

O Holy Gost, thatt doist procede
Of the Fader and Sone indede,
Wyth thy vertu and grace us fede,
Et miserere nobis.

[4]

O in and i, of myghtys most,
Fader and Sone and Holy Gost,
As thou art Lorde of euery cost,
Miserere nobis.

306

British Museum. MS. Addit 5665.

XVI cent.

f. 46 v

To many a will haue Y go
To fynde water to washe me fro woo.
To maney a will haue Y go
To fynde water to *washe me *f. 47 r.
fro woo.

[1]

I haue soghte in many a syde
To fynde water to washe me fro woo;
Yette cowde Y noght walke so wyde
To fynde water to washe me so.

[2]

I haue heide speke off a wille; f 46 v
 Therof spryng[et]h stremes fele,
 A man that thereof hadde his fille,
 Off his woo shulde come his wele.

MS heading ad placitum

[3]

That wille ys mercy, Y haue herde say,
 And shall be withowte ende,
 Allmyghty God, to the we pray,
 Yeffe vs grace that wille to fynde.

307

British Museum MS. Addit 5665

XVI cent.

f 51 v

For all Cristen saulys pray we
 Requiem eternam dona eis, Domi[ne.]

[1]

O God, we pray to the in specyall f 52 r
 For all the saulis that sufferd payne
 infernall,
 Now, Jhesu, for thi mercy graunt them
 lyffe eternall,
 Et lux perpetua,
 Et lux perpetua luceat eis.

MS heading In fine natiuitatis
 stza 2, 1 3 no] MS no no

1 4

MS Et lux vt supra

[2]

In aspeciall for the saulys that f 51 v.
 han most nede,
 Abydyng in the paynes of derkenesse,
 Weche han no socoure but almysdede
 Et lux [perpetua,
 Et lux perpetua luceat eis]

[3]

Now God, in heuen that art so hye,
 These saulys thou graunte joy and
 blysse,
 For wham this day we syng and crye,
 'Et lux perpetua,
 [Et lux perpetua luceat eis.]

burden, 1 2 Domi[ne]] MS do domi

308

John Rylands Library, Manchester MS. 18932.

XV cent.

f 119 v.

Peas, I hier a voyce saith, 'Man, thou
 shalt dye,
 Remembre the paynes of purgatorie

[1]

'Why sittist thou so synng? Thenkyst
 thou nothyng
 That whoso best hoppith at laste shal
 haue the ryng?
 Remembre thy Maker, and pray to that
 Kyng,
 To that blisse that he bought the vnto
 the bryng
 Thou schalt aby,
 This worlde defygh.

[2]

'I prove the by reason that thou art
 vnkynde
 He that deid afore the is clene oute of
 thy mynde,

Thy frendis afore the; why art thou so
 blynde?

In purgatory paynyng there shalt thou
 them fynde.
 With doolefull cry,
 Thou shalt aby;
 This world defygh

[3]

'Man, compasse in saying, in mynde every
 delle,
 And pray for the soules so grete paynes
 fele,
 In purgatory paynyng their sorowys to
 keele—
 Thyself in no wors cas, and this it is
 weele.
 This worlde defygh;
 Thou shalt aby.'

[4]

I haue herd this voice, wele Mary fulle
 of grace
 Spekith it to me; tho I will high me
 apaas
 To the chirche me to amende; Lady,
 pray for space!
 Lorde, leste I come to late! ye, alas,
 alas!
 I fere me I
 With doulfull cry
 I shall aby;
 This worlde defygh

[5]

A, now am I thorough that dey shall I
 thanne,
 But yit, gentil neyghbere, tell me where
 or whan,
 Or where shall I become? Why spekist
 thou not, man?
 Is ther no creature that answer f 120 r
 me can?

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 pes I hier a voice stza. 2
 Peas stza 3 Peas I hier a stza 4 pees stza 6 Peas I hiei

Now God me guy!
 I fere me I
 With doulfull cry
 I shall aby;
 This world defygh.

[6]

Than see I right wele ther is no way butt
 oon.
 Now helpe me, deere Lady, Kateryn, and
 John,
 Cristofer, and George, myne avowries
 echone;
 Of the nombre dampned see that I be
 noone
 Pray for me high;
 Now God me guy!
 I fere me I
 With doulfull cry
 I shall aby;
 This world defygh

309

a

Bodleian Library. MS Eng. poet. e. 1.

XV cent

f 49 r

Prey we to the Trunyte
 And to al the holy compagne
 For to bryng vs to the blys
 The wych shal neuer mysse

[1]

Jhesus, for thi holy name
 And for thi beter passyon,
 Saue vs frome syn and shame
 And endeles damnacyon,
 And bryng vs to that blysse
 That neuere shal mysse.

[2]

O gloryusse Lady, quen of heuen,
 O mayden and O mothere bryght,
 To thy Sonne with myld steven
 Be owr gyde both day and nyght,
 That we may cum to that blysse
 The wych neuer shal mysse.

[3]

Gabryell and Raphaell, f 49 v
 With cherapyn and seraphyn,
 Archangell Mychaell,
 With all the orderes nyne,
 Bryng vs to that blysse
 The wych neuer shal mysse.

[4]

O ye holy patryarkys,
 Abraham, Ysaak, and many moo,
 Ye were full blyssed in yowr werkes,
 With Johan the Baptyst also,
 For to bryng vs to that blysse
 The wych neuer shal mysse.

[5]

The holy apostoles of Cryst,
 Peture, Paule, *and* Bartylmewe,
With Thomas *and* Johan the Euangelyst,
 And Andrew, Jamys, *and* Mattheuwe,
 Bryng vs to that heuenly blysse
 The wych neuer shal mysse

[6]

Pray for vs, ye seyntyng bryght,
 Stevyn, Laurence, *and* Christofores,
 And swete Georg, that noble knyght,
With all the martirs in the qwere,
 That we may cum to that f 50 r
 blysse
 The wych neuer shal mysse.

[7]

Blyssyd confessor, Sent Gregory,
With Nycholas *and* Edward Kyng,

Sent Leonard *and* Antony,
 To yow we pray aboue all thyng
 To helpe vs to that blysse
 The wych neuer shal mysse.

[8]

O yow blyssed matrones,
 Anne *and* swet Sent Elsabeth,
With al the gloryus vygyngs,
 Kateryne *and* noble Sent Margaret,
 Bryng vs to that heuenly blysse
 The wych neuer shal mysse.

[9]

All the company celestyall,
 The wych do syng so musycall,
 To the Kyng Pryncypall
 Pray fore vs terrest[r]yall,
 That we may cum to that blysse
 The wych neuer shal mysse

Stza. 1 only is also found in the following versions.

- b. *Bodleian Library* MS Douce 54, f. 35 r XV cent
- c. *Bodleian Library* MS. Rawlinson C. 48, f. 134 v. XV cent
- d. *New College, Oxford.* MS 310, f. 115 r XV cent.
- e. *Bodleian Library* MS Gough Liturg 7, f. 81 r. XV cent
- f. *British Museum* MS Arundel 285, f. 178 r. XVI cent
- g. *British Museum.* MS Harley 2445, f. 136 r XV cent
- h. *British Museum.* MS Harley 2851, f. 31 v. XIV cent
- i. *British Museum.* MS Addit 27924, f. 221 r XV cent.
- j. 'Billyngs MS', art 3 XV cent.

stza. 1, 1 r. [Jhesu] h O Jhesu 1 2 foi] d h i omit 1. 3 vs] d h i me. 1 4.
 endeles] b c from endles 1 5 vs] d h i me to] f vnto that] b e g h i thi c omits
 d f the. 1 6 h for thi name i omits That] b whych mysse] e f g haue ende swete
 Jhesu Amen. h i add swete jhesus lord amen (h repeats jhesus) b adds (f 35 v)
 swete Jhesu amen d adds amen

310

Bodleian Library MS. Douce 302

By John Audelay, XV cent.

f 32 r.

Saynt Frances, to the I say,
 Saue thi breder both nyght *and* day.

[1]

A hole confessoure thou were hone
And leuydist in contemplacion,
 To thyng on Cristis passioun,
 That sofyrd deth on Good Fryday

[2]

His passion was in the so fe[1]uent
 That he aperd to thi present,
 Vpon thi body he set his preynt,
 His v wondis, hit is no nay.

[3]

Vpon thi body thou *hem* bere
 After that tyme ful in ye[re,]
 To al men syght thai did apere;
 No water myght wasche *hem* away.

[4]

Weder thou schulddest ete ore drenke,
 On *Cristis* passion thou woldist thynke,
 In v pertys wes thi pertyng
 Of his sustinans, sothe to say.

[5]

Crist he grawnt the specialy,
 Fore on his passion thou hadist pete,
 To feche thi breder out of purgatori,
 That lym ther in rewfyl aray

[6]

Thou thongis *Crist* of his swete sonde
 And thoughtist to go to the Hole Londe,
 Fore dreg of deth thou woldist not wond
 To teche the pepil thi *Cristyn* fay

[7]

Then *Crist* he knew well then entent
 And turned the out of that talent
 And bede the make thi testament
 And 'Come to me fore ens *and* ay.

[8]

'A, hole Frawnces, now I se
 Fore my loue that thou woldist dye,

MS heading *de sancto fransisco* The repetition of the burden is indicated after
 stza 1 by Saynt frawnces to the I pray stza 5, l 3 out] MS a out

Thou schalt haue joy perpetual[e],
 Thou hast dyssired mone a day.'

[9]

His hole reule of relegiowne
 To his breder he wrote anon
 And prayd *ham*, fore *Cristis* passiowne,
 To kepe hit wel both nyght *and* day

[10]

A sad ensampil here mow ye se,
 On *Cristis* passioun to haue pete
 And to leue in loue *and* charete,
 Then mere in hert be ye may

[11]

His last prayer to *Crist* this was
 Fore al that sustens this hole place
 'Gr[a]cious God, grawnt *ham* thi grace
 Tofore thi jugement at domysday'

[12]

Pray we to Frawnses, that beth present,
 To saue his breder *and* his couent,
 That thai be neuer chamyd ne chent
 With wyckid man ne fyndis fray.

[13]

I pray youe, *seris*, pur charyte,
 Redis this caral reuerently,
 Fore I mad hit with wepyng eye,
 Your broder, Jon, the blynd Awdlay

311

By John Audelay, XV cent.

Bodleian Library. MS. Douce 302.

f 31 r

The moder of Mary, that merceful may,
 Pray fore vs both nyght *and* day

[1]

Swete Saynt Anne, we the beseche,
 Thou pray fore vs to Oure Laday
 That heo wel be oure soulis leche
 That day when we schul dey,
 Herefore we say.

[2]

Throgh the was gladid all this word
 When Mare of the borne was,
 That bere that barne, that blissful Lord
 That grawntis vs al merce *and* grace;
 Herefore we say.

[3]

Baren thou were ful long before;
 Then God he se to thi mekenes,
 That thou schulddest delyuer that was
 forelore,
 Mon soule, that lay in the fyndis
 distres;
 Herefore we say.

[4]

Fore Joachym, that hole housbond,
 Prayyd to God ful paciently
 That he wold send his swete sond,
 Sum froyte betwene you two to be;
 Herefore we say

[5]
Then God he grawntid graciously
Betwene youe two a floure f. 31 v.
schul spryng,
The rote therof is clepid Jesse,
That joye *and* blis to the word schal
breyng;
Herefore I say.

[6]
The blisful branche this floure on greue
Out of Jesse, at my wettyng,
Was Mare myld, that bere Jhesu,
Maydyn *and* moder to Heuen Kyng,
Herefore I say

[7]
Icallid Jhesus of Nazaret,
God Sun of hi degre,
MS heading de sancta anna matre marie
stza 1, l 1 Anne] MS tanne.

As here as mon that sofyrd deth
And rynynd into Daut dygnete;
Herefore I say

[8]
In Bedlem, *in* that blessid place,
Mare myld this floure hath borne
Betwene an ox *and* an as,
To saue *his* pepil, that was forelorne;
Herefore I say.

[9]
Mater, ora Filium
That he wyl affter this outlere
Nobis donet gaudium
Sine fyne fore *his* merce
Herefore I say

stza. 5, l 1. he] MS. hem

312

British Museum. MS Sloane 2593

XV cent.

f 25 v

Synge we now, alle a[nd] sum,
'Aue rex gentis Anglorum.'

[1]
A newe song I wil begynne
Of Kyng Edmund, that was so fre,
How he deyid withoute synne,
And bow[n]dyn his body was to a tre.

[2]
With arwys scharpe they gunne hym
prykke,
For non rewthe wold they lete;
As dropys of 1eyn they comyn thikke,
And euery arwe with other gan mete.

burden, l. 2 gentis] MS gentes

[3]
And his hed also thei of smette;
Among the breres thei it kest,
A wolf it kepte withoutyn lette,
A blynd man fond it at the last.

[4]
Prey we to that worthi kyng, f 26 r.
That sufferid ded this same day,
He saf vs, bothe eld *and* yying,
And scheld vs fro the fendes fray.

313

St. John's College, Cambridge. MS. S. 54.

XV cent.

f 3 r

A, a, a, a,
Salue Caterri[n]a!

[1]
Lystyn, lordyngys, qwatte I xall sey:
A grette marwell tell I may;
Of a louely medyn tell I may.
Salue Caterri[n]a!

[2]
Of God[es] grace sche was full wys,
She was qweryd in hyr dewys
Of all dott[or]ys that were so wys;
[Salue Caterina!]

[3]

W[u]nder marwelys be Godes grace—
 Ther is no woman *in* this plase—
 A woman is the [well] of grace;
 [Salue Caterina!]

[4]

Thorow the prayeur of Sent Cataryn
 God send us a hows [to] twyl *in*,

stza 1, l. 1 lordyngys] MS lordygnys

Below this carol is written one line, apparently the first of another carol begun but never finished Qwan crist was borne

That wordy lady *and* bryth *and* sch[e]ne;
 [Salue Caterina!]

[5]

Ther sche *in* fyre was done, f 3 v
 Sche brent nere here nere bone;
 Sche sted *in* hewen anone,
 [Salue Caterina!]

stza 5, l. 1 sche *in*] MS *in* sche

314

Bodleian Library. MS. Douce 302.

By John Audelay, XV cent.

f 26 r

Wenefrede, thou swete may,
 Thow pray for vs bothe nyght *and*
 day

[1]

As thou were marter *and* mayd clene,
 Therfor thou hadist turment *and* tene,
 A princes loue thou myghtis haue bene,
 A lady of ryal aray.

[2]

Bot to that syn thou woldist nocht sent;
 To kepe the chast was thyn entent,
 Therfore of Cradoc thou wast echent;
 Anon he thought the to betray.

[3]

He was ful cursid *and* cruel,
And dred not God ne no parel,
 Smot of thi hede; thou knelist ful stil;
 Hit ran into a dry valay.

[4]

Then Bewnou, thun unku, *with* gret
 pete
 Set thi hede to thi body;
 Thou leuedust after merwesly
 xv yere, hit is no nay

[5]

About thi nek hit was esene,
 The stroke of the swerd, that was sokene,
 A thred of perle as hit had bene,
 „ Hit besemyd the wel, sothle to say.

[6]

When Cradoc han don this cursid dede,
 The erth him swoloud *in* that stede,
 The foyre of hel hit was his mede,
 Therin to be fore euer *and* ay.

[7]

A wonderful wel ther sprong anon;
 Seche on se neuer Cristyn mon,
 Thi blod was sparpiled on euere stone;
 No water myght wasche hit away.

[8]

Ther ben mesis at that wel
 That bene swete *and* sote of smel,
And yet ther is a more maruel:
 Heuenele bryddis *in* numerus aray.

[9]

Be the streme of that fayre wel
 Ther went a myl-wele, as I you tel,
 Hit bere down a child *with* gret parel;
 The wele stod stil, meght not away.

[10]

Then the moder cryd out *and* yeld,
 'Alas, my child, he is spillid'
 Be the ladis he him huld f 26 v.
And logh *and* mad gomun *and* play.

[11]

A mon, a grote downe he fell
 Out of his hond into the well;
 He se hit then al other wel,
 Thai myght not tak the grote away.

[12]

Also *ther* was a gret *maruel*
Wyne was couchid *in* here chapel,
 The wel stod styl, ran *neuer* a del;
Hit trobild as *hit* had bene *with* clay

[13]

Ther was no fuyre, treule to *tele*,
 Myght hete the water of the wel,
 To seth ne dyght no vetel,
 Wile that *wyne* *in* that chapil lay.

[14]

Then thai west wel afyne
 Of Wynfryd *hit* was a syne,
Anon thai hurled out the *wyne*
 Into the stret on dele way

[15]

Anon a merikel fel *in* that plas:
 A mon of that *wyne* enpoysund was,
 That was sauyd throgth Godis grace
And Wynfryd, that hole may.

[16]

Anon this wel began to clere,
 The streme ran forth as *hit* dede ere,
 The plumys thai mad a hedus here
 When thai began to play

[17]

Fore ye chuld make no marchandyse
 In Hole Cherche *in* no wyse,
 God himselue he ded dispysse
And drof hom forth *in* here aray

[18]

Fore *hit* is a house of prayore,
 Hold hile to Godis honour,
 To worchip therin *our* Saueour
With Mas, Matens, nyght *and* day.

[19]

Ther hath ben botynd mone a mon,
 Blynd *and* crokid, that myght not gon,
 Seke *and* sorouful mone hone,
Ther at that wel there hur heed lay.

[20]

Then Wynfred *anon* chorun che was,
 Echosun fore chefe to be abbas,
 Fol of vertu *and* of grace,
And seruyd God both nyght *and* day.

[21]

Then Bewnow toke *his* leue *anon*
And betoke here this tokyn.
 'Ouer the se schal swem a stone
 To bryng vestementus, that ys noon
 nay

[22]

'Yif that stone abyde *with* the,
Then wit wel that I schal dye;
 God of my soule he haue mercy!
 Haue mynde on me the[n], I the pray.'

[23]

Then Wenfred heo knelid adowne
And toke mekele *his* benesoune;
 This monke he toke his way *anon*
 Ouer the se to his abbay.

[24]

When that Bewnew he was dede,
 The ston styl *with* here *hit* leuyd;
Then *anon* heo prayud
 He schul pas on his chornay

[25]

Son after Wenefred heo dyid *then*,
 At Schrosbere men dedon here schryne,
 Mone a merakil *ther* hath be syne
 Of dyuers pepul *in* fer cuntre

[26]

Mone a merakil heo hath edo.
 Prisonars fetters ibroke a-two,
 Blynd *and* crokid helid mone mo,
 That were *in* rewful aray.

[27]

Glad mai be al Schrosbere
 To do reuerens to that lady,
 Thai seche here grace *and* here mercy
 On pilgrymage *ther* euere Fryday.

[28]

Wynfrede, we the beseche
 Now ryght *with* herfilly speche
 That thou wilt be *our* souls leche,
 The to serue, both plese *and* pay

[29]

We prayn the, al that beth present,
 Saue thyn abbay *and* thi couent,
 That thai be neuer chamyd ne chent
 With wykkid mon ne fyndis pray.

The burden is written in red, by hand 'B' of MS
 stza 1, 1 1 As] MS A as.

[30]

I pray youe al, *pur* charyte,
 Redis this carol reuerently,
 Forc I hit mad *with* wepyng ye,
 Mi name hit is the blynd Awdlay.

stza 15, 1 3 plumys] MS pulmys

315

British Museum. MS Sloane 2593

XV cent

f 2 v

Alle maydenis, for Godes grace,
 Worchepe ye Seynt Nicolas.

[1]

Seynt Nicholas was of gret poste,
 For he worchepid maydenis thre f 3 r
 That wer sent in fer cuntre,
 Common women for to be.

[2]

Here fader was man in powre aray,
 Onto his dowteres he gan say,
 'Dowteres, ye must away;
 No lenger kepe you I may

[3]

'Dowteres, myn blyssing I you yeue,
 For catel wil not *with* me thryue;
 Ye must *with* yowre body leue,
 Your wordes ye must dryue'

stzas 5-7, 1 4. A few letters are illegible in MS.

[4]

The eldest dowter swor be bred of qwete
 'I haue leuere beggyn myn mete
 And getyn me good qwer I may gete
 Thann ledyn myn lyf in lecheri.'

[5]

The medl dowter seyde, so mote che the,
 'I hadde leuere hangyd and drawyd be
 With wylde hors to oi thie
 Thann ledin my[n] lyf in lecher[1]'

[6]

The yongere lechery gan to spyse
 And preyid Saynt Nicholas, as che was
 wise,
 Saynt Nicholas, as he was wyse,
 'Help vs fro lech[e]r[1].'

[7]

Saynt Nicholas, at the townys ende,
 Conseyld tho maydenis hom to wynde.
 And throw Godes grace he xulde hem
 synde
 Husbondes thre good and hund[c.]

316

British Museum. MS Sloane 2593

XV cent.

f 34 r.

Mak ye merie as ye may,
 And syng *with* me, I you pray.

[1]

In Patras, ther born he was,
 The holy buschop Seynt Nycholas,
 He wist mekyl of Godes gras
 Throw vertu of the Trinite

[2]

He reysyd thre klerkes fro deth to lyfue
 That wern in salt put ful swythe
 Betwyx a bochere and his wyfue
 And was hid in priuete.

[3]

Ile maryid thre maydenys of myld mod;
 He yaf hem gold to here lod;
 Ile turnyd hem fro ille to good
 Throw vertu of the Tynyte.

[4]

Another he dede sekerly
He sauȳd a thef that was ful sly,
That stal a swyn out of his sty;
 Ilis lyȳ thann sauȳd he

[5]

God graw[n]t vs *grace* here, eld *and*
 yyng,
Hym to serue at his plesyng,
To heuene blysse he vs bryng
 Throw *vertu* of the Trinite

317

British Museum MS Sloane 2593

XV cent

f. 21 v

Worchyp we, bothe more *and* lesce,
 Crystes body *in* furme of bred.

[1]

It is bred fro heuene cam,
Fleych *and* blod of Mary it nam,
For the synnys of Adam
 He sched h[is] blod, that was so red

[2]

'He that onworthi this bled ete,
The peyne of helle he xal gete,
My swete body away to lete,
 And makyn his sowle to ben ded'

[3]

He that this bred hight in mynde,
He xal leuyn withoutyn ende;
This is bred to yeuyn a frende,
 Withoutyn qwyȳt, *withi*ne red

[4]

On Schyre Thursday, al at the Messe,
To hese desipele he seyde thusse
'Etyght this bred; myn body it isse,
 Lok therof ye han non dred'

[5]

Aftynward at here *soper*
He tok the wyn, that was so clei, f. 22 r
And blyssid it *with* mylde chei
 'This is myn blod, that is so red'

[6]

The Juwys wern bothe wylde *and* wode;
He puttyn Jhesu vpon the rode,
For to spyllyn his herte blode;
 For manys synne he sufferid ded

[7]

Jhesu, lynd vs this bred to ete,
And alle our synnys for to foryete,
And in heuene a place to gete
 Throw the *vertu* of this bred

318

Cambridge University Library. MS. Ee. 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f. 49 v

Ete ye this brede, ete ye this brede,
And ete it so ye be not dede.

[1]

This brede geueth eternall lyfe,
Bothe vnto man, to chielde, *and* wyfe;
It yeldeth grace *and* bateth stryfe,
 Ete ye it so ye be not ded.

[2]

It semeth white, yet it is rede, f. 50 r
And it is quik and semeth dede,
For it is God in fourme of brede,
 Ete ye it so ye be not ded.

[3]

This blessed brede is aungelles foode,
Mannes also, perfecte and goode;
Therefore ete ye it *with* myelde moode;
 Ete ye it so ye be not dede

[4]

This brede fro heven did descende,
Vs fro alle ille for to defende,
And to geve vs lyfe *withoute* ende;
 Ete ye it so ye [be not dede]

[5]

In virgyne Mary this brede was bake
 Whenne Criste of her manhoode, did take,
 Fre of alle synne mankyende to make,
 Ete ye it so ye be [not dede]

stza 4, 1 4 MS ete ye it so ye &c

[6]

Ete ye this brede *with*outen synne;
 Eternall blis thanne shall ye wyne,
 God graunte vs grace to dwell thein!
 Ete ye it so ye be not dede

stza 5, 1 4 MS ete ye it so ye be &c

319

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

f 223 r

XVI cent

Mirabile misterium

In forme of bred ys Godes Son

[1]

Man, that in erth abydys here,
 Thou mvst beleve *with*outen dure
 In the sacrament of the auter
 That God made hymself at hys soper

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by *Mirabile*
 At end *Explicit*

[2]

Though yt seme whit, yt ys rede,
 Yt ys flesshe, yt semeyth bred,
 Yt ys God in his *man*hed,
 As he hong vpon a tre.

[3]

Thys bred ys brokyn for you *and* me
 Which *priestes* consecrate, as ye may se,
 Which, flesshely *man* in Deite,
 Dyed for vs vpon a tre

320

British Museum MS Sloane 2593

f 13 v

XV cent.

Of alle the spyces that I knowe,
 Blyssid be the qwete flour

[1]

Qwete is bothe semely *and* sote,
 Of alle spyces that is bote,
 The vertu spryngit out of the rote,
 So blyssid be the qw[e]te flour

[2]

The secunde vers I sey befor
 Qwete is kyng of euery corn,
 Jhesu hymself for vs was born,
 So blyssid [be the qwete flour]

[3]

The thredde vers, *with* Godes grace
 Qw[e]te is good in euery place,
 In qwete is port[r]eyid Godes face,
 So [blyssid be the qwete flour]

stza 2, 1 2 1s] MS 1s is
 stzas 3, 4, 1 4 MS so &c

[4]

The foite vers, *with*oute stryf
 Of qwete is mad the bred of lyf,
 Vs to receyuy[n] in clene lyf,
 So [blyssid be the qwete flour.]

[5]

The fyfte vers, *with*oute skorn
 Qwete is a spyce, a wol good on;
 Kyng that is of euery corn,
 So [blyssid be the qwete flour]

[6]

The sexte vers I xal you seye:
 Jhesu Cryst, that sit on heye,
 He let vs neuer for hunger deye,
 So blyssid be the qwete flour

stza 3, 1 3 porteyid] MS porteyidid
 stza 4, 1 2 the] MS the the.

321

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354

XVI cent

f 228 v

A blessid byrd, as I you say,
That dyed *and* rose on Good Fryday

[1]

On Cristes day, I vnderstond,
An ere of whet of a mayd spronge,
Thirti wynter in erth to stond,
To make vs bred all to his pay

[2]

This corn was repyn *and* layd to grownd,
Full sore beten *and* faste bownd
Vnto a piler with cordes rownd;
At his fyngers endes the blod ran owt
that day

MS marks burden fote
stza 1, 1 3 Thirti] MS xxx^u

[3]

This corn was repyn with gret envye
Vpon the mownt of Caluary,
Tokyn he shewed on Shere Thursday
Mawndy he gaff to his dissiples ther

[4]

Jhesu vpon his body the crosse bare;
Water *and* blode cam from hym ther;
This corn was skorged all in i[e]re
Tyll it wexed blode rede

[5]

A crown of thorn set on his hede,
And he was done on the rode
And betyn till his body was bloody rede,
Thus they bett Jhesu, owr det to pay

At end Explicit

322

A

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354.

XVI cent.

f 165 v

Lully, lulley, lully, lulley,
The fawcon hath born my mak away

[1]

He bare hym vp, he bare hym down;
He bare hym into an orchard brown.

[2]

In that orchard ther was an hall,
That was hangid with purpill *and* pall.

[3]

And in that hall ther was a bede;
Hit was hangid with gold so rede.

[4]

And yn that bed ther lythe a knyght,
His wowndes bledyng day *and* nyght.

[5]

By that bedes side ther kneleth a may,
And she wepeth both nyght *and* day.

[6]

And by that beddes side ther stondith
a ston,
'Corpus Christi' wretyn theron.

The burden is written again in full after stza. 1. The other repetitions of the burden are indicated as follows: stzas 2-5 lully lulley stza. 6 lully lulley &c
At end Explicit

B

Traditional version, North Staffordshire
[No burden]

XIX *cent*

[1]

Over yonder's a park, which is newly
begun,
All bells in Paradise I heard them
a-ring,
Which is silver on the outside, and gold
within,
And I lovesweet Jesus above all things

[2]

And in that park there stands a hall,
Which is covered all over with purple
and pall

[3]

And in that hall there stands a bed,
Which is hung all round with silk cur-
tains so red

[4]

And in that bed there lies a knight,
Whose wounds they do bleed by day and
by night

[5]

At that bed side there lies a stone,
Which is our blessed Virgin Mary then
kneeling on

[6]

At that bed's foot there lies a hound,
Which is licking the blood as it daily
runs down

[7]

At that bed's head there grows a thorn,
Which was never so blossomed since
Christ was born

C

Traditional version, Derbyshire
[No burden]

XIX *cent*

[1]

Down in yon forest there stands a hall,
The bells of Paradise I heard them ring,
It's covered all over with purple and pall,
And I love my Lord Jesus above any-
thing

[2]

In that hall there stands a bed,
It's covered all over with scarlet so red

[3]

At the bed-side there lies a stone,
Which the sweet Virgin Mary knelt upon

[4]

Under that bed there runs a flood,
The one half runs water, the other runs
blood

[5]

At the bed's foot there grows a thorn,
Which ever blows blossom since he was
born

[6]

Over that bed the moon shines bright,
Denoting our Saviour was born this night

D

Traditional version, Scotland.
[No burden]

XIX *cent.*

The heron flew east, the heron flew west,
The heron flew to the fair forest,
She flew o'er streams and meadows green,
And a' to see what could be seen
And when she saw the faithful pair,
Her breast grew sick, her head grew sair;
For there she saw a lovely bower,
Was a' clad o'er w' lilly-flower,
And in the bower there was a bed

With silken sheets, and weel down spread
And in the bed there lay a knight,
Whose wounds did bleed both day and
night;
And by the bed there stood a stane,
And there was set a leal maiden,
With silver needle and silken thread,
Stemming the wounds when they did
bleed.

323

Lord Harlech, Brogyntyn, Oswestry MS Porkington 10.

XV cent.

f. 198 r

Mery hyt ys in May mornynge,
Mery wayys for to gone

[1]

And by a chapell as Y came,
Mett Y wyhte Jhesu to chyrcheward
gone,
Petun and Pawle, Thomas *and* Jhon,
And hys desyplys euerychone

[2]

Sente Thomas the bellys gane f. 198 v
ryng,
And Sent Collas the Mas gane syng,

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by Mery hyt ys

Sente Jhon toke that swete offeryng,
And by a chapell as Y came.

[3]

Owre Lorde offeryd whate he wolde,
A challes alle off ryche rede golde,
Owre Lady the crowne off hyr mowldre;
The son owte off hyr bosom schone.

[4]

Sent Jorge, that ys Owre Lady knyghte,
He tende the tapyrys fayre *and* bryte,
To myn yghe a semley syghte,
And by a chapell as Y came

324

Bodleian Library MS Douce 302.

By John Audelay, XV cent.

f. 27 v

A, mon, yif thou wold sauyd be,
Foresake thi syn or hit do the

[1]

And loue thi God ouer al thyng,
Thi neghbore as thiselfe, I say;
Let be *your* hoth, *your* false sweryng;
In clannes kepe *your* haleday.
Leue ye me

[2]

Thi fader, thi moder thou worchip ay,
Scle no mon fore wordle thyng,
Bacbyte no man nyght ne day,
Fore this is Godis est *and* his bidyng
Leue ye me

[3]

False witnes loke thou non bere,
Dissayte ne theft loke thou do non;

MS. heading: *hic incipiunt decem precepta in modum cantalene*

Lechore thou most foreswere,
Here beth comawndmentis euerechon
Leue ye me

[4]

Thagh thou be kyng *and* were the croune,
Mon, haue mynd of thyn endyng;
The wele of Fortene wil tult the doune
When thou art cald to thi rekenyng.
Leue thoue me.

[5]

Thou schalt acownt ful sekyrly
Fore al the goodis that God the send,
Howe thou hast geton hom, in wat degre,
How thou hast holdyn, hou thou hast
spend
Leue ye me.

325

Bodleian Library. MS. Douce 302.

By John Audelay, XV cent.

f. 27 v

In wele be ware ore thou be woo:
Thenke wens thou come, wheder to goo.

[1]

Foresake thi pride *and* thyn enuy,
Thou schalt fynd hit fore the best,

Couetyse, wrath, *and* lechory,
Yif thou wilt set thi soule in rest.
I say the so.

[2]

Glotery, slouth, al beth acurst;
 Thai ben the brondis *in* hel brenyng,
 Beware betyme, or thou be lost
 Thai byng *mon* soule to euel endyng.
 I sai the so

[3]

Ayayns *pride* take buxumnes,
 Ayayns wrath take charite;
 Ayayns couetys take largenes,
 Ayayns enuy humelete.
 I sai the so

MS heading *de septem peccatis mortalibus*

[4]

Ayayns glotore take abstenens,
 Ayayns lechore take chastite,
 Ayayns slouth take besenes,
 Here is a gracious remede f 28 r
 I say the so

[5]

Fore his loue that youe dere boght,
 Lerne this lesson, I youe *pray*,
 Haue this *in* mynd, foreyete hit noght,
 Fore to heuen *ther* is non other way
 I say the so

burden, l 1 In] MS I In.

326

Bodleian Library. MS Douce 302.

By John Audelay, XV cent

f 28 r

Wele is him, *and* wele schal be,
 That doth the vii werkis of *merce*

[1]

Fede the hungere, the thirste yif drenke,
 Clothe the nakid, as Y youe say,
 Vesid the pore *in prisun* lyng,
 Bere the ded, now I the *pray*.
 I counsel the

[2]

Herber the pore that goth be the way,
 Teche the vnwyse of thi conyng,
 Do these dedis nyght *and* day,
 Thi soule to heuen hit wil the bryng
 I counsel the

[3]

And euer haue pete on the pore,
And pert with him that God the send,

MS heading. *de septem opera misericor[di]e.*

MS is so rubbed and faded in spots as to be illegible.

Thou hast non other tresoure
 Ayayns the day of iugement
 I cow[n]s[e]l the

[4]

The pore schul be mad domusmen
 Apon the ryche at domysday,
 Loo, se houe thai *con* onswaie then,
 Fore al here reuerens, here ryal aray.
 I counsel the

[5]

'In hongyr, *in* thurst, *in* myschif well ay,
 After here *almus* ay waytyng,
 Thay wold noght vs vesete nyght ne
 day;'

Thus wil thai playn *ham* to Heuen
 Kyng.

I [co]w[n]se]l the

burden, l 1 Wele] MS W wele.

327

Bodleian Library MS. Douce 302

By John Audelay, XV cent.

f 28 r

God hath yeuen, of myghtis most,
 The vii yiftis of the Hole Gost

[1]

Mynd, resun, vertu, *and* grace,
 Humelete, chast, *and* charete,
 These vii yiftis God yeuen has
 Be the vertu of the Hole Gost to mon
 onle;
 Ellis were we lost

[2]

Mynd makis a *mon* himselue to know,
And resun him reulis *in* his werkis all,
And vertu makis his goodnes yknow,
And grace is grounde of hem all;
 Ellis were we lost

[3]

Humelete *pride* he dothe downe falle,
 Chast kepis the clene *in* thi leuyng,
 Then charete is chef of *hem* all;
 Mon soule to blis he dothe *hom* breng;
 Ellis were we lost.

[4]

Haue faythe, hope, *and* charete,
 These be the grownd of thi beleue;
 Ellis sauyd thou myght not be,
 Thus Poule *in* his pistil he doth *preue*;
 Ellis weic we lost

MS heading de septem dona *spiritus sancti*

[5]

Thi faythe is thi beleue of Hole Cherche;
 Onle *in* hope God hathe hordent the,
 Good workis that thou schuld werche
And be rewardid *in* heuen on hye,
 Hellis were we lost

[6]

Then charete, chef callid is he,
 He counselis vche mon that is leuyng
 To do as thou woldist me[n] did be the,
And kepe Godis est *and* his biding;
 Ellis were we lost.

328

Bodleian Library MS Douce 302

By John Audelay, XV cent

f 28 r

Thy v wittis loke that thou wele
 spende,
And thonke that Lord that *ham* the
 sende

[1]

The furst hzt is thi heryng
 Loke thou turne away thyne ere
 Fro ydil wordis, vntrew talkyng,
 The laus of God loke that thou lere,
 Lest thou be chent.

[2]

The second hzt is thi seyng
 Thou hast fre choys *and* fre wil
 To behold al wordle thyng,
 The good to chese, to leue the ille,
 Lest thou be chent.

MS. heading de Quinque sensus.

stza 2, l 1 second] MS 11.

stza. 4, l 4 sorfet] MS forfet.

[3]

The third hzt is thi towchyng
 Worche no worke vnlawfully,
 Goueren thi fete *in* thi walkyng
 Toward heuen, *and* fle foly,
 Lest thou be chent.

[4]

The forth hzt is thi smellyng,
 To sauer thi sustinans sote of smell,
 Let resun the rewle *in* thyne etyng,
 Beware, fore sorfet hzt may the spill,
 Lest thou be chent

[5]

The fifth hzt is thi tung tastyng
 Thi mete, thi drynke, holsum *and*
 clene,
 Yif hzt be luste to thi lykyng,
 Then mesuere hzt is a mary mene,
 [Lest thou be chent.]

stza 3, l 1 third] MS. 11.

stza. 5, l 1 fifth] MS v

329

British Museum. MS Sloane 2593.

XV cent.

f 4 v

Gay, gay, gay, gay,
 Think on drydful domisday.

[1]

Euery day thou myght lere
 To helpe thiself qwil thou art here,
 Quan thou art ded *and* leyd on bere,
 Cryst help thi sowle, for thou ne may

[2]

Thynk, man, on thi wyttes fyue; f. 5 r.
 Do sum good qwyl thou art on lyve;
 Go to cherche *and* do the schryve,
And bryng thi sowle in good aray

[3]

Thynk, man, on thi synnys seuene;
 Think how merie it is in heuene,
 Prey to God *with* mylde stefne
 He be *thin* help on domysday.

[4]

Loke that thou non thing stere
 Ne non fals wytnesse beie,

Thynk how Cryst was stunge *with* spere
 Quan he deyid on Good Fryday.

[5]

Lok that thou ne sle non man
 Ne do non foly *with* non womman,
 Thynk, the blod fro Jhesu ran
 Quan he deyid, *withoutyn* nay

330

British Museum MS. Addit. 5665.

XVI cent

f 30 v

Spes mea in Deo est,
 Spes mea in Deo est

[1]

When lordechype ys loste *and* f 31 r
 lusti lekyng withall,
 When felichepe fayleth, *and* frendechepe
 dothe falle,
 Then can Y no comfort but cry *and* call,
 'Spes mea in Deo [est']

[2]

When maysteryne mayntenaunce, f 30 v
 manhode ne myghte,

MS heading ad placitum

When reson ne rechesse may rewell me
 aryght,
 Then Y, *with* sorwe *and* care *within* my
 herte plyght
 'Spes mea [in Deo est.]'

[3]

When age dothe growe, then grucche Y
and grone,
 When febelnesse fallith, then fawte Y
 sone,
 Then can Y non other but cry *and* call
 anone,
 'Spes mea [in Deo est']

stza 1,1 4 MS Spes mea in deo vt supra

331

a

Trinity College, Cambridge. MS O. 9. 38.

XV cent

f 69 v

Y concell yow, both more and lasse,
 Beware of swerynge by the Masse.

[1]

The Masse ys of suwch dygnyte
 Nothyng to hyt comprysyd may be,
 Ther ys present yn the Trynyste
 One God yn persons three

[2]

The ierachy of angellys kynde,
 All orders of seyntyys ys had yn mynde,
 Whych to forsake thou art full blynde;
 Leue thyswerynge, spyll not thy wynde.

[3]

Yn the Masse ys more mystery
 Then droppys yn the see or sterrys yn
 the sckye,
 Infenyte goodnys, Y tell the whye:
 For God *and* man ys offeryd vpp truly.

[4]

Why sweryste thou by the Masse, man
 soo woode,
 Where ys thy helpe, thy lyuys foode,
 Crystys body, hys precyowsse blode,
 All thy saluacyon, nothyng but goode?

[5]
 Man, swere no more, do aftyr my rede,
 By the Masse, worde ne dede,
 For, yf thou do, hell ys thy mede
 Without endlis payne *and* euerlastyng
 drede

[6]
 Ordeynde to hym that swerth by the
 Masse

Therys fy[r]-lyght, woo, and euer 'alasse'
 Man, leue thy swerynge or thou passe,
 And call on *mercy* for thy trespasse

[7]
 Then *mercy* cry, and call for grace,
 Here on erth whyle thou haste space,
 For, when erth hath coueryde thy face,
 Then all that ys turnyd as hyt wasse.

b *Balliol College, Oxford*. MS 354, f 230 r and v. XVI cent (stzas 1-4, one stanza not in a, 7).

stza 1, l 1 suwch] so high 1 2 Nothyng] That no thyng comprysyd]
 comprehendid 1 3 Ther] For ther
 stza 2, l 2 orders of] other ys] omits 1 3 Whych] The which full] to
 l 4 spyll] *and* spill
 stza 4, l 1. thou] omits man] thou man 1 2 helpe] heith
After stza 4, b has the following stanza

Also thus seyth the prophete Zakarye,
 Witnesse beryng, as thou mayst see,
 And thus he seyth in his prophesye
 That all swerers dampned shall be

stza 7, l 2 on] in 1 3 For] That erth] the erth 1 4 thy sowle in hevyn
 may haue a place

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 I consaill you both more
and lesse stza 2 I consaill you &c stza 3 I consaill you both more *and* lesse
 stzas 4, 7, and unique stza I consaill At end Explicit

332

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet e. 1.
 f. 27¹ v

XV cent.

Lefte owr hertes with good entent,
 And thanke [G]od, that al hath sent.

[1]
 Man *and* wo[mm]an in euery place,
 God hath yow se[n]t vertu *and* grace,
 Therfor spend wel owr space,
 And thanke God, that al hath sent.

[2]
 If thou be a man herdy *and* strong,
 With thi strenke do thou no wrong,
 But lat reson rewl the among,
 And thank God, [that al hath sent.]

[3]
 If thou haue wysdom at thi wyll,
 Thorow thi wysdom do thou no yll,
 Kep in thi hert both lovd *and* styll,
 And thank God, [that al hath sent]

[4]
 If thou be syk or elles pore,
 God hymshelf may the socur,
 With stedfast hert *and* thou hym honovr
 And thank God, [that al hath sent]

[5]
 What wo or tene the betyd,
 God can help on euery syd;
 Buxsumlych thou must abyde
 And thank God, [that al hath sent.]

burden, l 2, stza 1, l 1 The text is damaged by a small hole in the leaf
 stzas 2-5, l. 4. MS And thank god &c.

333

Bodleian Library. MS Ashmole 189.

XV cent.

f 104 r

Quid vltra debuit facere

That Lorde that dyed for the *and* me?

[1]

Cryste made mane yn this maner of
wyse

Lyke vnto the Trynite he deyde the
dewyse,

By resone, vertue, and orygynall justice,
And set the in the plesant place of
paradyse.

[2]

He made the also to be bothe lorde and
kyng

Off erthe *and* off all creatures that beth
theryne levyng,

Sonne, moone, *and* sterrys contynuall
shynyng,

For thy sake fynallye he made all maner
thyng.

[3]

Wyth thes grete gyftes thou cowldest
not be content,

Butt by grete *presumpcions* assentyst
to the serpent

Bycause thou woldyst be lyke God
omnipotent,

Thane all thy grete vertues, anone away
they wente

[4]

Cryst thane beholdyng thy grete *and*
grewous fall,

Perseywyng the spoyled off thy gyftes
naturall,

Was anone meked *with* pyte paternall
The to make fre, that by synne was
thrall.

[5]

The to iedeme he founde sone remedye,
Vsyng humylite to thi *pride* clene
contrarye,

For, whereas by pryde thou were fall
dedelye,

By hys humilite restored the full hylte

[6]

For, whereas by *pride* thou were made
dede,

With grete humylite he toke one hyme
manhede,

Off a uirgyn was ibore, the to restore
indede,

Off Jesseys lyne and off hys kynrede.

[7]

By frute of a tree thou felle to f 104 v
dampnacynone,

Thane beholde *and* see thy Makers
provysione

Howe by a tree restoreed thy saluacyone
One the crosse whene he suffred hys
passyone

[8]

Thane were thou delyuerde fro the
captuyte,

And by feythe and baptyme restored the
agayne,

Remyttinge the blame of orygynall ini-
quite,

And the restored agayne to thy fre
lyberte

[9]

Sethe Cryste hathe the honoured thus
by his natyuyte,

Conueyng yne one persone thy nature
with the Deyte,

By merytes of hys passyone browght the
to felicitye,

To this forseyde questyone an awnsuere
nowe geve we.

The repetitioun of the burden is indicated as follows stzas. 1-8. quid vltra stza 9
quid vltra. At end Explicit

334

Bodleian Library. MS. Eng poet. e 1.

XV cent.

f. 24 v

Why, why, what is this whi
But *virtus verbi Domini*?

[1]

Whan nothyng was but God alone,
The Fader, the Holy Gost, *with* the Son,
On was iii, *and* iii was On
What is this why?
To frayn why I hold but folý,
It is *non* other sertenly
But *virtus verbi D[omi]ni*

[2]

'Fiat' was a word ful bold,
That mad al thing as he wold,
Hevey[n] *and* erth *and* men of mold.
What is why?
To frayn why I hold but folý,
[It is *non* other sertenly
But *virtus verbi Domini*.]

[3]

The world gan wax *and* multiply; f 25 r.
The planetes mad *hem* full besy
To rowll ychy thyng by *and* by
What is why?
To frayne why I hold it but folý,
[It is *non* other sertenly
But *virtus verbi Domini*]

stzas. 2, 3, 4, 11 6, 7 MS &c

[4]

The planetes wark nothyng in veyn,
But, as thei be ordent, so must thei
reygne,
For the word of God wyl not ageyne.
What is why?
To frayne why I hold it but folý,
[It is *non* other sertenly
But *virtus verbi Domini*]

[5]

Whan Bede had *prechyd* to the stonys
dry,
The myght of God mad *hem* to cry,
'Amen!' Ceitys, this is no ly
What is why?
To frayn why [I hold it but folý,
It is *non* other sertenly
But *virtus verbi Domini*]

[6]

Herytykes wonder of this thyng most
How God is put *in* the holy Host,
Her *and* at Rome *and* in euery cost
What is why?
To frayn why [I hold it but folý;
It is *non* other sertenly
But *virtus verbi Domini*]

stzas. 5, 6, 11. 5, 6, 7. MS To frayn why &c

335

Lord Harlech, Brogyntyn, Oswestry. MS Porkington 10.

XV cent

f. 200 r.

Why, why, what ys this why?
Hit ys *non* nodyre sekurely
But *werttus wereby Domini*.

[1]

Whan nothing whas but God alone,
The Fadyre, the Holly Gost, *and* the
Sone,
Whon ys iii, *and* iii ys Whon.

[2]

Heyuyn *and* erthe furst he wrought,
And odyre creaturs he made of noght,
All thing dyspossid lyk as he thowght.

[3]

Man, for an appull of lyttyll prys,
He lost the blys of paradys,
For he dessyryd for to be wys.

[4]

Tell me this resson yeue that thou can.
How Goddys Son becam a man
Be lynntag of Dawyt and Nasson.

[5]

Marwell I have that pure wyr gyn f 200 v
Myght *consayfe* Sappyens dewyne;
I trow hit passyt all wyttus thin.

[6]

The grettist Lord of sofferantte
Ys God hymselfe in his humanyte,
For mankynd he dyd wppon a tre

[7]

Man, thou art but corryptybull,
Tell me how hit may be possibull
That he schall lyue euer, as sayth the
Bybull

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by What
stza 9, 1 2 efydens] MS efydens

[8]

Man, thou art but infaynyt
To comprehend nor to indyte
All this matters se in sennyt.

[9]

God hymselfe byddyt vs by his senttens
To lovfe owre reson and owre efydens
And to his wordys yef wholl credens.

336

British Museum MS Sloane 2593

XV cent.

f. 2 r

Now bething the, gentilman,
How Adam dalf *and* Eue sp[an]

[1]

In the vale of Abraham
Cryst hymself he made Adam, f 2 v
And of his rybbe a fayr womman,
And thus this semly word began.

[2]

'Cum, Adam, *and* thou xalt se
The blysse of paradis, that is so fre,
Therin stant an appil tre,
Lef *and* frewt growit theron

[3]

'Adam, if thou this appil ete,
Alle these joyis thou xalt foryete
And the peynis of helle gete'
Thus God hymself warnid Adam.

[4]

Quan God was fro Adam gon,
Sone after cam the fend anon,
A fals tretour he was on,
He tok the tre *and* krep theron

[5]

'Quat eylyt the, Adam? Art thou wod?
Thi Lord haght tawt the lytl good
He wolde not thou vnderstod
Of the wyttes that he can

[6]

'Tak the appil of the tre
And ete therof, I bidde the,
And alle hese joyis thou xalt se,
Fro the he xal hedyn non'

[7]

Quan Adam hadde that appil ete,
Alle hese joyis wern foryete,
Non word more myght he speke,
He stod as nakyd as a ston.

[8]

Thann cam an aungil with a swerd
And drof Adam into disert;
Ther was Adam sore aferd,
For labour coude he werkyn non

337

a

Bodleian Library. MS. Arch Selden B 26.

XV cent.

f 5 1

I pray yow all wyth o thowght,
Amende me, and peyre me nowght.

[1]

Holy Wryt seyght, wech nothyng ys
sother,
That no man shuld apeyre other;
Syth than in God Y am thy b[rothe]r,
Amende me, and peyre me noughtgh.

[2]

This lore in the gospel eche man may se.
 Yy[f th]y brothir trespace to the,
 Betwene us two vpnome thow me,
 Amen[d me, and peyre me nought]

[3]

Yyf thou se Y do gretly amys,
 And no man wot but thou of this,
 Make hit nought yit so euyl as yt is,
 Amend [me, and peyre me nought.]

[4]

Apeyr thou no man wyth thi word,
 Nether in earnest nether in bord,

stza 3, 1 4 MS Amend &c
Stza 4 is written to the right of stza 5

Let thi tong, that is thi sword,
 Amend euer *and* peyr nought

[5]

God wyl thou schalt no man defame,
 Ne apeyre no mannys name,
 Ryght euen as thou woldist haue the
 same,
 A[mend me, and peyre me nought]

[6]

Now to amend God yue vs grace
 Off repentaunce *and* vry space
 In hevyn to se his glorious face,
 Wher we schull amend *and* peyr
 nought

stza 5, 1 4 MS A &c
 Signature qd J D

b *Bodleian Library* MS Eng poet e 1, f. 24 r and v XV cent

c *British Museum* MS Addit. 5665, ff 31 v., 32 r. XVI cent (burden and stzas 1-3).

MS heading c ad placitum.

burden c repeats, omitting second me 1 1 I] c Y y o] b hert *and*
 stza 1, 1 1 1 which] b omits ys] b omits 1 3 Syth than] b Sythen in God Y am]
 b I am (MS illegible) God 1 4 me noughtgh] b m
 stza 2, 1 1. lore] b omits 1 2 thy] c I thi to] c omits 1 3 Betwene]
 c By twyخته us] b yow vpnome thow me] b corectyd he be 1 4. b amend me &c
 stza 3, 1 3 yit] b omits euyl] b yl 1. 4 b amend me &c
 stza 4, 1 1 thou] b omits 1 2 nether(2)] b ne 1 4 b amend me &c.
 stza 5, 1 1 God wyl] b Lok that schalt] b omits 1 2 name] b fame 1 3.
 euen] b omits 1 4. b amend me &c
 stza 6, 1 3 In] b and in glorious] b omits 1 4. we schull] b al thyng.

338

a

Bodleian Library. MS. Arch Selden B 26.

XV cent.

f 29 v

Abyde, Y hope hit be the beste,
 Abyde, Y hope hit be the beste;
 Abyde, Y hope hit be the best,
 Sith hasty man lakked neuer woo.

[1]

A[byde, Y hope hit be the beste,
 Sith hasty man lakked neuer woo.]

[2]

Late euery man that wole haue reste
 Euer ben avised what he wole doo.

[3]

Preue or ye take, thenke or ye feste;
 In wele be ware or ye be woo

[4]

Vnder the busch ye shul tempeste
 Abyde tyl hit be ouer goo

[5]

For longe tyme your hert shal breste;
 Abyde, Y consayl yow do soo

Stza. 1 is erased except for the initial, but the music is left.

b. *Trinity College, Cambridge*. MS. O. 3 58, recto. XV cent (burden and stzas. 1-3).

burden, l r beste] beste-e-e l 2 beste] beste-e l 4 Sith] Syn lakked]
 wantyth woo] woo-o-o
 stza 1, l 2 Sith] Syn lakked] wantyth woo] woo-o-o
 stza 2, l r haue] han l 2 wole] schal
 stza 3, ll 1, 2 or ye] er thou
 The repetition of the burden is indicated after stzas 2, 3 by Abyde I hope &c

339

British Museum. MS. Sloane 2593.

XV cent.

f 7 r

Man, bewar, bewar, bewar,
 And kepe the that thou haue no car

[1]

Thi tunge is mad of fleych and blod,
 Euele to spekyn it is not good,
 But Cryst, that deyd vpon the rood,
 So yyf vs grace our tungen to spare

[2]

Thi lyppis arn withoute bon,
 Spek non euyl of thi fon;
 Man, I rede be Seynt Jon,
 Of euyl speche that thou be war

[3]

Quan thou seyst thi euyl seying,
 Be it of eld, be it of yyng,
 Among many men thi speche may
 spr[n]g
 And make thin herte of blysse ful bare

[4]

Therefore I telle the, be Seynt Austyn,
 Ther xal non man of euele speche wyn
 But sorwe and schame and meche syn
 And to his herte meche care.

[5]

Prey we to God and Seynt Margerete
 That we mowun our tungen kepe,
 Qwether we wake or slepe,
 And our body fro euele fare.

340

Bodleian Library MS. Eng poet. e 1.

XV cent

f 28 v

A man that con his tong sterc,
 He ther not rek wer that he go.

[1]

Ittes knowyn in euery schyre
 Wekyd tongges haue no per,
 I wold thei wer brent in the fer
 That warke men soo mykyl wo.

[2]

Ittes knowyn in euery lond
 Wekyd tongges don gret wrong,
 Thei make me to lynn long
 And also in myche car

[3]

Yyf a man go in clotes gay,
 Or elles in gud aray,
 Wekyd tongges yet wyl say,
 'Wer cam the by therto?'

[4]

Yyf a man go in cloys ill f. 29 r
 And haue not the world at wyl,
 Wekyd tongges thei wyll hym spyll
 And sey, 'He ys a stake; lat hym
 goo'

[5]

Now vs to amend God yeue vs grace,
 Of repentens and of gud grace,
 That we mut se hys glorius face;
 Amen, amen, for charyte!

stza 4, l 4. sey] MS seyde

341

British Museum. MS Sloane 2593

XV cent.

t 30 r

Kep thi tunge, thi tunge, thi tunge,
Thi wykkyd tunge werkt me w[o]

[1]

Ther is non gres that growit on ground,
Satenas ne peny-round,
Wersse then is a wykkyd tunge
That spekt bethe euyl of frynd [and]
fo

[2]

Wykkyd tunge makit ofte stryf
Betwyxe a good man and his wyf,
Quan he xulde lede a merie lyf,
Here qwyte sydys waxin ful blo

[3]

Wykkyd tunge makit ofte stauns,
Bethe in Engelsond and in Frauns,
Many a man wyt spere and launs
Throw wykkyd tunge to ded is do

[4]

Wykkyd tunge brekt bon, f 30 v
Thow the self haue non,
Of his frynd he makit his fon
In euery place qw[er] that he go

[5]

Good men that stondyn and syttyn in this
halle,
I prey you, bothe on and alle,
That wykkyd tungen fro you falle,
That ye mowun to hefne go.

342

Bodleian Library. MS. Eng. poet e. 1.

XV cent.

t 50 v

Off al the enmys that I can fynd
The tong is most enmy to mankynd.

[1]

With pety movyd, I am constreynyd
To syng a song fore yowr comfort,
How that dyuers haue compleynyd
Off tong ontru and ill report,
Sayng thus withowt dysport.

[2]

Thys tong is instrument off dyscord,
Causyng war and grett dystans
Betwyne the subjecte and the lord,
The perfytt cause off euery grevans;
Wherfore I syng withowt dysplesans

[3]

Thow that prestes be neuer so pacient
In towne, cite, or in court ryall,

Thow the religyus be neuer so obedient,
Yei a ill tong wyll trobull them all;
Wherfore this song reherse I shall

[4]

Iff he that ill be another do saye
Hys propre fawtes wold behold,
How oftym[m]is hymeselfi wer owt off
the way,
Sylens to hyme than shuld be gold,
And with me to syng he wold be bold.

[5]

Frome this tong, a venamus serpent,
Defend vs, Fader, to the we pray,
As thou onto vs thi Sone haue sent,
Fore to be borne this present daye,
Lesse that we syng and euermore saye

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by. off all &c
stza 4, l 3 oftym[m]is] One letter is obliterated by a spot

British Museum MS Harley 4294

f 81 v

He hath myne hart euery dele
That cane love true *and* kepe yt wele

[1]

. . sit amonges the knyghtes all,
. . at te counsell but ye be call,
[Her] *and* see, and sey not all,
Whatsoever ye thynk, avyse ye wele

[2]

In bower amonges the byrdes bryght,
Spare thy tong, and spend thy syght,
. . c . . t ace be nott to lyght,
Whatsoever [ye thynk, avyse ye wele]

[3]

An thou goo to the nale,
As m[er]l as a nyghtyngale,
Beware to whome thou tell thy tale,
Whatsoever [ye thynk, avyse ye wele]
stzas 2, 3, 5, 6, 1 4 MS what so euer &c
MS is badly faded at the left-hand margin

343

XV cent.

[4]

Lough neuer *with* no lowde crye,
Rage nott for no velony,
frome rybawdry,
[W]hatso[euer ye thynk, avyse ye
wele]

[5]

And thow goo vnto the wyne,
And thow thynk yt good and fyne,
Take thy leve whane yt ys tyme,
Whatsoever [ye thynk, avyse ye wele.]

[6]

With thy tong thou mayst thyselfe spyll,
And *with* tonge thou mayst have all thy
[wyll;]
Her and se, and kepe the styll,
Whatsoever [ye thynk, avyse ye wele.]
stza 4, 1 4 MS [W]hat so &c
after stza 6 and thow goo

344

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet. e. 1

XV cent.

22 r

I hold hym wyse *and* wel itaught
Can bar an horn *and* blow it navght.

[1]

Blowyng was mad for gret game,
Of this blowyng cometh mekell grame,
Therfor I hold it for no schame
To ber a horn *and* blow it nou[ght.]

[2]

Hornes ar mad both lovd *and* shyll;
Whan tym ys, blow thou thi fyll,
And, whan ned is, hold the styll,
And ber a horne, *and* blow it novght

[3]

Whatsoever be in thi thought,
Her *and* se, *and* sey ryght novght,
Than schall men sey thou art wel tovght
To bere [a horne and blow it nought.]

stzas. 3, 4, 1 4. [a horne and blow it nought]] MS. &c.
stza. 5, 1 2. Stop] MS *and* stop
stzas 5, 6, 1 4 [a horne, and blow it nought]] MS &c

[4]

Of al the ryches vnder the son
Than was *ther* neuer betur wonne
Than is a tawght man for to konne,
To ber [a horne and blow it nought.]

[5]

Whatsoever be in thi biest,
Stop thi movght *with* thi fyst,
And lok thou thynk well of 'had-I-wyst,'
And ber [a horne, and blow it nought]

[6]

And when thou syttyst at the ale,
And cryyst lyk an nyghttyngale,
Bewar to whom thou tellist thi tale,
But ber [a horne, and blow it nought]

345

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

XVI cent

f 231 r

He is wise, so most I goo,
That can be mery *and* suffer woo

[1]

Be mery *and* suffer, as I the vise,
Whereuer thou sytt or rise,
Be well ware whom thou dispise,
Thou shalt kysse who is thy foo

[2]

Beware to whom thou speke thy will,
For thy speche may greve the yll,
Here *and* see, *and* goo than still,
But well is he that can do soo

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by *he is wise &c*
At end Explicit

[3]

Many a man holdyth hym so stowght
Whatsoever he thynk, he seyth it owt,
But if he loke well about.

His tonge may be his most foo

[4]

'Be mery,' now is all my songe,
The Wise Man tawght both old *and*
yonge

'Who can suffer *and* hold his tonge,
He may be mery *and* nothyng woo'

[5]

Yff any man displese the owght,
Suffer *with* a mery thought,
Let care away, *and* greve the nowght,
And shake thy lappe, *and* lat it go

346

Balliol College, Oxford. MS 354

XVI cent

f 231 r

An old sawe hath be fownd trewe
'Cast not away thyn old for newe'

[1]

An old-said sawe, 'Onknowen, onkyste,'
'Wher is lytyll love, ther is lytill tryste,'
And 'Ever beware of "had-I-wyste"'
And remembre this sawe, for it is new,
Elles must we drynk as we brew

[2]

The peple to plese, *ser*, it is payn,
Peraventure amonge twenti not twayn,
Hold me excused though I be playn
This sawe is old; remembre it newe,
Or elles most we drynk as we brew
stza. 2, 1 2 twenti] MS xx^{ti}.

[3]

Another thyng, *ser*, merke we well
'Two faces in on hode, a fayre castell'
He seyth hymself he wil not medyll
Folk fayre lest seche in cowrt to shew,
And elles most we drynk as we brew

[4]

Thyn old *servantes* here thus ar meved;
The tyme wyll *cum* they must be releved.
Geve trust to them that thou hast preved,
And, if thou do so, thou shalt not rewe,
And elles must thou drynk as thou
doste brew

At end Explicit

347

Bodleian Library. MS. Douce 302.

By John Audelay, XV cent.

f 29 v

Hit is the best, erele *and* late,
Vche mon kepe his oun state.

[1]

In wat order or what degre
Hole Cherche hath bownd the to,
Kepe hit wele, I counsel the;
Dissire thou neuer to go therfro.
I say allgate.

[2]

A hye worchip hit is to the
 To kepe thi state *and* thi good name,
 Leud or lered, werehere hit be,
 Ellis God *and* mon thay wol the blame
 I say algate

[3]

Fore in obisions now schul ye here
 That God hatis hile in his syght
 A harde prest, a proud frere,
 An hold mon lechoure, a couard
 knyght.
 I say algate

[4]

A prest schuld scheu vche mon mekenes
And leue in loue *and* charite,
 Throgh his grace *and* his goodnes
 Set al other in vnite
 I say algate

[5]

A frere schuld loue all holenes,
 Prayers, penans, *and* pouert[e];

MS heading Fac ad quod venisti.

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by vt supra
 burden, l 1 Hit] MS H hit

Relegious men, Crist hem ches
 To foresake pride *and* vayn glory.
 I say algate

[6]

An hold mon schuld kepe him chast
And leue the synne of lechore,
 Al wedid men schuld be stedfast
And foresake the syn of avowtre
 I sai algate

[7]

A knyght schuld feght ayayns falsnes,
And schew his monhod *and* his myght,
And mayntene trouth *and* ryghtwysnes
And Hole Cherche *and* wedowes ryght
 I say algate

[8]

Here be al the foure astatis
 In Hole Cherche God hath ordent,
 He bedis you kepe hem wel algate.
 Wos[o]euer hem chomys, he wyl be
 schent.
 I say algate.

348

British Museum MS. Addit 5665.

XVI cent.

f. 14 v.

In euery state, in euery degre,
 The mene ys the beste, as semeth me.
 In euery state, in euery degre,
 The *mene ys beste, as semeth *f 15 r
 me.

[1]

The hyere men clemmeth, the sorere ys
 the falle,
 Banckes that lawe buthe sone ouer-
 flowe;
 The donder sownys perischeth castill
 ryall,
 The mene ys best, as semeth me.

[2]

Hill that buth hye sufferith many f 14 v
 showres;
 A-law vpon the yerthe ys meirey to be
 Then in hey howsys other grete ioures,
 The mene ys best, as semeth me.

[3]

Where the hegge ys lawest men dothe
 ouer-skyppe;
 To hew abow thy hedde, hit is but
 vanite,
 Lest in thy yee ther falle a chyppe;
 The mene ys best, as semeth me.

MS heading: ad placitum (repeated on f 15 r)

349

Cambridge University Library MS Addit 5943

XV cent.

f 145 v

Lord, how scholde I roule me,
Of al men ipreysyd to be?

[1]

If Y halde the lowe asyse
And take aray of lytel pryse,
Then men will say, 'He ys nowght wyse;
He ys a fow, let hym be'

[2]

And yyf I take the mene astate
And wyth non man maky debat,
Than men wil sey, erly *and* late,
That I am worth no maner fe

stza. 5, l 4 the] MS. they

[3]

And yf Y take gryte aray,
Hors *and* hondes *and* clothes gay,
Than men wel say euery day
That I passe my degre.

[4]

Then take thow hede of the oxe;
Go nowght to lowe for the foxe,
Nether to hey tyl thow be wox,
For the kyte that wolde they sle

[5]

Therfor loke that thow be scley.
For no thyng hew thow tow hey,
Last they falle don into thy ey,
The spones that above the be.

350

Balliol College, Oxford. MS 354

XVI cent.

f 226 v

Forsothe, I hold hym well *and* with-
owt woo
That hath ynowgh *and* can say
'Who!'

[1]

I was with pope *and* cardynall,
And with bisshoppis *and* prestes gret
and small;
Yet was neuer non of them all
That had ynowgh *and* cowlde say
'Who!'

[2]

Now covitise begyneth to wake,
And lechery ys to hym take

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by for soth I hold.
At end. Explicit.

And seyth, 'His joy may not slake
That hath ynowgh *and* can say
'Who!'

[3]

I was with emprowr, kyng, *and* knyght,
With duke, erle, baron, *and* lady bright;
Yet was non of them to my sight
That had ynowgh *and* cowlde say
'Who!'

[4]

Whan all thynges fall away,
Than covetyse begyneth to play,
He is not here, I dare well say,
That hath ynowgh *and* can say 'Who!'

351

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354.

XVI cent.

f. 178 r

Duissie si affluent,
Nolite cor apponere

[1]

Yf God send the plentuowsly riches,
Than thank hartely *with* all meknes;
In thy mynd this *proverbe* impresse:
'Nolite cor apponere.'

[2]

And, while thou hast it *in* thy gouer-
 nauce,
 I consaill the pore men to avaunce,
 Lest deth the apprese *with* his cruell
 launce,
 Nolite cor apponere.

[3]

And thynk thou must also *perte* away
 From all thy riches, thou mayst not say
 nay;
 Therfore the best that I *can* syng or say
 Nolite cor apponere

At end Explicit

352

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee. 1. 12.

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f 48 v

Hec sunt verba prophetica
 'Amittes mundi prospera'

[1]

O man, whiche art the erthe take froo,
 Ayene into erthe thou shalt goo,
 The Wyse Man in his lore seith soo.
 Amittes mundi [prospera]

[2]

Byssshop or emperoure though that thou
 be,
 Kyng, prince, or duke of high degree,
 Emperesse or quene o' lady free,
 Amittes mundi prospera

[3]

Though of riches thou haue thy wille,
 Of mete and drinke having thy fille,
 When dredefull dethe shall come the
 tille,
 Amittes mundi [prospera]

stza 1, l 4 MS Amittes mundi &c

[4]

Job seith, 'Good Lorde, of me f 49 r
 haue myende,
 For why my lyfe is but a wyende,
 To erth I shall ayene by kyende'
 Amittes mundi prospera

[5]

Thou shalt not, man, abyde here ay,
 But as a floure shalt fade away,
 Therfore to the I dare wele say,
 'Amittes mundi prospera'

[6]

Criste graunt vs grace that we come may
 To heven blis, that lasteth aye,
 Where is no nyght, but ever day
 Et infinita prospera

stza 3, l 4 MS Amittes mundi &c

353

Cambridge University Library. MS. Ee. 1. 12

By James Ryman, c. 1492

f 49 r

Alle worldly welth passed me fro;
 Nunc in puluere dormio

[1]

I hadde riches, I had my helthe,
 I had honoure and worldly welth;
 Yet deth hath take me hens by stelthe,
 Nunc in puluere dormio.

[2]

Of alle solace I had my wille,
 Of mete and drinke having my fille,
 Yet dethe hath smyt me *with* his bille;
 Nunc in puluere dormio.

[3]

I had beawte in hande and face,
 I had comforte in euery case,
 Yet, arested *with* dethys mace,
 Nunc in puluere dormio

[4]

I hadde musyk, I hadde swete f 49 v
 songe,
 And other game and myrthe amonge,
 Yet dethe hathe felde me *with* his pronge,
 Nunc in puluere dormio.

[5]

I hadde konnyng, wysdome, and witte,
 Manhoode and strengthe in me were
 knyht,
 Yet dethe hath brought me to my pitte,
 Nunc in puluere dormio

stza 7, l 4 MS Nunc in &c

[6]

O man, which art erthe by thy kyende,
 Whose lyfe is but a blast of wyende,
 This dredefull worde bere in thy myende.
 'Nunc in puluere dormio'

[7]

While thou art here, man, wele the
 guyde,
 For thou shalt not ay here abyde,
 But thou shalt sei, man, at a tyde,
 'Nunc in [puluere dormio]'

[8]

Almyghty God graunte vs alle grace
 Wele to expende oure tyme *and* space
 Or that we come vnto that case.
 'Nunc in puluere dormio'

354

British Museum MS Addit. 5665

XVI cent

f 35 v.

'Do well, *and* drede no man,'
 The best concell ys that Y can
 'Do well, *and* drede no man,'
 The beste concell ys *that I can.
 *f 36 r

[1]

Now to do well how shalt thou do?
 Herken to me, *and* Y shall the telle
 MS heading. ad placitum

Jhesu *with* saule *and* mynde allso
 H[er]tely thou pray, then doiste thou
 well

[2]

Euyn as thyselue *with* hole entent f 35 v
 To loue thy neghbore, as saith the
 gospell,
 Thow hast by commaundement;
 Obserue thees too, then doist thou well.

burden, l 1 Do] MS D do.

355

a

British Museum MS Sloane 2593.

XV cent

f 9 r

Man, be war er thou be wo:
 Think on pride, *and* let hym goo.

[1]

Pryde is out, *and* pride is inne,
And pride is rot of euery synne,
And pride will neuer blynne
 Til he hagt browt a man in woo.

[2]

Lucyfer was aungyl bryght
And conqwerour of meche myght;
 Throw his pride he les his lyght
And fil down into endeles woo.

[3]

Wenyst thou, for thi gaye clothing
And for thin grete othis sweryng,
 To be a lord or a kyng?
 Lytil it xal avayle the too.

[4]

Quan thou xalt to cherche glyde,
 Wermys xuln ete throw thi syde,

And lytil xal avayle thi pride
 Or ony synnys that thou hast doo.

[5]

Prey to Cryst, *with* bloody syde
And othere woundes grile *and* wyde,
 That he foryeue the thi pryde
And thi synnys that thou hast doo

b *Balliol College, Oxford* MS 354, f 249 v XVI cent (burden and stzas. 1, 3, 2)
 burden, 1 2 think] *And* thynk
 stza 1, 1 2 rot] the begynnyng 1 3 *And*] of wil neuer blynnne] shall no man
 no thyng wyn 1 4 but sorow care *and* myche wo
 stza 2, 1 1 aungyl] an angell 1 2 *And* conqwerour of meche] covytowr of Godes
 1 3 Throw] w (*MS torn*) les] lost lyght] sight 1 4 *And* fil] omits (*lost by*
tear in MS)
 stza 3, 1 1 for] man for 11 2, 3 *transposes* 1 2 *And*] or. 1 3 a lord] an
 emprowr 1 4 Do a way man *and* thynk not so
 At end Explicit

356

a

British Museum MS Sloane 2593.

XV cent,

f 6 r

Synful man, for Godis sake,
 I rede that thou amendis make

[1]

Thow thou be kyng of tour *and* town,
 Thow thou be kyng *and* were coroun,
 I sette ryght not be thi renown
 But if thou wylt amendys make

[3]

Thow thou be bothe stef *and* strong,
And many a man thou hast do wrong,
 'Wellaway' xal be thi song
 But [if thou wylt amendys make]

[4]

Man, bewar, the weye is sleder,
 Thou xal slyde thou wost not qweder,
 Body *and* sowle xul go togeder
 But [if thou wylt amendys make]

[2]

That hast here is othere menys, f 6 v
And so it xal ben quan thou art hens,
 Thi sowle xal abeye thi synnys
 But if thou wit amendes make.

[5]

Man, ber not thi hed to heye
 In pumpe *and* pride *and* velonye,
 In helle thou xalt ben hangyd hye
 But if thou wilt amendes make.

stza 4, 1 4 MS but &c

stza 5, 1 4 if] MS it

b *Bodleian Library* MS. Eng. poet. e. 1, ff. 30 v., 31 r. XV cent (burden and stzas. 1, 3, 5, 4)

burden, 1 1. Godis] crystes 1 2 that] omits
 stza 1, 1 1, 2 *transposes* 11 1, 2. be] byst 1 1 kyng] lord. 1 2. coroun]
 the crowne 1 3 ryght] omits renown] gret renowne
 stza 3, 1 1 Thow thou be] man thou art 1 2 *And*] omits.
 stza 4, 1 1 sleder] scheduler 1 2 xal slyde] mast scleder wost not] wonest.
 1. xul go] *and* all
 stza 5, 1 2 In] for velonye] lechery 1 3 In hel thi sole xal sor aby
 The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza. 1 synful man for crystes
 sake stzas. 3, 5, 4 vt supra.

357

British Museum MS. Sloane 2593.

XV cent

f 26 r

Man, be wys, *and* arys,
And thynk on lyf that lestenit ay.

[1]

Thynk, man, qwerof thou art wrouth,
 Powre *and* nakyd thou were heder browt;
 Thynk how Cryst thi sowle hagt bowt,
And fond to seruyn hym to pay

[2]

Thynk, man, on the dere yeres thre
 For hunger deyid gret plente,
 Powre *and* ryche, bond *and* fre,
 Thei leyn dede in euery way.

[3]

Thynk, man, on the pestelens tweye
 In euery cuntre men gunne deye;
 Deth left neyther for lowe ne heyde,
 But lettyd hem of here pray

[4]

Deth is wonder coueytous
 Quan he comit to a manys hous,
 He takit the good man *and* his spows
And bryngit hem in powre aray.

stza 5, l 3 thet] MS. that

[5]

After cam a wyndes blast
 That made many a man agast,
 Stefue stepelys thei stodyn fast;
 The weyke fyllyn *and* blewyn away.

[6]

Many merueylis God hagt sent
 Of lytenyng *and* of thunder-dent;
 At the Frere Camys hagt it hent,
 At Lynne toun, it is non nay.

[7]

Lytenyng at Lynne dede gret harm
 Of tolbothe *and* of Fryre Carm, f 26 v
 Thei stondyn wol cole that stodyn wol
 warm,
 It made hem a wol sory fray.

[8]

Lok, man, how thou ledyst thi lyf,
And how thou spendyst thi wyttes v;
 Go to cherche, *and* do the schryf,
And bryng thi sowle in redy way

358

Bodleian Library. MS. Eng poet. e. 1.

XV cent.

f 28 r

Syng we to the Trinite,
 With 'Parce mihi, Domine'

[1]

Game *and* earnest euer among,
And among al othyr degre,
 It is gud to thynk on my son[g],
 With 'Parce mihi, Domine.'

[2]

Qwan thou rysyst vpon thi rest,
 (I make this song for no vanite)
 Make a cros vpon thi brest,
 With 'Parce mihi, Domine.'

stza. 2, ll 2, 3 MS. transposes.

[3]

Go thou to the chyrche, *and* her thi Mes,
And ser[ue] God with humilite,
 Aske foryeuenes of thi trespas,
 With 'Parce mihi, Domine.'

[4]

Qwan thou cumste home onto thi f 28 v
 tabyll,
 Thou art seruid with gret dignite,
 Hold this song for no fabyll,
 With 'Parce mihi, Domine.'

[5]

Prey we bothe nyth *and* day
 The gret God in Trinite
 Tho heu[e]ne God theche vs the way,
 With 'Parce mihi, Domine.'

359

A a

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

XVI cent.

f 220 v.

Man, asay, asay, asay,
And aske thou mercy whyle thou may

[1]

Man, haue *in* mynd how herebeforn
For thy mysded thou wast forlorn;
To geve the mercy Cryst was born,
Aske thou mercy whill thou may

[2]

Yff thou thy lyff in syn hath lede,
Amend the now, *and* be not dred,
For Crystes mercy furth ys spred,
[Aske thou mercy while thou may]

[3]

Yff thy syn be never so yll,
Yett for no syn thou shalt spyll,
Amend the now yf that thou will,
[Aske thou mercy while thou may]
stzas 2-7, 1 4 MS vt supra

[4]

He that hath the hether browght,
He wold that thou mercy sowght,
Aske ytt, *and* he denyth ytt nowght;
[Aske thou mercy while thou may]

[5]

He that dyed on the rode
And shed for the his *precious* blod,
He ys both *mercyfull and* gud,
[Aske thou mercy while thou may]

[6]

Mercy ys spred on the grownd,
Ther for to dwell a lytill stownd,
Lett vs seke till yt be fownd;
[Aske thou mercy while thou may]

[7]

Ytt for to fynd God geve vs *grace*
In this world while we haue space,
And after in hevyn to haue place;
[Aske thou mercy while thou may]
At end Explicit

A b *Bodleian Library* MS. Arch. Selden B 26, f 7 v. XV cent (burden and stzas 1-3, 5, 4, 6).

burden, 1 r Man] A man 1 2 thou (1)] *omits*
stza 1, 1 r herebeforn] here by fore 1 2 wast] where forlorn] fore lore 1 3
To geve the] but mercy to yeue Cryst was born] now Criste ys bore 1 4 A say
(marked Chorus)

stza 2, 1 r Yff thou thy lyff in syn hath] In synne thy lyfe yf thou haue 1 2
the] hit *and*] *omits.* dred] a dradde 1 3 Crystes] he his ys] hath 1 4
A say

stza 3, 1 r Yff] And they 1 2. Yett] *omits* no] thy thou shalt] shalt thou
not 1 3 Amend the now] Nowe mercy to aske that] *omits* 1 4 A say

stza 4, 1 r hath the hether browght] the so dere hath bought 1 2 Mercy]
before he 1 3 Aske ytt, *and* he denyth] Yyf thou seke he nyeth 1 4 A say

stza 5, 1 r He] God on] vppon 1 2 For thi mysdede he shadde his blode
1 3 He ys both *mercyfull*] For his mercy ys ful 1 4 A say

stza 6, 1 2 for (1)] *omits* dwell] lest a lytill] for a 1 3 Lett vs] Ther fore
thou hit. 1 4 A say

B

British Museum MS Addit. 5665.

XVI cent.

f. 42 v.

Man, asay,
And axe mercy while thou may.
Man, asay, asay, asay,
And axe mercy *while thow *f 43 r.
may.

[1]

In synne yf thou thi lyffe haue ledde,
Amende the, man, *and* be not adrad,
God for the his mercy hathe sprade;
Asay, asay,

[2]
 For thof thy synne be neuere so f 42 v.
 ille,
 Amende thysylue, man, yf that thou
 wille;
 God will not that thou spyllē,
 Asay, [asay]

[3]
 For he that the so dere hathe boghfte,
 Mercy he wolde that thou soghfte;

MS heading ad placitum

Iff thou hrt axske, he naye hrt noghfte;
 Asay, [asay]

[4]
 Thy lyffe vn erthe here thus thou spende,
 Praying to Jhesu that thou notte shende;
 Then joy *and* blisse shall be thyn ende;
 Asay, [asay]

360

Cambridge University Library MS. Ee 1 12.
 f 46 r

By James Ryman, c. 1492.

Amende we vs while we haue space,
 For why nowē is the tyme of grace

[1]
 That holy clerke, Seint Augustyne,
 Seith now is tyme for to inclyne
 To vertue, and synne to resyne,
 For why now is [the tyme of grace]

[2]
 Now, while we lyve, to do penaunce,
 It is oure soules to auaunce
 And into blisse for to enhaunce,
 For why now is [the tyme of grace.]

[3]
 Are we departe this worlde fro,
 Oure soules we may save fro woo;
 Whenne we be gone, we may not so,
 For why now is [the tyme of grace]
 stzas 1-3, l 4. MS For why now is &c
 stza 4, l 4 MS. For why now &c

[4]
 Do we so now, while we here be,
 In worde and dede, that we may see
 Almyghty God in mageste,
 For why now [is the tyme of grace.]

[5]
 In wille, in dede, in worde, *and* thought,
 Axe we hym grace that vs hath f 46 v
 bought,
 Ayenst his wille that we haue wrought,
 For why [now is the tyme of grace]

[6]
 Criste, that ay was, shall be, and is,
 Graunte vs forgeuenes of oure mys
 And graunte vs grace to dwell in blis,
 For why now is the tyme of *grace*.

stza 5, l. 4 MS for why &c

361

Balliol College, Oxford. MS. 354
 f 221 r

XVI cent.

Mary moder, I you pray
 To be ovr help at domysday

[1]
 Att domysday, whan we shall ryse
 And cum before the hygh Justyce
 And geve acownt for ovr seruyce,
 What helpyth than ovr clothyng gay?

[2]
 Whan we shall cum before hys dome,
 What will vs helpe ther, all *and* some?
 We shall stond as sory grome,
 Yclad in a full pore aray.

[3]

That ylke day, *withowt* lesyng,
 Many a *man* hys *hondes* shall wryng
 And repent *hym* fore hys lywyng,
 Then yt ys to late, as I yow say.

[4]

Therfor I rede, both day *and* nyght,
 Make ye redy to God Almyght,

For in thys londe [n]ys kyng nor knyght
 That wott whan he shall wend away.

[5]

That chyld that was born on Mary,
 He glad all thys *cumpany*,
 And for hys loue make we mery,
 That for vs dyed on Gud Fryday.

At end Explicit

362

Bridgwater Corporation. Muniments, 123.

XV cent.

recto

Hay, hay,
 Take good hede wat youe say

[1]

A domusday we schull ysee
Fadere and Sone in Trinite
 W^{ith} grete powere and magisti,
 And angelys in grete aray

[2]

An angele *with* a trumpat shall blow,
 That all the worlde schall yt yknow,
 They that beyne on yyrth soo low,
 They schull aryse all off the clay

stza 2, l 1 An] MS and

[3]

They that byne in [yrth] soo deppe,
 They schull to thys trumpat take heed,
 And aryse and full sorre wyppre
 That euer they wer toyenst to fay.

[4]

God hymselffe Sune hyt ys
 That schall [y]eue the dome, iwys,
 And therfore avys hym that hath ido
 amys,
 Fore there they schull reherse here
 pay.

363

British Museum. MS Sloane 2593.

XV cent.

f. 8 r

Gay, gay, to be gay,
 I holde it but a vanite.

[1]

Yyng men that bern hem so gay,
 They think not on domysday,
 Quan they xul stonde in powre aray
And for here dedes damnyd be.

[2]

God, that made se *and* sond,
 W^{ith} bloody woundis he xal stond
 'Come ye, alle on my ryght hond,
 Ye chyldern that han seruyd me'

[3]

To wykkyd men Jhesu xal say,
 'Ye han led *your* lyf, bothe nyght *and*
 day,

Your sowle into a wykkyd way,
 Out of myn syte wynd ye'

[4]

'Quan I was nakyd, ye me not clad,
 Quan I was hungry, ye me not fad;
 Quan I was in *prisoun and* harde bestad,
 Ye wold not vysite me

[5]

'Therefore myn chylderyn xuln han,
 iwys,
 That ilke joye, that ilke blys,
 That arte, hagt ben, *and* alwey is
 Beforn myn angele fayr *and* fre.'

364

Huntington Library Christmas carolles newly Inpnynted (Richard Kele) c. 1550.

p [48]

A voyce from heuen to erth shall com
'Uenite ad iudiciu'

[1]

This voyce both sharp *and* also p [45]
[shyll]

Shal be herd from heuen to h[ell,]
All mydle erthe it shall fulfyll
'Uenite ad iudiciu'.

[2]

'Uenite' is a blyssed song
For them that for joye dooth longe
And shall forsake paynes strong
'Uenite ad iudiciu'.

[3]

Glad in heit may they be
Whan Chryst sayeth, 'Uenite,
Ye blyssed chyldren, come to me,
Into vitam eternam.

[4]

'Whan I hongried, ye gaue me meat,
Ye clothed me agaynst the heat,
In trouble ye dyde me not forgeat,
Uenite ad iudiciu'.

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by A voyce &c
stza 4, l. 1 ye] Orig ne 1 2 heat] Orig weat
stza 1, ll 1, 2, stza 5, l 3 *The original is torn.*

At end Fims.

[5]

'Ye socoured me at your doore
And for my sake gaue to the poore,
[The]rfore wyll I you socoore, p [46]
Uenite ad iudiciu'.

[6]

Sory in hert may they be
That hereth this heuy worde 'Ite,
Ye cursed chyldren, go fro me,
Into ignem eternum.

[7]

'Whan for nede that I dyde crye,
Confortlesse ye lete me dye,
Therfore now I you deny,
Uenite ad iudiciu'.

[8]

'For by me ye set no stoie,
Ye shall abyde ryght dere therfore
In hell with deuyls for euermore,
Uenite ad iudiciu'.

365

British Museum MS. Sloane 2593.

XV cent.

f 3 r

God, that alle mytes may,
Helpe vs at *our* ending day

[1]

This word, lordynges, I vnderstonde,
May be lyknyd to an husbonde
That takit a ferme into his honde,
To yelde therof serteyn pay.

[2]

Spende we neyther speche ne f 3 v.
spylle,
Neyther for good ne for ille;
We xuln yeuyn acountes grylle
Before *our* Loid on domysdaye.

[3]

Leue lordynges, bewar of this,
For oftyntyme we don amys;
Ther is non of vs, i wys,
But that we trespassyn euery day.

[4]

This word, lordynges, is but a faiey;
It faryt ryght as a neysche weye,
That now is wet *and* now is dreye,
Forsothe, serteyn, as I you say.

[5]

Now is joye, *and* now is blys,
Now is balle *and* bitternesse;
Now it is, *and* now it nys,
Thus pasyt this word away.

[6]

Now I hope, *and* now I synge,
 Now I daunce, now I sprynge,
 Now I weyle, *and* now I wrynge,
 Now is wel, *and* now is way.

[7]

Now I hoppe, *and* now I daunce,
 Now I prike, *and* now I prauce,
 This day heyl, te morwe, perchaunce,
 We mown be ded *and* ley[d] in clay.

[8]

At domisday, *quan* we xul ryse
And come befor*ne* our heye Justyse
And yeuyn accountes of our seruise
And payin vp our laste pay—

[9]

Help vs, Mary, for *thann* is nede,
 Help to excusyn our misdede,
 As thou art monewere at our nede,
 Help vs than, *and* sey not nay

366

St John's College, Cambridge. MS. S. 54.

XV cent.

f 10 v

Nowell.

[1]

This word is falce, I dare wyll say,
And man xalt fade as dose hay,
 For as a flour it fallys away,
Tunc non ualebit corpore.

[2]

Tell me sothe qwoso canne
 Qwan he hys dede, qwat has he wan?
 Qw[e]re se ye ony rych dede man?
Reuela mihi hodie

[3]

Thou plesyst hym both nyth *and* day
And knele to serue hym wyll to pay,
 He may not hym a good word say
Cum opertur puluere.

[4]

Hys secutoures, withoute lete,
 Yow he wyth cuces owersette;
 They sey he ouyt so mykyl dette
Non postest solui integre

stza 1, 1 1, stza 3, 1 3 word] MS wrod
 stza 7, 1 2 are] MS. 1 are

[5]

Qwan he is closyd *in* hys graue,
 Than is he ther he may not craue,
 As he haue done, so xall he haue
Oblitus praeue tempore.

[6]

And therfor, man, or thou hens wende,
 Dele thi good *with* thi honde,
And thynke wyll dede man haue no
frond,
Tu miseretis anime

[7]

Lord, yyf us grace so to do here f 11 r.
 That, *quan* we are broth on bere,
 Ther take oure sole, that thou both dere,
Pende[n]s alto arbore.

[8]

And gyfe us grace so to spende
 The god that thou onto us sende
 That we may sey at oure last end,
'Laus summo regule.'

stza 4, 1 2 wyth] MS myth.
 stza. 8, 1 2 The] MS Thou 1. 3 oure] MS. yours

367

British Museum. MS. Addit 5665.

XVI cent.

f. 49 v

[1]

O blessed Lord, full of pete,
 Mane nobiscum, Domine
 O blessed Lord, full of pyte f 50 r.
 Mane nobiscum, Domine.

This worlde ys but a vanite, f. 49 v
 Subtle *and* fals and no surte; f 50 r.
 Wherefor we pray, for charite,
 'Mane nobiscum, Domine.'

[2]

Extorcion hathe putte adowne f 49 v
 Owte of oure syghth ryght *and* resone;
 Wherefor we pray vnte Sone,
 'Mane nobiscum, Domine'

[3]

What shull we do a domysday?
 Ther shall we crye 'A, wellaway!'

MS heading Ad placitum

The second couplet of the burden is written after the first stanza on f. 50 r

But Oure Lady helpe vs to say,
 'Mane nobiscum, Domine.'

[4]

O Lord, that arte in Trinite,
 In joye *and* blisse *and* vnite,
 Helpe vs of this mortalite,
 Mane nobiscum, Domine.

368

British Museum. MS Sloane 2593

XV cent.

f 7 v

I drukke, I dare, so wil I may,
 Quan I thynke on myn endyng day.

[1]

I am a chyld *and* born ful bare
And bare out of this word xal fare;
 Yyt am I but wermys ware,
 Thow I clothid go neuer so gay.

[2]

Thow I be of meche prys,
 Fayr of face *and* holdyn wys,
 Myn fleych xal fadyn as flour- f 8 r
 de-lys
 Quan I am ded *and* leyd in clay
 stza. 1, l 4. clothid] MS. clothis

[3]

Quan I am ded *and* leyd in ston,
 I xal rotyn, fleych *and* bon;
 Fro myn fryndys I xal gon;
 Cryst help myn sowle quan I ne may

[4]

Quan I xal al my frendes forsake,
 Cryst schyld me fro the fendes blake.
 To Jhesu Cryst my sowle I betake;
 He be our help on domysday
 stza. 4, l 1. forsake] MS for fake.

369

Bodleian Library MS. Douce 302.

By John Audelay, XV cent

f 30 v

Lade, helpe! Jhesu, merce!
 Timor mortis conturbat me

[1]

Dred of deth, sorow of syn
 Trobils my hert ful greuysly,
 My soule hit nyth *with* my lust then,
 Passio Christi conforta me.

[2]

Fore blyndnes is a heue thyng,
And to be def ther *with* only,
 To lese my lyght *and* my heryng,
 Passio Christi conforta me

[3]

And to lese my tast *and* my smellyng,
And to be seke in my body;
 Here haue I lost al my lykyng;
 Passio Christi conforta me

[4]

Thus God he yeues *and* takys away,
And, as he wil, so mot hit be;
 His name be blessid both nyght *and*
 daye;
 Passio Christi conforta me.

[5]

Here is a cause of gret mornyng:
 Of myselfe nothyng I se
 Saue filth, vncleennes, vile stynkyng;
 Passio Christi conforta me.

[6]

Into this word no more I broght,
 No more I gete *with* me trewly,
 Saue good ded, word, wil, *and* thought;
 Passio Christi conforta me.

[7]
The v wondis of Jhesu Crist,
My midsyne now mot thai be,
The fyndis pouere downe to cast;
Passio *Christi* conforta me. f. 32 r.

[8]
As I lay seke in my langure,
With sorow of hert *and* teere of ye,
This caral I made *with* gret doloure;
Passio *Christi* conforta me.

[9]
Oft *with* these prayere I me blest
'In manus tuas, Domine,

MS. heading Timor mortis conturbat me

Thou take my soule into thi rest;
Passio *Christi* conforta me'

[10]
Mare moder, merceful may,
Fore the joys thou hadist, Lady,
To thi Sun fore me thou pray;
Passio *Christi* conforta me.

[11]
Lerne this lesson of blynd Awdlay
When bale is hiest, then bot may be,
Yif thou be nyd nyght or day,
Say, 'Passio *Christi* conforta me'

370

a

Bodleian Library. MS Eng. poet e. 1.
f 38 v

XV cent

In what estate so euer I be,
Timor mortis conturbat me

[1]
As I went in a mery mornynge,
I hard a byrd bothe wep *and* syng,
Thys was the tenowr of her talkyng.
'Timor [mortis conturbat me.]'

[2]
I asked that byrd what sche ment
'I am a musket bothe fayer *and* gent,
For dred of deth I am al schent;
Timor [mortis conturbat me]

[3]
'Whan I schal dey, I know no day,
What countre or place I cannot sey,
Wherfor this song syng I may
"Timor [mortis conturbat me]"

stzas 1-7, 1 4 MS timor &c

b. Balliol College, Oxford. MS. 354, f. 176 v. XVI cent. (burden and stzas 1, 2, 4, 3)

c. Huntington Library. Christmas carolles newly Inprynted (Richard Kele), p. [41].
c. 1550 (stza. 1, ll. 3, 4; stzas. 2-6).

burden, l 1 estate so] b state that
stza. 1, l 1 went] b me walked a mery] b on
stza 2, l 1 that] b thus. sche] b he. l 2 I] b he said I bothe] b c omit
fayer *and*] b omits l 3 dred] c fere al] b nygh

[4]
'Jhesu Cryst, whane he schuld dey,
To hys Fader he gan sey,
"Fader," he seyde, "in Trinyte,
Timor [mortis conturbat me.]"

[5]
'Al Crysten pepull, behold *and* se f 39 r
This world is but a vanyte
And replet *with* necessitye,
Timor [mortis conturbat me]

[6]
'Wak I or slep, ete or drynke,
Whan I on my last end do thynk,
For grete fer my sowle do shrynke,
Timor [mortis conturbat me.]'

[7]
God graunte vs grace hym for to serue
And be at owr end whan we sterue,
And frome the fynd he vs preserue,
Timor [mortis conturbat me.]

stza 3, 1 1 I know] b know I 11 2, 3 b *transposes* 1 2 What] b In what c
omits cowntre place] b *transposes* or] c nor I cannot] b can I not 1 3
 Wherfor] b Therefore
 stza 4, 1 2 he gan] b lowd gan he c gan he sey] b c crye
 stza 5, 1 3 And replet with] c For therin is but
 stza 6, 1 1 I] c *omits* 1 3 do shrynke] c doth synke At end b Explicit c Fimis.

371

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet e 1.

XV cent.

f 48 r

Everemore, wheresoeuer I be,
 The dred off deth do trouble me

[1]

As I went me fore to solas,
 I hard a mane syght *and* sey, 'Alasse!
 Off me now thus stond the casse
 The dred off [deth do trouble me]

[2]

'I haue be lorde off towr *and* towne,
 I sett not be my grett renowne,
 For deth wyll pluck yt all downe;
 The dred off deth do trouble me.

[3]

'Whan I shal deye I ame not f 48 v
 suere,
 In what countie or in what howere;
 Wherefore I sobbyng sey, to my power,
 "The dred off deth do trouble me."

[4]

'Whan my sowle *and* my body depertyd
 shall be,
 Off my jugment no man cane tell me,
 Nor off my place wher that I shal be,
 Therefore dred off deth do trouble me.
 stza 1, 1 4. MS The dred off &c

[5]

'Jhesu Cryst, whan that he shuld sofer
 hys passyon,
 To hys Fader he seyde with gret
 deuocyon,
 "Thys is the cause off my *intercessyon*
 The died off deth do trouble me"

[6]

'Al Crysten pepul, be the wysse *and*
 ware,
 Thys world is butt a chery-fare,
 Replett with sorow *and* fulfyllid with
 car,
 Therefore the dred off deth do trouble me

[7]

'Whether that I be mery or good wyne
 drynk,
 Whan that I do on my last daye thynk,
 It mak my sowle *and* body to schrynke,
 Fore the dred off deth sore trouble me'

[8]

Jhesu vs graunt hymne so to f 49 r
 honowr
 Thatt at owr end he may be owi socowr
 And kepe vs fro the fendes powr,
 For than dred off deth shal not trouble
 me
 stza 2, 1 3 pluck yt] MS pluckyd

372

Balliol College, Oxford. MS 354.

XVI cent.

f 229 r

Alas, my hart will brek in thre;
 Terribilis mors conturbat me.

[1]

Illa iuuentus that is so nyse
 Me deduxit into vayn devise,
 Infirmus sum, I may not rise;
 Terribilis mors conturbat me

[2]

Dum iuuentis fui, lytill I dred,
 Set semper in sinne I ete my bred,
 Iam ductus sum into my bed,
 Terribilis mors [conturbat me.]

[3]

Corpus migrat, *in* my sowle
 Respiciat demon, *in* his rowle,
 Desiderat ipse to haue his tolle,
 Terribilis mors [conturbat me]

[4]

Christus se ipsum, whan he shuld dye,
 Patri suo his *manhode* did crye,

MS marks burden fote stza 1, l 1 iuventus] MS iuventus stza 2, l 1
 iuuenis] MS iuuenis l 2 sinne] MS sinni At end Explicit

'Respice me, *Pater*, that is so hye,
 Terribilis mors [conturbat me.]

[5]

Queso iam the Trynyte,
 'Duc me from this vanyte
 In celum, ther is joy with the,
 Terribilis mors conturbat me'

373

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354.

f 210 r

XVI cent.

To dy, to dy? What haue I
 Offendit, that deth is so hasty?

[1]

O maicyfull God, maker of all mankynd,
 What menyth dethe in his mynd,
 And I so yonge of age?
 Now deth is vnkynd,
 For he seyth, 'Man, stop thy wynde'
 Thus he doth rage

374

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

f 210 r

XVI cent.

So dye shall then
 All Cristyn men,
 No man wottith his tyme ne when,
 Werfor thou may,
 Yf thou be hye,
 Thyngk non other but thou shalt dye.

[1]

In twenti yere of age, remembre we
 euerychon
 That deth will not be straunge to taste
 vs by on and on,
 With siknes grevows, which makith man
 to grone,
 Deth biddith, 'Beware this day a man,
 tomorow non'

[2]

In xl yere of age, whan man is stowt
 and stronge,
 Trow ye that deth dare stryk hym or do
 hym any wrong?

The repetition of the burden is indicated in the margin at the left of each stanza by
 ✠ so dy stza 1, l 1. twenti] MS xx^u At end Explicit

Yes, forsoth, with wordly deth he will
 not spare among
 And seyth, 'Man, beware, thou shalt
 not tary long'

[3]

I[n] lx yere of age, then tyme is cum to
 thyngk
 How he wil cum to thi hows and sit on
 the bynke,
 Comaundyng man to stowpe toward the
 pittes brynk;
 Than farewell, worldes joy, whan deth
 shall bid a man drynk.

[4]

The last age of mankynd is called
 deciepitus,
 Whan man lakkith reason, than deth
 biddith hym thus.
 Owt of this world his lyf to pas with
 mercy of Jhesus;
 Deth strykith with sword and seyth,
 'Man, it shal be thus.'

375

British Museum. MS Addit. 5665.

XVI cent

f. 45 v

The beste song, as hit semeth me
 'Peccantern me cotidie'
 The beste song, as semeth me
 'Peccante[m] me cotidie.' f 46 r

[1]

While Y was yong *and* hadde carage,
 I wolde play *with* grome *and* page,
 But, now Y am falle into age,
 Timor mortis conturbat me.

[2]

Yowthe ys now fro me agon, f 45 v
 And age ys come me vpon;
 Now shall Y say *and* pray anon
 'Parce michi, Domine'

[3]

I pray God, Y can no more
 'Thou boghfteste me *with* wondes sore;
 To thy mercy thow me restore,
 Saluum me fac, Domine'

MS heading ad placitum

376

Huntington Library Christmas carolles newly Inptrynted (Richard Kele) c 1550.

p [7]

Be thou poore, or be thou ryche,
 I rede, lyfte vp thyn eye,
 And se in this we be all lyche
 Forsothe, all we shall dye p [8]

[1]

Dethe began bycause of syn,
 We syn bothe poore and ryche,
 Therfore dethe wyll neuer blyn
 To take vs all in lyche.
 For our syn I rede we seche,
 To heuen that we may hye,
 For, be we neuer so fresh nor ryche,
 Forsothe, we all shall dye.

[2]

Christ, that was bothe God and man,
 He dyed for our gylt,
 Nedes must we dye than,
 With syn yf we be spylt
 We shall rote, bothe hert and mylt;
 'Mercy, Lorde!' we crye,
 'It shal be, Lorde, ryght as thou
 wylt,'
 Forsothe, all we shall dye

[3]

How Chryst dyed for all our mys,
 I red, haue in thy thought;
 To set thy mynde on wordly blys,
 Forsothe, I holde it nought

For worldes blys Chryst he ne p [9]
 ough; t;
 I rede the, it defy,
 Unto thy graue thou shalt be brought;
 Forsothe, we shall all dye.

[4]

If thou be pore, kepe the clene,
 And thank God of his sonde,
 If thou be ryche, gyue and lende,
 Bothe to poore and bonde.
 Loke thou do thus with thy honde,
 Through Chryst to heuen thou shalt
 hye,
 Thou cannot long lyue in this londe;
 Forsothe, all we shall dye

[5]

Though thou be ryche, I tell the before,
 Death wyll with the mete,
 Of all thy goodes thou getest no more
 But a wyndyng shete
 Therfore thy bales here thou bete;
 To God for mercy crye,
 Wepe for synnes with teares wete,
 Forsothe, all we shall dye

[6]

Thou shalt dy thou wote not p [10]
 whan,

Nor thou wotest where;
 To repent the tyme is now,
 This lesson I red the lere.
 How soone thou shalt be brought on
 bere

It is not for the to try,
 Lete this lesson sound in thyn eare
 Forsothe all we shall dye.

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by Be thou poore &c
 stza 2, 1 7 as] Orig us At end Finis

[7]

All we shall dye, and ryse agayne
 In one affynyte,
 If we euyll dye, we go to payne,
 This is the veryte
 If that we ryse in charyte,
 To blys than shall we stye,
 This is Gods equyte,
 Forsothe all we shall dye

377

Trinity College, Cambridge MS R 14. 26.

XV cent.

f. 21 r

Thynk we on *our* endyng, I red,
 I red, I red,
 Thynk we on *our* endyng, I red, or
 we [gon]

[1]

How schuld I bot I thogth on myn
 endyng day?

For, qwhen that I am ded *and* closyd in
 clay,

Frendys I fynd bot a few, a few, be my
 fay,

That ons on my lyf a god word wyll me
 saye.

To Kryst I mak my mone,
 To Krist [I mak my mone.]

[2]

Qwhylys I *am* on lyf, frendys I fynd inowe
 For to tak all my god *and* get that thei
 mowe,

Thei *turne* ther bakes opon me *and* mak
 me a mowe,

Thei dryf me to hethyng *and* cal me
 Syr Hew

Swylk frendys kyp I [non,]
 Swylk frendys kyp I non

[3]

Frendes I fynd inow that stelys all
 bedene,

Qwhoso wyll asay, sum schall be sene,
 All *our* old eld this end in tray *and* in

tene,

And all that ens swylk . .

Euer be on *and* on,

Euer be on *and* on.

[4]

Of that god that God has send, therof
 has thou no mynd,

Do sum god qwhylys thou may, *and* that
 schall tow fynd,

For, bot if thou do, men that ar vnkynd,
 Thi sektour wyll cum aftur *and* tak that

thei may fynd.

Thus do thei ilkon;

[Thus do thei ilkon.]

[5]

Bot a frend I fynd that is treue *and*
 trest,

Mary, Godys moder, as haue I god rest;
 Of all frendes that I fynd, hyr loue I

best,

For warne sche war

Swylk on fynd I non;

[Swylk on fynd I non]

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1. thynk we on *our* endyng
 I red or we g stza 2 Thynk we on *our* endyng &c stza 3 Thynk we &c stza
 4. thyk we &c stza 5 Thynk we &c stza 1, 1 6 MS to krist &c

378

National Library of Scotland MS. Advocates 19 3. 1.

XV cent.

f 95 v

Man, in thi mynd loke thys be best
Quod omnis caro fenum est

[1]

As I me rode in a Mey mornynge,
 I loked abowt bothe est *and* west,
And at the last I hard a turtyll syng,
 'Quod omnis caro fenum est'

[2]

'For sorwe,' sche says, 'I begynne to
 yell,'
 Sche rentt of hur fedurs *and* bared
 hur brest,
 That cause hyr care I saw full wele
Quod omnis [caro fenum est.]

[3]

'Sum tyme,' sche sayd, 'grettyst I was,
 In pryd *and* pofete now am I cast,
 My bute ys fall me frome, alas'
Quod o[mn]is caro [fenum est]

[4]

'Sum tyme I went in purpull f 96 r.
 pall,
 In soro *and* care now ys my nest,
 My fedurs so fast now fro me fall,
Quod omnis ca[ro] fenum est'

[5]

Thus I beheld thys turtull trew;
 For pete my hartt in sundur brast,
 For why this song to me was now.
 'Quod o[mn]is caro fenum est'

burden, l 1 mynd] MS myad loke] MS loket
 stzas. 1, 3, l. 4. caro] MS carnm
 stza. 5. l. 4. caro] MS. carnm
 stza 10, ll. 1-3. *struck through in MS*
 stza 11, l 3. awaylys] MS a a weyls
per John hawghton.

[6]
 To comford this byrd me thowth full
 long;

Thoi o byrkys *and* breris to hur I prest,
 Wen sche me say sche told me this sung
 'Quod o[mn]is [caro fenum est']

[7]

I askyd hyr whatt she had
 That off hyr soro ryght noght sche
 sest,
 To harken this then sche me bad
 'Quod omnis [caro fenum est]

[8]

'Both pope, empor, card[in]all, kyng,
 Man *and* woman, byrd *and* best,
 Thus sorofull thei scholl ones syng
 "Quod o[mn]is [caro fenum est"]

[9]

'As hey thei schall fayd *and* well away,
 And deth schall take yow to is nest,
 Wherfor be resun well prowue I may
Quod o[mn]is caro [fenum est.]

[10]

And thus this byrd partyd me fro
 And flew away wher sche lykyd best,
 Cryyng *and* syngyng with mekyll who,
 'Quod o[mn]is [caro fenum est.]

[11]

Then I me awysyd *and* me bethowght
 In Crist allwhey to tak my rest,
 For all this word awaylys noght,
Quod omnis caro [fenum est.]

1 2 caro] MS canen
 stza. 4, l 3. so] MS so so
 stza 9, l 1. fayd] MS fa fayd
 l 4. caro] MS carn. At end Explicit

379

Trinity College, Cambridge. MS. O. 2. 53.

XV cent

f. 57 r.

When all ys don and all ys sayd,
 God must be known, *seruyd, and*
 obeid.

[1]

Yough, luste, reches, or manhod—
 Trustyth in any of thes, God forbed!
 Though God sufferth, beware the rodde;
 Who whyl be sure must nedes *serue* God

[2]

For any sporte or *price* of appetyd
 Furst serue God, then do whe ryght,
 Let yough folow yough not worth a
 myte

[3]

In olld storys I haue herd tell
 In excelent wytte he doth excell
 That desyryth and inclynyth to sad
 counsell,
 And whos that whyll not cannot doo
 well

[4]

God many ways geuyth gyftes of *grace*;
Sum moo then *sum* manyfold hase
 Serue hym and thank hym wyll we haue
 space,
 Yf whe doo not, he whyll torn hys face

[5]

Remembre *yourself*, and be sure f 57 v
 of thys
 Whoo seruyth whell God cannot doo
 amys
 We cannot doo so mych as *our* deuty ys,
 Then doo *our* best or we must, iwys

[6]

Sythen thys farre forthe, I wyl be playn
 God commaundyth that *men* certayn
 Hys body and goodes shul not wast in
 vayn;
 Mayhappe they lese most that hase most
 gayn.

[7]

What shal becu~~me~~ of thes *perjuryd* men
 Whych whyll not spek for fere of when?

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas. 1, 2, 5, 6, 11 when all ys
 don stzas 3, 4, 7-10, 12 when all ys doon stza 1, 1. 2 God] MS godes.
 stza. 9, 1 1 God] MS good

Without ye mend, full whell ye ken,
 The deuyll in hell whyll mak *your* den

[8]

A gentyll horse *with* a softe bytte
 Woll torne on the ryght hond of hys
 owne wytt.
 Yf they that shold doo woll not *prove* yt,
 In them defaulte, in hym no wytt.

[9]

When God shuld be *seruyd*, f 58 r
 some be att lawe,
 Ytt *prouyth* ther *aste* nat worth a
 strawe
 Couetyse so swetly there bakes dothe
 clawe
 That extorcyon whas *neuer* lesse awe.

[10]

Matere of a alpeny we be *euer* *proollyng*,
 And *euer* we spek of pety pollyng,
 The pore knaves haue mych enrolyng,
 But the cobbes haue *neuer* comptrollyng.

[11]

Ther nedys to be no chyrche nowadays
 Euery cornyr ys a chyrche where car-
 deres plays,
 Hard att there elbowe the *prestes* euy-
 song says
 God is not content, seurlly, *with* thes ways

[12]

Thys makere as thys hymself doth clere:
 Some he dothe se, and som he dothe
 here,

Ye se but few pore pepull appere;
 Maters of a moneth is not sped in a yere.

380

a

Trinity College, Cambridge. MS. O. 7. 31.

XV cent.

202 v

[1]

Be mery all *with* one accorde,
 And be ye folowers of Crystes worde.

Then all *your* doyngs schold here in earthe
 Present the facte of Crystis bearth:
 His loging was simple, his liuing was
 beare,
 His death was biter, we were hys care

[2]

I wold *our* life now coulde be syche
 He was full poure, to make vs ryche,
 Meke and lowly in all mens sight,
 It was the candell *which* gauē vs lyght.

[3]

Bost not *yourselfe* ne *your* actes awans,
 But one lament another chaunce,
 For we be fai from this degre,
 For how we liue all men may see.

[4]

He shall his tounge from slander re-
 frayne

Which will be pride no man disdayne;
 So of all thinges I thinke it best
 To liue and loue and be at rest.

The repetition of the burden is indicated after stzas 1-5 by Be mery all
 burden, 1 2 folowers] MS fowlors.
 stza 3, 1 3 far] MS for

b. *Trinity College, Cambridge.* MS O 7 31, ff 203 v, 204 r XV cent (burden and
 stzas 1-3 and beginning of 4)

stza 1, 1 1 doynge] doynge 1 3 was (2)] omits
 stza 3, 1 1 awans] so vaunce 1 2 another] anothers 1 3 far] farre farre
 stza 4 he shall hys

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by be mery all The
 closing burden is omitted

381

British Museum MS Sloane 2593.
 f. 8 r

XV cent.

Bewar, sqwyer, yeman, *and* page,
 For seruyse is non erytage

[1]

If thou serue a lord of prys, f 8 v.
 Be not to boystous in thin seruys;
 Damne not thin sowle in non wys,
 For seruyse is non erytage

[2]

Wynteris wether *and* wommanys thowt
And lordis loue schaugit oft,
 This is the sothe, if it be sowt,
 For seruyse [is non erytage]
 stza 2, 1 4. MS. for seruyse &c.

[3]

Now thou art gret, tomorwe xal I,
 As lordys schaugyn here baly;
 In thin welthe werk sekyrly,
 For [seruyse is non erytage]

[4]

Than serue we God in alle wyse,
 He xal vs quityn *our* servyse
And yeuyn vs yyftes most of pryse,
 Heuene to ben *our* erytage
 stza 3, 1. 4 MS for &c

382

Bodleian Library. MS. Eng. poet. e. 1.
 f. 13 r.

XV cent.

Haue in mynd, in mynd, in mynd,
 Secuters be oft onekynd.

[1]

Man, bewar, the way ys sleder,
 Thy sowle sall go thou wottes not weder,
 Body *and* sowle *and* al togeder,
 Lytyll joye ys son done.

[2]
 Haue thi sowle in thi mynd;
 The secators be ryght onkynd;
 Mane, be thi own freynd,
 Lytyll joye ys son done

[3]
 In holy bok yt ys wreten
 That sely sovlē ys son forgeten,

stzas 3, 4, 1 4 MS vt supra

And trev yt ys for to seken;
 [Lytyll joye ys son done]

[4]
 Her ys a song for me,
 Syng another for the,
 God send vs love *and* charite,
 [Lytyll joye ys son done]

383

British Museum. MS. Sloane 2593

XV cent.

f 5 v

Now go gyle, gyle, gyle,
 Now go gile, gyle, go

[1]
 Gyle *and* gold togedere arn met,
 Couetyse be hym is set,
 Now hagt gyle leyd his net
 To gyle bothe frynd *and* fo

[2]
 Ther is non man wrought a schelle
 But he cun plete *with* wryt or bylle,
 His neybowres for to spylle
And othere men to werkyn wo.

[3]
 Coweytise in herte is lent, f 6 r
 Ryght *and* resoun away is went;
 Man, bewar thou be not schent,
 Gyle wil thi herte slo

[4]
 Now hagt gyle get hym gre,
 Bothe in town *and* in cete;
 Gyle goth *with* gret mene,
With men of lawe *and* othere mo.

[5]
 Trewthe, heuene mot he wynne,
 Gyle xal in helle brenne,
 He that made al mankynde
 Amend hem that mys han do

384

British Museum MS. Sloane 2593.

XV cent

f 29 v

I may seyn, *and* so mown mo,
 That in semenaunt goth gyle.

[1]
 Semenaunt is a wonder thing
 It begylyt bothe knyght *and* kyng
And makit maydenys of loue-longyng,
 I warne you of that gyle.

[2]
 Semenaunt is a sly peyntour,
 It florcht *and* fadit in many a flour
And makit wommen to lesyn here bryte
 colour
 Vpon a lytl qwyle.

[3]
 In semenaunt be thinges thre f 30 r
 Thowt, speche, *and* preuyte,
And trewthe xuld the forte be;
 It is hens a [thousand] myle.

[4]
 Trewthe is fer *and* semit hynde;
 Good *and* wykkyt it hagt in mynde;
 It faryt as a candelee-ende
 That brennit fro half a myle

[5]

Many man, fayre to me he spekyt,
And he wyste hym wel bewreke,
 He hadde we[l] leuere myn hed to-breke
 Thann help me ouer a style

stza 3, 1 4 [thousand]] MS m^l.

[6]

God, that deyid vpon the cros,
 (Ferst he deyid, *and* sythin he ros)
 Hauē mercy *and* pete on vs
 We leuyn here but a qwyle.

385

British Museum MS Sloane 2593

XV cent.

f 7 r

God be *with* trewthē qwer he be,
 I wolde he weie in this cuntre

[1]

A man that xulde of trewthē telle, f 7 v.
With grete lordys he may not dwelle,
 I[n] trewe story, as klerkes telle,
 Trewthe is put in low degre.

[2]

In laydys chaumberes comit he not,
 Ther dar trewthē settyn non fot,
 Thow he wolde he may not
 Comyn among the heye mene

[3]

With men of lawe he hight non spas;
 They louyn trewthē in non plas;
 Me thinkt they han a rewly grace
 That tre[w]the is put at swych degre.

stza 5, 1 1 Relygius] MS Relygius

[4]

In Holy Cherche he may not sytte;
 Fro man to man they xuln hym flytte;
 It rewit me sore in myn wytte,
 Of tre[w]the I haue gret pete.

[5]

Relygius, that xulde be good,
 If trewthē cum ther, I holde hym wood;
 They xuldyn hym 1ynde cote *and* hood
And make hym bare for to fle

[6]

A man that xulde of tiēwthē aspye,
 He must sekyn eslye
 In the bosum of Marye,
 For there he is forsothe

386

a

Bodleian Library. MS Eng. poet e 1

XV cent.

f 60 v

God, that sytteth in Trinite,
 Amend this world, if thi will it be.

[1]

Vycyce be wyld *and* vertues lame,
And now be vycyce turned to game,
 Therefore correccion is to blame
 And besyd his dignitie.

[2]

Pacyence hath taken a flyght,
And melody is out off syght;
 Now euery boy will counterfett a knyght,
 Report hymself as good as he.

4008

[3]

Pryncpally among euery state
 In court men thynk ther is gret bate,
And peace he stondyth at the gate
 And morneth afture charite

[4]

Envy is thyk *and* love thyne,
And specyally among owr kyne,
 Fore love is *without* the dore *and* envy
 within,
 And so kyndnesse away gane fle

s

[5]

Fortewn is a *mervelous* chaunce, f 61 r
And envy causyth gret distaunce
 Both in Englund *and* in Fraunce,
 Exylyd is benyngnyte

[6]

Now lett vs pray, both on *and* all,
And specyally vpon God call
 To send love *and* peace among vs all,
 Among all men in Christente

b *Balliol College, Oxford* MS 354, f 227 r XVI cent

burden *marks* fote 1 2 it] *omits*.
 stza. 1, 1 2 now be vicyce] is is vice to] into 1 4 And besyd] That so lesith.
 stza 2, 1 1 taken] tak
 stza 3, 1 2 ther is] *omits* bate] debate 1 3 And] For he] *omits*
 stza 4, 1 1 thyne] ys thyn 1 2 kyne] eme Cristyn 1 3 the dore] *omits* within]
 ys within
 stza 6, 1 3 peace] grace 1. 4 Among] and amonge
 At end Explicit
 The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows
 stza 1 god that sittith in trinite &c stzas 2-4 god that stzas 5, 6 god that
 sittith

387

British Museum MS. Addit. 5665

XVI cent.

f 50 v

The beste rede that I can
 Do well, and drede no man
 The best rede that Y can
 Do well, and ⁴drede no man. f 51 r

[1]

God sende vs pese *and* vnite
 In Engelsond, *with* prosperite,
 And geffe vs grace to ouercome
 All oure enemys *and* putte adowne,
 That we mow syng, as Y sayde than,
 'Do well, *and* d[r]ed no [man']

[2]

Now pride *and* couetise allso, f 50 v
 Adowne ye most, *and* many mo;
 Adowne, bolsteris *and* peked shon,
 For hit is derision
 Therfor Y say as Y can,
 'Do well, *and* drede no man'

MS heading ad placitum
 burden, 1. 4 man] MS mam

[3]

Alas, this worlde kepith no *sertayne*
 Thorwfe fals lyuyng *and* more no re-
 frayne,
 Hit is in wayne that Y complayne
 Butte that oure Lorde *and* Souerayne
 Graunte vs grace that we mow say
 than,
 'Do well, *and* drede no man.'

[4]

Now to the, Lady, we do crye, f 51 r.
 With thy swete Sone grande vs merceye,
 And geffe vs perfecte charite,
 Grace, *and* loue *with* humilite,
 That we mow say, as Y began,
 'Do well *and* drede no man'

stza 1, 1 6. [man]] MS vt *supra*
 stza 3, 1 5, stza 4, 11. 2, 3 vs] MS *vus*

388

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet e. 1.

XV cent

f 16 v.

In a blyssefull tyme that mane ys
 borne
 That may fynd frend to trust vpon.

[1]

Euery mane in hys degre f. 17 r
 Cane say, yf he avysyd be,
 Ther was more trust in sum thre
 Than ys now in many o[n]

[2]

This world ys now all changed new
 So many mene ben found ontrew
 That in treuth lyven but few
 Feythfull to tryst vpon.

[3]

Suntym a man myght tyst another
 Better than now hys owne broder,
 For thei ben fekyll as well as other,
 For few be trew to tryst vpon

[4]

And if thou tell a man thi hart,
 To kepe it clos, as ys hys part,
 vii yere after it may the smart,
 For few be trew to tryst vpon

[5]

A mans feyth ys now sett at novght,
Suntym therby men sold *and* bovght,
 Therfor I say thus in my thovght
 That few be trew to tryst vpon

[6]

Yf thou do be my counsayll,
 Thynke well on the after-tayll,
 I warent the it wyll the avayll,
 For few be trew to tryst vpon.

[7]

So many men haue bene begyld,
 The fader ma[y] not tryst hys ovne
 chy[l]d,
 I *am* aferd trost ys exyld,
 For few be trew to tryst vpon.

[8]

Yf thou doo for a comonte f 17 v.
 All that now lyyth in the,
 Skarsly shalt thou thankyd be,
 For few be trew to tryst vpon

[9]

Now no man kan know hys frend,
 For doubelnese is so mekyll in mynd;
 Thus, in fayth, at the last yend,
 Few be trew to tryst vpon

[10]

Whatsoever thou thynk to do,
 Beware to whom thou spekes vnto,
 For, I trow, whan al is do,
 Few be trew to tryst vpon.

[11]

Now, Jhesu, that art Heyvyn Kyng,
 Thowrow thi moders prayyng
 Thou send vs all a good endyng,
 For thou art trew to tryst vpon.

389

a

Bodleian Library MS. Eng. poet. e. 1.

XV cent.

f 23 v

Man, be ware *and* wyse indede,
And asay thi frend or thou hast nede.

[1]

Vnder a forest that was so long
 As I me rod *with* mekyll dred,
 I hard a berd syngyng a song
 'Asay thi frend or thou hast ned'

[2]

I theran stod *and* houed styll,
And to a tre I tyd my sted,
And euer the byrd sang ful shyll,
 'Asay thi frend or thou hast ned'

[3]

Me thovght it was a wonder noyse, f 24r
 Alwey ner *and* ner I yed,
And euer she song *with* lovd voys,
 'Asay thi frynd or thou haue ned'

[4]

I behyld that byrd full long,
 She bad me do as I the rede
 'Whether that thou do ryght or wrong,
 Asay thi frynd or thou haue ned.'

[5]

The byrd sat vpon a tre;
 With fethers gray than was hyr wed;
 She seyde, 'And thou wylt do aftur me,
 Asay thi frend or thou haue ned.'

[6]

Of me I trow she was agast;

She tok hyr flyghth in length *and*
bred,*And* thus she sang when she shan[g]
last

'Asay thi frend or thou haue ned'

stza 1, 1 4 or] MS or or

stza 6, 1 3 shan[g]] *The end of the word is damaged in MS.*

stza 7, 1 3 w[he]n] MS rubbed

[7]

Away full fast she gan hyr hyghe,

God graunt vs well ovr lyves to led,

For thus she sang w[he]n she gan
flyghe

'Asay thi frynd or thou haue ned'

stza 5, 1 2 hyr] MS hys

b *Balliol College, Oxford* MS 354, f 231 r and v XVI cent (burden and stzas
1-3, 5, 4, 6)

burden, 1 2 thi] a hast] haue

stza 1, 1 1 Vnder] Thorow 1 2 me] omits 1 4 thi] a hast] haue

stza 2, 1 1 I theran] As I 1 3 And] omits sang ful shyll] sat syngyng still

1 4 thi] a hast] haue

stza 3, 1 2 Alwey ner *and* ner] *And* nere hond the byrde 1 3 *And* euer] I wis
lovd] a lowde 1 4 thi] a

stza 4, 1 1 that byrd full] her wonder 1 2 She said do as I bide the in dede

1 3 that] omits or] *and* 1 4 thi] astza 5, 1 1 vpon] high vpon. 1 2 With] of hys] her 1 3 *And* thou wylt

do aftur me] do a[s] I bide the 1 4 thi] a

stza 6, 1 1 Of me I trow] I trow of me 1 2 in length *and* bred] away she yede1 3 *And*] omits sang] said 1 4 thi] a

At end Explicit.

390

British Museum MS Sloane 2593

XV cent

f 6 r

Syng we alle, *and* sey we thus

'Gramersy myn owyn purs'

[1]

Quan I haue in myn purs inow,
I may haue bothe hors *and* plow,
And also fryndis inow,

Throw the vertu of myn purs.

[2]

Quan my purs gynnnyght to slak,
And ther is nowt in my pak,
They wil seyn, 'Go, farwil, Jak;
Thou xalt non more drynke *with* vs.'

[3]

Thus is al myn good ilorn
And myn purs al to-torn,
I may play me *with* an horn
In the stede al of myn purs.

[4]

Farwil, hors, *and* farwil, cow;
Farwil, carte, *and* farwil, plow,
As I playd me *with* a bow,
I seyde, 'God! *Quat* is al this?'

391

St. John's College, Cambridge. MS. S. 54

XV cent.

f. 3 v.

I may syng *and* sey, iwys,
'Gremarcy my owne [purs]'

[1]

In euery plas qwere that I wende
My pur[se] is my owne frende,
Therfor gladly may I syng,
'Gremarcy my own purs'

[2]

Qwereso^{uer} I goo *in* lond
 My purse is redy at my hond,
 Therfor this is a redy song
 ['Gremerci my own purse']

[3]

Qwereso I walke be the way
 My purse xall help me allvay,
 Therfor may I syng *and* say,
 ['Gremerci my own purse']

stzas 2, 3, 1 4 MS. vt supra

[4]

If I be out in the cuntre,
 And my purse be far fro me,
 Than most I on beggyng fle,
 And far xall go *and* letyll xall haue.

[5]

And ye woll *with* fellechyp won,
 Tay youre purse *in* yore bosom,
 Than may I well my song vowyn
 ['Gremerci my own purse.']

392

British Museum MS Sloane 2593

XV cent

f 26 v

Go bet, Peny, go bet, go,
 For thou mat makyn bothe frynd *and*
 fo.

[1]

Peny is an hardy knyght;
 Peny is mekyl of myght;
 Peny, of wrong he makyt ryght
 In euery cuntre qwer he goo

[2]

Thow I haue a man islawe
And forfetyd the kynges lawe,
 I xal fyndyn a man of lawe
 Wyl takyn myn peny *and* let me goo

[3]

And if I haue to don fer or ner,
And Peny be myn massanger,
 Thann am I non thing in dwer;
 My cause xal be wel idoo

[4]

And if I haue pens bothe good *and* fyn,
 Men wyl byddyn me to the wyn,
 'That I haue xal be thi[n,']
 Sekyrly thei wil seyn so

[5]

And quan I haue non *in* myn purs,
 Peny bet ne peny wers,
 Of me thei holdyn but lytil fors
 'He was a man; let hym goo.'

393

British Museum MS Royal 17. B xlvii.

XV cent

f. 160 v.

Money, money, now hay goode day!
 Money, where haste thou be?
 Money, money, thou goste away
And wylt not byde wyth me

[1]

Above all th[1]ng thou arte a kyng
 And rulyst the world ouer all;
 Who lakythe the, all joy, parde,
 Wyll sone then frome hym fall.

[2]

In euery place thou makyste solas,
 Gret joye, sporte, and velfare;
 When money ys gone, comferte ys none,
 But thought, sorowe, and care

[3]

In kynges corte, wher money dothe route,
 Yt makyth the galandes to jett,
 And for to were gorgeouse ther gere,
 Ther cappes awry to sett.

[4]

In the heyweyes ther joly palfreys
Yt makyght to lepe and prounce;
It maket justynges, pleys, dysguysynges,
Ladys to syng and daunce.

[5]

For he that alway wantyth money
Stondyth a mated chere,
Can neuer wel syng, lang daunce nor
springe,
Nor make no lusty chere

[6]

At cardes and dyce yt bereth f 161 r
the pryce
As kyng and emperoure;
At tables, tennes, and al othere games
Money hathe euer the floure.

[7]

Wythe squyer and knyght and euery
wygh[t]e
Money maketh men fayne
And causeth many in sume compeney
Theyr felowes to dysdayne

[8]

In marchandys who can deuyse
So good a ware, I say?
At al tymys the best ware ys
Euer redy money

[9]

Money to i[n]cresse, marchandys neuer
to cease
Wyth many a sotell wyle,
Men say the[y] wolde for syluer and golde
Ther owne faders begyle.

[10]

Women, I trowe, loue money also,
To by them joly gere,
For that helpythe and of[t] causethe
Women to loke full fayre.

[11]

In Westmynster Hall the criers f 161 v
call;
The sergeauntes plede apace;
Attorneys appere, now here, now ther,
Renning in euery place.

[12]

Whatesoeuer he be, and yf that he
Whante money to plede the lawe,
Do whate he cane, in ys mater than
Shale proue not worthe a strawe

[13]

I know yt not, but well I wotte
I haue harde oftyntymys tell,
Prestes vse thys guyse, ther benefyce
For moyeny to bey and sell.

[14]

Craftysmen, that be in euery cite,
They worke and neuer blynne;
Sum cutte, sume shaue, sume knoke,
sum graue,
Only money to wynne.

[15]

The plowman hymselfe dothe dyge *and*
delue
In storme, snowe, frost, and rayne,
Money to get with labour and swete,
Yet small geynes and muche payne.

[16]

And sume for money lye by f 162 r.
the wey
Another mannes purse to gett,
But they that long vse yt amonge
Ben hangyd by the neke.

[17]

The beggers eke in euery strete
Ly walowyng by the wey;
They begge, the[y] crye, of the[y] cume
by,
And all ys but for money.

[18]

In euery coste men loue yt moste,
In Ynglonde, Spayne, and France,
For euery man lackyng yt than
Is clene owte of countenaunce.

[19]

Of whate degre soeuer he be,
Or werteouse conyng he haue,
And warte mone[y], yet men wyll sey
That i heys but a knaue.

[20]

Where indede, so God me spede,
 Sey all men whate they cane,
 Yt ys allwayes sene nowadayes
 That money makythe the man

MS heading money money
 The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1-9, 11, 12 money stzas
 10, 13-20 money &c
 stza 2, 1 1 place] MS palce stza 4, 1 1 the] MS they
 stza 7, 1 1 and (1)] MS and and 1 4 Theyr] MS thery
 stza 11, 1 1 Westmynster] MS westmyaster
 stza 12, 1 1 Whatesoeuer] MS whate so euery. 1 4 proue] MS not proue.
 At end finis

394

St John's College, Cambridge MS. S. 54.

XV cent.

f. 7 r

Pray we to Oure Lady dere
 For here holy grace

[1]

Sche saw theis women all bedene,
 Both fro sorow and fro tene,
 Madys and wyuys and weduys, I wene,
 All be thei fayre in face

[2]

Women be both good and hend,
 Clen, curteys, cumly, and kend;
 Yche a cu[m]pany is wele amef[n]de
 Yf a woman be in a plase.

[3]

Of a woman com all oure blys;
 Therfor I loue hem all, iwys;
 Qwosoeuer seyth on hem amys,
 Be God, he yawyd in hys face

burden, 1 1 Oure] MS youre stza 1, 1 2 fro (1)] MS for 1 3 wene]
 MS weme. stza 4, 1 3 hys] MS hyc stza 6, 1 3 Fro] MS for.
 Above stza 5 is written (in another hand) I what maner mane

[4]

Were a man i[n] sore syynge,
 A woman xall hym out bryng
 And with a kys lesse hyc morny[n]g
 And sette hym in solace

[5]

Thies men arne falce, fekyll in f. 7 v.
 thoghth,
 Women be wood that trow hem howt,
 For well thie hote and hold it noth,
 But spek i[n] here song.

[6]

Dere Lady, to thi Son thou pray
 He synd theis women, as he wylle may,
 Fro false men that downe hym tray,
 That thei sene he[m] neuer in face.

395

a

British Museum. MS. Harley 7358.

XV cent.

f. 8 r

Wymmen beth bothe goude and truwe
 Wytnesse on Marie.

[1]

Wymmen beth bothe goud and schene,
 On handes, fet, and face clene;
 Wymmen may no beter bene
 Wytnesse on M[arie].

[2]

Wymmen beth gentel on her tour;
 A womman bar oure Sauyours,
 Of al thys wor[ld] wymman ys flour
 W[ytnesse on Marie.]

[3]

Wyrchyp we wymmanys face
 Wer we seth hem on a place,
 For wymman ys the wyl of grace
 W[ytnesse on Marie]
 stza 2, 1 3 wymman] MS wymnan

[4]

Loue a womman with herte truwe,
 He nel chongy for no newe,
 Wymmen beth of wordes fewe
 W[ytnesse on Marie]

[5]

Wymmen beth goud, withoute lesyng,
 Fro sorwe *and* care hy wol vs bryng,
 Wymman ys flour of alle thyng
 W[ytnesse on Marie]
 stza 3, 1 1 wymmanys] MS wymnan ys

b *British Museum* MS Sloane 2593, f. 5 r. XV cent (burden and stzas 1, 3-5)
 burden, 1 1 beth] be 1 2 on] of
 stza 1, 1 1 *omits* 11 2, 3] 11 1, 2 1 2 On] Of fet] *and* body clene] *arn* clene
 1 3 may] mown *After* 1 3 In *euery* place it is sene 1 4 on] of
 stza 3, 11 1, 2 It is knowyn *and* euere was
 Ther a womman is in plas
 1 3 For] *omits* 1 4 wyttesse
 stza 4, 1 1 Loue a womman] They louyn men 1 2 nel] wyl not 1 3 beth] ben
 1 4 wyttesse
 stza 5, 1 1 beth goud] ben trewe 11 2, 3 *transposes* 1 2 Fro sorwe *and*]
And out of hy wol] they mown 1 3 Wymman ys flour of] wommen be trewe in
 1 4 on] of

396

British Museum. MS Harley 4294
 f 81 r

XV cent

I am as lyght as any roe
 To preyse wemen wher that I goo.

[2]

A woman ys a worthy thyng;
 They do the washe and do the wrynge,
 'Lullay, lullay,' she dothe the synge,
 And yet she hath but care and woo

[1]

To onpreyse wemen yt were a shame,
 For a woman was thy dame,
 Our Blessyd Lady beryth the name
 Of all women wher that they goo

[3]

A woman ys [a] worthy wyght;
 She *seruyth* a man both daye and
 nygh[t,]
 Therto she puttyth all her myght,
 And yet she hathe bot care and woo

397

Bodleian Library. MS Douce 302.
 f 30 r

By John Audelay, XV cent

For the loue of a maydon fre
 I haue me choson to chastite.

[1]

Blessid mot be oure heuen quene,
 Fore *vergy*n *and* maydyn sheo was ful
 cleene;
 Soche another was neuer yer sene
 That so wel kept here virgynyte.

[2]

In word, in will, in dede, in thoght,
 Here maydehood defowled sheo noght,
 Therefore the Lorde that here hade
 wrought
 Wolde be boion of hyr body

[3]

Tofore alle maydenes to hyr he ches
 Fore here clennes *and* here mekenes,
 Fore mon soule heo schuld releas
 Euer fro the fynd *and* his pouste

[4]

Seynt Kateryn *and* Marget *and* Wynfred,
 That louyd ful wel here maydhed,
 The[1] sofird to smyte of here hede,
 Fore defouled wold thai not be
 MS heading de virgin[1]tate

[5]

Therefore thai be in heuen blis,
 Where murth *and* melode euer ther ys,
 And soo shal all maydons, ywys,
 That kepon heore worder *and* here
 degre

[6]

Thai foloun Our Lady with gret reuerens
And don here seruys in here presens,
 Fore ayayns the fynd thai made defense
 With the sward of chastite
 stza 1, 1 1 Blessid] MS B Blessid

398

By John Audelay, XV cent

Bodleian Library MS Douce 302.
 f 30 r

I pray youe, maydys that here be,
 Kepe your state *and* your degre

[1]

In word, in dede, in wyl, in thoght,
 Your maydynhede defoule ye, noght,
 Lest to blame that ye ben broght
And lese your state, your honeste

[2]

An vndur marke Crist con you lene
 To marc with, kepe hit clene,
 Yif ye hit tame, hit wil be sene,
 Do ye neuer soo preuely.

[3]

Of that tresour men ben ful fayne,
And al here loue on youe thai lay[ne],
And mone a pene for hit thai pay[ne],
 Both seluer *and* gold, lond *and* le
 MS heading. Cantalena de virginibus

[4]

Yif that tresoure ye don hit tame,
 When hit is knowyn, ye wil haue chame,
 Of[t] therefore ye berne gret blame,
 Neuer on be other ware wil be

[5]

Nad that tresoure bene ewroght,
 To blis we had not bene ebrought,
 Hit faylis neuer ne fadis noght;
 Euer to mon hit is redy.

[6]

Trewly nyer that tresoure were,
 Of men ye schuld haue febul chere,
 Avyse you whom ye lene hit here,
 Yif ye ben begild, that blame not me.

[7]

Fore other counsel nedis youe non,
 Then doth thereafter euerechon, f 30 v
 Fore this tresoure has holpyn mone hone;
 Hit marys maydis vche cuntre
 burden, 1 1 1] MS I I.

399

a

XVI cent.

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354.
 f 250 r

[1]

Of all creatures women be best,
 Cuius contrarium verum est

In every place ye may well see
 That women be trewe as tirtyll on tree,
 Not lyberall in langage, but euer in
 secrete,
And gret joye amonge them ys for to be

[2]

The stedfastnes of women will neuer be
don,
So jentyll, so curtes they be euerychon,
Meke as a lambe, still as a stone,
Croked nor crabbed fynd ye none.

[3]

Men be more cumbers a thowsand fold,
And I mervayll how they dare be so bold
Agaynst women for to hold,
Seyng them so pascyent, softe, and cold.

[4]

For, tell a woman all your cownsayle,
And she can kepe it wonderly well,
She had lever go quyk to hell
Than to her neyghbowr she wold it tell

[5]

For by women men be reconsiled,
For by women was neuer man begiled,
For they be of the condiczon of curtes
Gryzell,
For they be so meke and mylde.

[6]

Now say well by women, or elles be still,
For they neuer displesed man by ther
will;

MS marks burden Fote

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by Cuius

b Bodleian Library MS. Eng poet. e 1, ff 55 v., 56 r. XV cent.

stza 2, 1 4 nor] ne.

stza 4, 1 2 wonderly] wonder

stza 5, 11 3, 4

Fore by women was neuer man betraied,

Fore by women was neuer man bewreyed

stza 6, 1 3 can no] cannot

stza 7, 1 1 women] they

1 2 for] omits

1 4 dele] presse

stza 8, 1 3 a woman] women

stza 9, 1 3 wold be] shulbe

stza 10, 1 4 yll] evil

400

St John's College, Cambridge. MS S. 54.

XV cent

f. 9 v.

War yt, war yt, war yt wele
Wemen be as trew as stele.

[1]

Stel is gud, I sey no odur;
So mown wemen be Kaymys brodur;
Ylk on lere schrewdnes at odur;
Wemen be as trew as stele.

[7]

To be angry or wroth they can no skill,
For I dare say they thyнк non yll

Trow ye that women list to smater
Or agaynst ther husbondes for to clater?
Nay, they had leuer fast, bred and water,
Then for to dele in suche a mater

[8]

Thowgh all the paciens in the world
were drownd,
And non were lefte here on the grownd,
Agayn in a woman it myght be fownd,
Suche vertu in them dothe abownd.

[9]

To the tavern they will not goo,
Nor to the ale-hows neuer the moo,
For, God wot, ther hartes wold be woo
To spende ther husbondes money soo

[10]

Yff here were a woman or a mayd
That lyst for to go fresshely arayed,
Or with fyne kyrchers to go displayed,
Ye wold say, 'They be prowde', it is yll
said

stza 9, 1 4 spende] MS sspende

[3]

Stele is gud in euery nedyll;
 So be thes women both falce *and* fekyll,
And of ther ars evyn ryght brytyll;
 [Women be as trew as stele.]

[4]

Stele is both fayr *and* bryght;
 So be thes women be candyllyght,

stza 2, 1 4 MS women vt supra
 stza 4, 1 1 bryght] MS bryghht
 MS fyghht

And som wyll both flyt *and* fyght,
 [Women be as trew as stele]

[5]

Stel is gud in lond *and* watyr;
 So cun thes women both *den and* flatyr,
And yyt for ned to play the faytur,
 [Women be as trew as stele]

stzas 3-5, 1 4 MS vt supra
 1 2 candyllyght] MS candyllyghht 1 3 fyght]

401

A a

Balliol College, Oxford. MS. 354

XVI cent.

f 250 r

Women, women, love of women
 Maketh bare pursis *with* sum men.

[1]

Sum be mery, *and* sum be sade,
And sum be besy, *and* sum be bade;
 Sum be wilde, by Seynt Chade,
 Yet all be not so,
 For sum be lewed,
And sum be shrewed;
 Go, shrew, whersoever ye go.

[2]

Sum be wyse, *and* sum be fonde;
 Sum be tame, I vnderstond,
 Sum will take bred at a manus hond;
 Yet all be not so,
 For sum be lewde,
And sum be shrewed;
 Go, shrew, whersoever ye go.

[3]

Sum be wroth *and* cannot tell f 250 v.
 wherfore,
 Sum be skornyng evermore,
And sum be tusked lyke a bore;
 Yet all be not so,
 For sum be lewed,
And sum be shrewed;
 Go, shrewe, whersoever ye go.

[4]

Sum will be dronkyn as a mowse;
 Sum be croked *and* will hurte a lowse,
 Sum be fayre *and* good in a hows;
 Yet all be not so,
 For sum be lewed,
And sum beo shrewed,
 Go, shrewe, whersoever ye go.

[5]

Sum be snowted like an ape;
 Sum can nother play ne jape;
 Sum of them be well shape;
 Yet all be not so,
 For sum be lewed,
And sum be shrewed,
 Go, shrewe, whersoever ye go.

[6]

Sum can prate *withowt* hire;
 Sum make bate in euery shire;
 Sum can play chekmate *with* owr sire;
 Yet all they do not so,
 For sum be lewed,
And sum be shrewed,
 Go, shrew, whersoever ye go.

b *Bodleian Library* MS Eng poet e 1, ff. 56 v, 57 r XV cent.

burden, 1 1 love of women] women women 1 2 a song I syng even off women
 stza 1, 1 2 besy] good stza 3, 1 1 wroth] angry
 stza 4, 1 3, stza 5, 1 3, stza 6, 1 2 Sum] And some
 stza 6, 11 2, 3 *transposes* 1 2 bate] debate 1 4 they do] be

B

Lambeth Palace Library MS Lambeth 306

XV cent

f 135 r

Women, women, loue of women
 Make bare purs *with* some men

[1]

Some be nyse as a nonne hene,

. . .

Yit al thei be nat soo;
 Some be lewde,
 Some all be schreude,
 Go, schrewes, wher thei goo

[2]

Sum be nyse, and some be fonde,
 And some be tame, Y vndirstond,
 And some cane take brede of a manes
 hande,

Yit all thei be nat soo,
 [Some be lewde,
 Some all be schreude,
 Go, schrewes, wher thei goo]

[3]

Some cane prat withouten hire, f 135 v
 And some make bate in eueri chire,
 And some chekemate with oure sire,

Yit all they be nat so,
 Some be lewde,
 And sume be schreued,
 Go wher they goo.

[4]

Some be browne, and some be whit,
 And some be tender as a tripe,

And some of theym be chiry-ripe;
 Yit all thei be not soo,
 Sume be lewde,
 And some be schreued,
 Go wher they goo

[5]

Some of them be treue of love
 Beneth the gerdell but nat above,
 And in a hode a bone cane chove,
 Yit all thei do nat soo,
 Some be lewde,
 And some be schreud,
 Go where they goo.

[6]

Some cane whister, *and* some cane crie;
 Some cane flater, and some cane lye,
 And some cane sette the moke awrie;
 Yit all thei do nat soo,
 Sume be lewde,
 And sume be schreued,
 Go where thei goo.

[7]

He that made this songe full good
 Came of the north and of the sothern
 blode,
 And somewhat kyne to Robyn Hode;
 Yit all we be nat soo;
 Some be lewde,
 And some be schreued,
 Go where they goo

stza 3, 1 1. prat] MS part. stza 4, 1 2 a tripe] MS a tripe

Stza 7, ll 5-7 are written again at the end (with And omitted and chrwde for schreued)
 possibly to remedy the omission in stza 2, although there is no mark of insertion
 At end Explicit

402

a

Bodleian Library. MS Eng poet e r

XV cent

f 43 v

Whane thes thynges foloyng bedone to
owr intent,

Than put women in trust and con-
fydent.

[1]

When nettuls in wynter bryng f 44 r
forth rosys red,

And al maner of thorn trys ber fyggys
naturally,

And ges ber perles in euery med,

And laurell ber cherys abundantly,

And okes ber dates very plentuously,

And kyskys gyfe of hony super-
fluens,

Than put women in trust and
confydens

[2]

Whan box ber papur in euery lond and
towne,

And thystuls ber berys in euery place,
And pykes have naturally fethers in
ther crowne,

And bulles of the see syng a good bace,

And men be the schypes fyschys do
trace,

And in women be fownd no in-
cypyens,

Than put hem in trust and con-
fydens

[3]

Whan whytynges do walke forestes to
chase hertys,

And herynges ther hornnys in forestes
boldly blow,

And marmsattes morn in moies and in
lakys,

And gurnardes schot rokes owt of a
crose-bow,

And goslynges hunt, the wolfe to ouer-
throw,

And sprates ber sperys in armys of
defens,

Than put women in trust and
confydens.

[4]

Whan swyn be conyng in al f 44 v
poyntes of musyke,

And asses be docturs of euery scyens,

And kattes do hel men be practysyng
of fysyke,

And boserds to Scryptur gyfe ony
credens,

And marchans by with horne insted
of grotes and pens,

And pyys be mad poetes for ther
eloque[n]s,

Than put women in trust and
confydens

[5]

Whan spawyns byld chyrchys on a hyth,
And wrenys cary sekkes onto the myll,

And curlews cary tymber, howsys to
dyth,

And semavs ber butter to market to
sell,

And wodkokes wer wodk[n]yfys,
cranis to kyll,

And gren fynchys to goslynges do
obedyens,

Than put women in trust and
confydens.

[6]

Whan crowbes tak sarmon in wodes and
parkes,

And be tak with swyftes and snaylys,

And cammels in the ayer tak swallows
and larkes,

And myse move movntans with wag-
yng of ther tayles,

And schypmen tak a ryd insted of
saylles,

And whan wyfvyys to ther husbondes
do no offens,

Than put women in trust and
confydens.

[7]

Whan hantlopes sermovntes eglys f 45 r
 in flyght,
 And swans be swyfter than haukes
 of the tower,
 And wrennys ses goshaukes be fors and
 myght,

And musketes mak vergese of crabbes
 sower,
 And schyppes seyl on dry lond sylt
 gyfe flower,
 And apes in Westmynster gyfe
 jugment and sente[n]s,
 Than put women in trust and
 confydens

b. Balliol College, Oxford MS 354, f 250 v XVI cent (stzas. 1, 3, 5, 6)

c. British Museum Printed book 1 B 55242. (Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, translated by Trevisa, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, 1495), ff penult v, ult r and v XVI cent hand (stzas 1, 3, 7, ll 4-7, 5, 6, ll. 1, 2, defective)

MS. heading b fravs fraude (*in another hand*)

stza 1, l 1 bryng forth] b bere c bryngith forth l 2 al maner of thorn trys]
 b thornys c a thorne ber] c berith l 3 ges] b bromes c gressse ber] c berith
 perles] b c appylles l 4 laurell] b lorelles ber] c omits abundantly] b c in the
 (c his) croppis so hie l 5 c omits very] b so l 6 kyskys] b lekes gyfe]
 c geven of] b c omits superfluens] b in ther superfluens c in superfluens l 7 b
 Than put in a woman your trust and confidens (so in all other stanzas) c Then put in
 women your trust and confidence

stza 3, l 1 whytynges] b whytyng do] b c omits foirestes] b c in forestes to chase
 hertys] b c hartes for to chase l 2 ther] b in perkys c in parkes their in forestes]
 b c omits l 3 b And flownders morehennes in fennes embrace c and marlynges
 moore hennys in moores doon vnbrase l 4 rokes] b c rolyons l 5 goslynges]
 b gren gese hunt] b Ride in huntyng c goo on huntyng l 6 sprates] b c sperlynges
 ber] b Rone with c beren in armys of] b in harnes to c and armour for l 7
 b c as in stza 1

stza 5, l 1 spawyns] b c sparowys byld] c bylden on a hyth] b and stepulles hie
 c and stepils on high l 2 cary] c beren onto] b to l 3 tymber, howsys to dyth]
 b clothes horsis for to drye to] c for to l 4 ber] b bryng c bryngyn market]
 b the merket to (2)] c for to ll 5-7 partially torn away in c l 5 wodkokes]
 b woddowes cranis] b theves c the crane for l 6 gren fynchys] b griffons
 do] b c don l 7 b as in stza 1 c women your trust and confidence

stza 6 (c has only the ends of ll 1, 2) l 1 crowbes] b Crabbis sarmon] b wodcokes
 c ecokkes wodes] b c forestes l 2 be tak] b haris ben taken swyftes and] b
 swetnes of c esse of l 3 in the ayer] b with ther here larkes] b perchis l 4.
 move movntans] b mowe Corn wagyng] b wafeyng l 5 b whan dukkes of the
 dunghill sek the blod of haylis l 6 And] b omits wyfvyss] b shrewed wyffes no]
 b non l 7 b as in stza 1 At end b Explicit quod Rc^o hull

stza 7 (ll 1-3, first two words of l 4, cut off by binder in c) l 4 sower] c full sowre
 l 5 on] couer sylt] c and flyntes l 6 apes] c marmesettes in] c at gyfe] c given
 l 7 c Then in women give trust and confidence At end c and then in other things (*in
 another hand*).

403

British Museum. MS. Sloane 2593.

XV cent.

f 9 v

[1]

Man, bewar of thin wowyng,
 For weddyng is the longe wo.

Loke er thin herte be set;
 Lok thou wowe er thou be knet,
 And, if thou se thou mow do bet,
 Knet vp the heltre, and let here goo.

[2]
 Wyuys be bothe stowte *and* bolde;
 Her husbondes ayens hem durn not
 holde,
And, if he do, his herte is colde,
 Howsoeuer the game go.

[3]
 Wedowis be wol fals, iwys,
 For [they] cun bothe halse *and* kys

Til onys purs pikyd is,
And they seyn, 'Go, boy, goo'

[4]
 Of madenys I wil seyn but lytil,
 For they be bothe fals *and* fekyll,
And vnder the tayl they ben ful tekyl;
 A twenty deuele name, let hem goo'

404

Bodleian Library. MS. Eng poet e. i.
 f 29 v

XV cent

In soio *and* car he led hys lyfe
 That haue a schrow ontyll his wyfe

[1]
 Yyng men, I red that ye bewar f 30 r
 That ye cum not in the snar,
 For he is browt in meche car
 That haue a schrow onto his wyfe.

[2]
 In a panter I am caute;
 My fot his pennyd, I may not owt,
 In sorow *and* car he his put
 That haue a schrow onto his wyf.

[3]
 With a qwene yyf that thou run,
 Anon it is told into the town,
 Sorow he hath both vp *and* down
 That haue a schrow onto hys wyf

405

British Museum MS. Sloane 2593
 f 24 v

XV cent

How, hey! It is non les
 I dar not seyn quan che sey, 'Pes!'

[1]
 Yyng men, I warne you euerychon
 Elde wywys tak ye non,
 For I myself haue on at hom,
 I dar not seyn quan che seyght, 'Pes!'

[2]
 Quan I cum fro the plow at non, f 25 r.
 In a reuen dych myn mete is don,
 I dar not askyn our dame a spon,
 I dar not [seyn quan che seyght,
 'Pes!']

burden, l 1 non] *erased and almost illegible in MS*
 stzas 2, 3, l 4 MS I dar not &c

[3]
 If I aske our dame bred,
 Che takyt a staf *and* brekit myn hed
And doth me rennyng under the led,
 I dar not [seyn quan che seyght,
 'Pes!']

[4]
 If I aske our dame fleych,
 Che brekit myn hed with a dych.
 'Boy, thou art not worght a reych!'
 I dar [not seyn quan che seyght,
 'Pes!']

[5]
 If I aske our dame chese,
 'Boy,' che seyght, al at ese,
 'Thou art not worght half a pese'
 I dar not sey quan che seyght, 'Pes!'

stza 4, l 4 MS I dar &c

Bodleian Library. MS Eng. poet. e 1.

XV cent.

f 23 r.

Care away, away, away,
Care away for euermore

[1]

All that I may swynk or swet,
My wyfe it wyll both drynk *and* ete,
And I sey ovght, she wyl me bete;
Carfull ys my hart therfor.

[2]

If I sey ovght of hyr but good,
She loke on me as she war wod
And wyll me clovght abovght the hod,
Carfull [ys my hart therfor]

[3]

If she wyll to the gud ale ryd,
Me must trot all be hyr syd,

stzas 2-5, 1 4 MS carfull &c

And whan she drynk I must abyd,
Carfull [ys my hart therfor]

[4]

If I say, 'It shal be thus,'
She sey, 'Thou lyyst, charll, iwovs'
Wenest thou to ouercome me thus?'
Carfull [ys my hart therfor]

[5]

Yf ony man haue svch a wyfe f 23 v
to lede,
He schal know how 'iudicare' cam in
the Cred,
Of hys penans God do hym med'
Carfull [ys my hart therfor.]

Bodleian Library MS. Eng poet e 1.

XV cent.

f 42 v

Nova, noua, sawe yow euer such?
The most mayster of the hows weryth
no brych

[1]

Dayly in Englund meruels be fownd
And among maryd peple haue such
radicacyon,

Qwyth to the vtermost expresse may no
thong,

Ne pene cane scribull the totall de-
claracyon,

For women vpon them tak such
domynacyon,

And upon themself thei tak so
mych

That it causyth the mayster to
abuse a brych

[2]

Syns that Eue was procreat owt of
Adams syde,

Cowd not such newels in this lond be
inuentyd

The masculyn sex, with rygurnesse *and*
prid

With ther femals thei altercatt, ther-
self beyng schentyd,

And of ther owne self the corag is
abatyd;

Wherfor it is not acordyng to syth
to mych,

Lest the most mayster may wer
no brych

[3]

Yt is sene dayly both in borows *and*
townys

Wheras the copuls han mad objur-
gacyon,

The gowd wyff ful humanly to hyr
spowse gaue gownys,

Wyth [th]yng is orygnal of so gret
presumpcyon

That often tymys the good man is fal
in a consumpcyon,

Wherfor, as I seyde, suffer not to
mych

Lest the most mayster weryth no
brych.

[4]

Nat only in Englonde, but of f 43 r
 euery nacion,
 The femynyng wyl presume men for
 to gyd;
 Yet God at the tym of Adams creacyon
 Gaue man superiorite of them in euery
 tyd;
 But now in theys women is fyxyd
 such pryd,
 And upon themself wyl tak so
 mych
 That it constreynyth the most
 mayster to wer no brych.

[5]

But mayny women be ryght dyligent
 And so demver ther husbondes aforne,
 For of cryme or favt thei be innocent,
 Butt falsler than thei be wer neuer
 borne,
 For wanterly ther husbondes thei wyl
 so dorne
 That owther thei wyl mak hym
 nothyng rych
 Or ellys the most mayster to wer
 no brych

[6]

An adamant stone it is not frangebyll
 With nothyng but with mylke of a
 gett,
 So a woman to refrayne it is not posy-
 byll
 With wordes, except with a staffe thou
 hyr intrett;
 For he that for a faut hys wyff wyl
 not bett
 Wherin sche offendyt hym very
 mych,
 That gyder of hys hows must nedes
 wer no brych
 stza. 8, 1 r ye] MS the

[7]

A scald hed maye be coueryd and f 43 v
 not sene,
 And many thynges mo may be sone
 hyddyn,
 But the hod of a—syr, ye wott what
 I mene—
 Wych with too hornys infeckyd was
 and smyttyn,
 By surgery to be helyd it is foibyddyn,
 For thei haue such an yssue abow
 the cheke
 That it constereynyth the most
 master to wer no bryke.

[8]

Wherfor, ye maryd ment hat with
 wyvys be accommoryd,
 Dysplese nott yowr wyuys whom
 that ye haue,
 For, when thei be angry or sumwhatt
 dysplesyd,
 Thei wyl gyffe a man a mark that he
 xal ber it to hys grafe,
 Whobert, ther husbondes honeste to
 saue,
 Clokydly without thei obey very
 mych,
 And inwardly the most mayster
 wer no brych.

[9]

Was not Adam, Hercules, and mythy
 Sampson,
 Dauyd the kyng, with other many mo,
 Arystotyll, Vergyll, by a womans cau-
 laccon,
 Browt to inquyte and to mych woo?
 Wherfor, ye maryd men, ordur ye soo
 That with yowr wyfys yow stryfe
 not to mych,
 Lest the most mayster wer no brych.
 stza 9, 1 6 wyfys] MS wyftys

408

Balliol College, Oxford. MS. 354.

XVI cent.

f 249 r

'Alas,' sayd the gudman, 'this ys an
 hevy lyff!'
 And 'All ys well that endyth well,'
 said the gud wyff.

[1]

A lytyll tale I will you tell,
 The very trowth, how it befell
 And was trew as the gossPELL
 Att the townys end

[2]

Between the gudman *and* his make
A lytill stryf begon to wake,
The wyff was *sum*what shrew shake
At the townys end

[3]

He gaf a thyng ther hym lyst;
As son as his wyff yt wyst,
Vp she stode *and* bent her fyst
At the townys end

[4]

'Thou knave, thou churle,' gan she say,
'In the twente devyls way,
Who bade the geve my gud away
At the townys end'

[5]

'Thou traytor, thou thef, thou mys-
gouerned man,
To love the furst when I began,
I wold thou had be hangyd than
At the townys end.'

[6]

He lent her a strype two or iii;
'Owt! Alas!' then cryed she,
'I aske a vengauce, thef, on the
At the townys end

[7]

'Thou stynkyng coward, so haue I grace,
Thou daryst not loke a man in the face
Now lett them say I know the cace
At the townys end.'

[8]

'What, dame? What hast thou but of
me?
And I haue nothyng of the

stza. 4, l. 2 twente] MS xx^{te}

stza 14, l 4 *A tear in MS. has destroyed most of the line*

At end Explici[t].

But chydying, brawlyng, evyll mvst thou
the!
At the townys end.'

[9]

The gudman myght no lengar forbere
But smote hys wyff on the ere
That she ouerthrew, then lay she ther
At the townys end

[10]

'Alas!' she sayd, 'I am but dede,
I trow the brayn be owt of my hed,'
And yet ther was no blod shed
At the townys end.

[11]

'Get me a preest, that I were shryve,
For I wott well I shall not lyve,
For I shall dye or tomorow eve
At the townys end'

[12]

This tale must nedes trewe be,
For he that sawe yt told yt me;
Aske ferder, *and* know shall ye,
At the townys end.

[13]

Now euery man that ys alone,
That shuld be weddyd to such a on,
I cownsayl hym rather to haue non
At the townys end.

[14]

Lest he be knockked abowt the pate;
Then to repent yt ys to late,
When on his cheke he ys chekmate
A[t the townys end]

stza 8, l 3 brawlyng] MS barwlyng

Hey, howe!
Sely men, God helpe yowe.

[1]

Thys indrys day befel a stryfe
Totwex an old man *and* hys wyfe;
Sche toke hym be the berd so plyght,
With hey, how!

[2]
Sche toke hym be the berd so fast
Tyll bothe hys eyn on watyr gan brast,

With hey, how!

[3]
Howt at the dore as he can goo,
Met he with hys neybrys too

stzas 3, 4, 1 4 *The last letter is obscured by the binding*

'Neybyr, why wepyst soo?'
With hey, ho[w!]

[4]
'In my hows ys swyche a smeke—
Goo ondyr, and ye schall wete'

With hey, ho[w!]

410

a

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354.

XVI cent.

f 241 r

In villa, in villa,
Quid vidistis in villa?

[1]
Many a man blamys his wyffe, perde,
Yet he ys more to blame than she,
Trow ye that any suche ther be
In villa?

[2]
Ye, ye, hold your pease, for shame!
By Owre Lady, ye be to blame!
Wene you that womenys tonges be
lame
In villa?

[3]
Nay, God forbede, yt ys naturall
For them to be right lyberall,
Now I report me over all
In villa.

[4]
On thyng, forsoth, I haue esspyed
All women be not tong-tyed,
For, yf they be, they be bylyed
In villa.

[5]
Yff owght be sayd to them sertayn,
Wene you thei will not answer agayn?
Yes, for euery word twayn,
In villa.

[6]
Now in gud feyth, the soth to say,
They haue gret cause from day to day,
For they may nother sport ne play
In villa.

[7]
Ther husbondes controll them so streytly,
But yet no force for that hardely;
Ther skuse shall be made full craftyly
In villa.

[8]
How say ye, women that husbondes
haue?
Will not ye ther honowr saue
And call them lowsy stynkyng knave
In villa?

[9]
Yes, so haue I hard tell or this,
Not for owt of this cuntrey, ywys;
Of sum of them men shall not mys
In villa

[10]
God wot, gret cause thei haue among,
But dowt ye not, ther hartes be strong,
For they may sofer no maner wrong
In villa

[11]
And, yff thei dyde, ther hartes wold
brest;
Wherfor, in feyth, I hold yt best
Lett them alone, with evyll rest,
In villa

[12]
Ye husbondes all, with on asent,
Lett your wyffys haue ther yntent,
Or suerly ye will be shent
In villa

[13]

Ytt ys hard ayenst the strem to stryve
 For hym that cast hym for to thryve,
 He mvst aske leve of hys wyff

In v[illa]

stza 1, 1 2 he . she] MS *transposes*stza 13, 1 4 *The last few letters are obscured by a patch on MS*

At end Explicit

[14]

Or elles, by God *and* by the rode,
 Be he never so wyld *and* wode,
 Hys here shall grow thorow his hode

In villa

b Bodleian Library MS Eng poet. e 1, ff 54 v, 55 r. XV cent.

burden, 1 1 In villa

stza 1, 1 1 blamys] blame stza 2, 1 3 you] ye stza 3, 1 3 Now I] I now

stza 4, 1 1 On thyng, forsoth] Euery where 1 3 For] *And* be (1)] were

stza 5, 1 2 you] ye 1 3 for] by christ fore.

stza 6, 1 3 ne] nor

stza 7, 1 1 stretyly] secretly 1 3 Ther] Fore ther full] so

stza 8, 1 1 haue] haues 1 2 ye ther] yow owr saue] saves 1 3 knaue]

knaves

stza 9, 1 1 Yes] ye stza 10, 1 1 tha haue] haue thei 1 3 wrong] off wrong

stza 11, 1 2 feyth] soth 1 3 with evyll] in the devillis

stza 12, 1 3 suerly ye] by my growth the

stza 13, 1 2 hym (1)] he 1 3 leve of his wyff] off hys wiffe leve

stza 14, 1 2. *and*] ore

411

Bodleian Library MS Douce 302

By John Audelay, XV cent

f 30 v

Avyse youe, wemen, wom ye trust,
And beware of 'had-I-wyst'

[1]

Hyt is ful heue chastite

With mone maydyns now-o-day,

That louyn to haue gam *and* gle,

That turnes to sorewe, sothly to say,

All day thou sist.

[2]

Now yif a womon mared schal be,

Anon heo schal be boght *and* solde,

Fore no loue of hert, truly,

Bot fore couetyse of lond ore gold,

Al day thou seest

[3]

Bot thus Godis low *and* his wil wolde:

Even of blod, of good, of ache,

Fore loue togeder thus come thai schuld,

Fore this makis metle mareache,

Ale day thou sees.

[4]

And the froyt that coms hom betwene,Hit schal haue grace to thryue *and* theMS heading *de matrimonio mulierum*

burden, 1 1. Avyse] MS A avyse

Ther other schal haue turment *and* tene
 Fore couetyse vnlaufully,
 All day thou seest

[5]

Ther is no creature, as wretyn I fynd,

Saue onele mon, that [doth] outtrache,

Bot chesyn hom makys of here oun

kynd,

And so thai makyn treu mareache,

All day thou seest

[6]

Bot now a lady wil take a page,

Fore no loue, bot fleschele lust,

And so here blod is disperage,Thus lordus *and* lordchip al day ben

lost,

Al day thou seest

[7]

Lordis *and* lorchip thus wastyn away

In Englund in mone a place,

That makis false ayrs, hrt is no nay,

And lese worchip, honowre, *and* grace,

Al day thou seest.

stza 5, 1 3 chesyn] MS the syn

412

Bodleian Library MS Douce 302.

By John Audelay, XV cent

f 29 v

And God wold *graunt* me my prayer,
A child ayene I wold I were

[1]

Fore *pride* in herte he hatis allone,
Worchip ne *ieuerens* kepis he non,
Ne he is wroth *with* no mon,
In charete is all *his* chere

[2]

He wot neuer wat is envy,
He wol vche *mon* fard wele *him* by,
He couetis noght vnlaufully,
Fore chere-stons is his tresoure.

[3]

In hert he hatis lechoii, f 31 r
To here therof he is soiy,
He sleth the syn of glotere,
Nother etis ne drynkis bot for mystere

[4]

Slouth he putis away algate
And wol be bese erle *and* late,
Al wyckidnes thus he doth hate,
The vii dedle synns al in fere
MS heading Cantalena de puericia

[5]

A gracious lyfe forsothe he has,
To God ne *mon* doth no trespas,
And I in syn fal, alas,
Euere day in the yere.

[6]

My joy, my myrth is fro me clene,
I turne to care, *turment and* tene;
Ded I wold that I had bene
When I was borne, *and* layd on bere.

[7]

Fore better hit were to be vnboren
Then fore my *synus* to be forelorne,
Nere grace of God, that is beforne,
Almysdede *and* hole prayere

[8]

Now other cumford se I non
Bot schryue me clene *with contricion*
And make here trew satisfaccion
And do my penans wyle Y am here
burden, l i And] MS A and.

413

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354.

XVI cent.

f 252 i

Hay, hay, by this day,
What avayleth it me thowgh I say
nay?

[1]

I wold fayn be a clarke,
But yet hit is a strange werke;
The byrchyn twygges be so sharpe
Hit makith me haue a faynt harte;
What avaylith it me thowgh I say
nay?

[2]

On Monday in the mornynge whan I shall
rise,
At vi of the klok, hyt is the gise,
To go to skole *withowt* avise,
I had lever go twenti myle twyse;
What avaylith it me thowgh I say
nay?

[3]

My master lokith as he were madde
'Wher hast thou be, thow sory ladde?'
'Milked dukkes, my moder badde'
Hit was no *mervayle* thow I were sadde;
What vaylith it me thowgh I say nay?

[4]

My master pepered my ars *with* well
good spede;
Hit was worse than fynkyll sede,
He wold not leve till it did blede,
Mych sorow haue he for his dede!
What vayleth it me thowgh I say
nay?

[5]

I wold my master were a watt,
And my boke a wyld catt,
And a brase of grehowndes in his toppe;
 I wold be glade for to se that
 What vayleth it me thowgh I say
 nay?

stza 2, 1 4 twenti] MS. xxth.

[6]

I wold my master were an hare,
And all his bokes howndes were,
And I myself a joly hontere;
 To blow my horn I wold not spare,
 For if he were dede I wold not care
 What vaylith me thowgh I say nay?

At end Explicit.

414

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet. e 1
 f 23 v

XV cent.

A, a, a, a,
 Yet I loue wherso I go.

[1]

In all this world [n]is a meryar lyfe
 Than is a yong man withovtyn a wyfe,
 For he may lyven withovghten stryfe
 In euery place wherso he go.

[2]

In euery place he is loved ouer all
 Among maydyns gret *and* small,
 In daunsyng, in pypyng, *and* rennyng
 at the ball,
 In euery [place wherso he go]

stzas 2-4, 1 4 MS In euery &c

[3]

Thei lat lyght be husbondmen
 Whan thei at the ball rene,
 Thei cast hyr loue to yong men
 In euery [place wherso thei go]

[4]

Than sey maydes, 'Farwell, Jacke,
 Thi loue is pressyd al in thi pake,
 Thou beryst thi loue behynd thi bak
 In euery [place wherso thou go]

415

St John's College, Cambridge. MS S. 54
 f 9 v

XV cent.

Ay, ay, be this day,
 Y wyll mak mery qwyll Y may.

[1]

Qwyll mene haue her bornys full,
 Therof Y thynk my pert to pull,
 For, to car for the kynges wolles,
 Yt war but selye, be my fay

[2]

For, be yt werre, or be yt pece, f 10 r
 For me may yt be neuer the les,
 Lete hem sytte on the hye dese
 To serue hem in hys arey.

[3]

Me thynk this word is wonder wery
 And fadyth as the brymbyll bery;
 Therfor Y wyll note but be mery;
 How long I xall Y cannot sey.

[4]

Syrs, *and* ye do after me,
 Car ye not thow that ye the,
 No[w] Y red, do aftyre me,
 For Jak Rekles is my name.

416

British Museum MS Sloane 2593.

XV cent

f 26 v

We ben chapmen lyght of fote,
The fowle weyys foi to fle.

[1]

We bern abowtyn non cattles skynnys,
Pursis, *perlis*, syluer pynnys,
Smale wympele[s] for ladyis f 27 r
chynnys;
Damsele, bey sum ware of me

[2]

I haue a poket for the nonys,
Therine ben tweyne precyous stonys,
Damsele, hadde ye asayid hem onys,
Ye xuld the rathere gon with me.

[3]

I haue a jelyf of Godes sonde,
Withoutyn fyt it can stonde;
It can smytyn and hagt non honde;
Ryd yourself quat it may be.

[4]

I haue a powder for to selle,
Quat it is can I not telle,
It makyt maydenys wombys to swelle,
Therof I haue a quantyte.

417

British Museum. MS Sloane 2593

XV cent

f. 29 r

Prenegard, *prenegard*!
Thus bere I myn baselard.

[1]

Lestenit, lordynges, I you beseke
Ther is non man wrought a leke,
Be he sturdy, be he meke,
But he bere a baselard.

[2]

Myn baselard hagt a schede of red
And a clene loket of led,
Me thinkt I may bere vp myn f 29 v
he[d,]
For I bere myn baselard.

[3]

My baselard hagt a wrethin hafte;
Quan I am ful of ale cawte,
It is gret dred of manslawte,
For then I bere [myn baselard]

[4]

My baselard hagt a syluer schape,
Therefore I may bothe gaspe and gape,
Me thinkt I go lyk non knape,
For I bere a baselard

stza. 3, l. 4. MS for then I bere &c

[5]

My baselard hagt a trencher kene,
Fayr as rasour, scharp and schene;
Euere me thinkt I may be kene,
For I bere [myn baselard.]

[6]

As I yede vp in the strete,
With a cartere I gan mete;
'Felawe,' he seyde, 'so mot I the,
Thou xalt forgo thi baselard.'

[7]

The cartere his qwypppe began to take,
And al myn fleych began to qwake,
And I was lef for to ascape,
And there I left myn baselard.

[8]

Quan I cam forgt onto myn damme,
Myn hed was brokyn to the panne,
Che seyde I was a praty manne,
And wel cowde bere myn basela[r].]

stza. 5, l 4 MS for I bere &c

418

Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge. MS. 383.

XV cent.

p 41

Hos is to hoth at hom,
Ryd out, it wol agon

[1]

Wan ic wente byyonde the see,
Ryche man for te bee,
Neuer the betur was me,
Ic hadde leuer han ben at om.

[2]

Hamwardus wanne ic gan diawe,
Wyth a ryt hongury mawe,
A lytyl god ic was wel fawe,
My frendus wern my fulle fon

Before burden (apparently the name of the air) alone y lyue alone
The repetition of the burden is indicated after stza 5 by *wos is to*

[3]

A man that nower nel abyde,
But sech contreys wyde,
Ofte tene schal him betyde;
Myche yerne bryngeth lytel hom.

[4]

A man that nower nel groute,
But seche contreys aboute,
Of his prest he is in doute,
God ne schal he gete non.

[5]

God, that is in heuene cler,
And his swete modur derre
And hys halwen al yfere
Yyf vs grace wel to don

419

A a

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354.

XVI cent.

f 206 v.

Hoow, gossip myne, gossip myn,
Whan will we go to the wyne?
Good gossipes [myn]

[1]

I shall you tell a full good spout,
How gossippis gader them on a sort,
Ther seke bodyes to comforte,
Whan they mete
In lane or stret,
God gossipis myn.

[2]

But I dare not, for ther disspleasuns,
Tell of thes maters half the substance,
But yet sumwhat of ther gouernaunce
As ferre as I dare,
I will declare,
Good gossipis myn,

[3]

'Good gossip myn, wher haue ye be?
Hit is so long sith I you see
Wher is the best wyne? Tell you me.
Can ye owght tell?'
'Ye, full well,
Good gossippis myn.

[4]

'I know a drawght of mery-go-down;
The beste it is in all this town,
But yet I wolde not for my gown
My husbond wyste,
Ye may me triste,
Good gossippis myn'

[5]

'Call forth owr gossippis by and by,
Elynore, Johan, and Margery,
Margret, Alis, and Cecely,
For thei will cum,
Both all and som,
Good gossippis myn-a.

[6]

'And eche of *them* will *sum*what bryng,
Gose or pigge or capons wyng,
Pastes of pigynes or *sum* other thyng,
For we muste ete
Sum maner mett,
Good gossippis myn-a '

[7]

'Go beffore by tweyn *and* tweyn,
Wisely, that ye be not seen,
For I mvste home *and* cum agayn
To witt, ywis,
Wher my husbond is,
Good gossippis myn-a.

[8]

'A strype or two God myght f 207 r
send me
Yf my husbond myght here see me '
'She that is aferde, lett her flee,'
Quod Alis than,
'I dred no man,
Good gossippis myn-a

[9]

'Now be we *in* the tavein sett,
A drawght of the best lett hym fett,
To bryng owr husbondes owt of dett,
For we will spend
Till God more send,
Good gossippis myn-a '

[10]

Eche of *them* browght forth ther disshe;
Sum browght flesshe *and* su[m] fissue;
Quod Margret meke now *with* a wisshe,
'I wold Anne were here,
She wold mak vs chere,
Good gossippis myn-a

[11]

'How say ye, gossippis, is this wyn
good?'
'That is it,' *quod* Elynore, 'by the rode!
It chereth the hart *and* comfourteth the
blod,
Such jonkers amonge
Shall make vs leve long,
Good gossippis [myn-a.]'

[12]

Anne bade, 'Fill a pot of muscadell,
For of all wyne I love it well,
Swete wyne kepe my body *in* hele,
Yf I had it nowght,
I shuld tak thowght,
Good gossippis myn-a.

[13]

'How loke ye, gossip, at the bordes end?
Not mery, gossip? God it amend!
All shall be well; els God defend '
Be mery *and* glad,
And sit not so sade,
Good gossip myn-a '

[14]

'Wold God I had *don* after your covnsell,
For my husbond is so fell
He bettith me lyke the devill of hell,
And the more I crye,
The lesse mercy,
Good gossippis myn-a '

[15]

Alis *with* a lowde voys spak than,
'Evis,' she said, 'littill good he can
That bettith or strikith any woman,
And specially his wyff,
God geve hym short lyff,
Good gossippis myn-a!'

[16]

Margret meke saide, 'So mot I thryve,
I know no man that is alyve
That gevith me ii strokes but he haue v!
I am not afferd,
Thowgh he haue a berde,
Good gossippis myn-a '

[17]

On cast down her shot *and* went away.
'Gossip,' *quod* Elynore, 'what dide she
pay?
Not but a peny? Loo, therfor I say
She shall no more
Be of owr lore,
Good gossippis myn-a.

[18]

'Suche gestes we may haue ynow,
That will not for ther shot alowe,
With whom com she? Gossip, with
you?'

'Nay,' quod Johan,
'I com aloon,
Good gossippis myn-a.'

[19]

'Now rekyn owr shot, and go we hens
What? Cummeth to eche of vs but in
[pence]?'
Perde, this is but a small expens

For suche a sorte,
And all but sporte,
Good gossipes myn-a

[20]

'Torn down the stret whan ye f 207 v
cum owt,
And we wil cumpas rownd about '
'Gossip,' quod Anne, 'what nedith that
dowt?'

Your husbondes [be] pleased
Whan ye be eased,
Good gossippes myn-a

[21]

'Whatsoeuer any man thynk,
We com for nowght but for good drynk,
Now let vs go home and wyne,
For it may be seen
Wher we haue ben,
Good gossippes myn-a '

burden, 1 1 *The end of the line is obscured by the binding*

stza 19, 1 2 [pence] MS d

Stzas 24, 25, not in MS, are supplied from A b

[22]

This is the thowght that gossippis take
Ons in the wek mery will they make,
And all small drynkes thei will forsake,
But wyne of the best
Shall haue no rest,
Good gossippes myn-a.

[23]

Sum be at the tavern thrise in the weke,
And so be sum euery day eke,
Or elles thei will gron and mak them
sek,
For thyngis vsed
Will not be refused,
God gossippes myn-a.

[24]

Who sey yow, women, is it not soo?
Yes, suerly, and that ye wyll know;
And therfore lat vs drynk all a-row
And off owr syngyng
Mak a good endyng,
[Good gossippis myn-a]

[25]

Now fyll the cupe, and drynk to me,
And than shal we good felows be,
And off thys talkyng leve will we
And speak then
Good off women,
[Good gossippis myn-a]

b Bodleian Library MS Eng. poet e 1, ff. 57 v.-59 v. XV cent

burden, 1 2. we] ye 1. 3 omits

stza 1, 1 1 shall] wyll 1. 3. to] for to 1 5 lane] a lane 1. 6 omits in all stanzas

stza 3, 1 4 ye] yow 1 5 Ye] omits stza. 4, 1 3 I wolde] wold I 1 4. wyste] it.

stza 5, 1. 1 owr] yowr.

stza 6, 1 2 or (1)] omits

ll 4, 5

Fore a galon off wyn
Thei will not wryng

stza 8, 1 1 two] u

stza 9, 1 1 the] omits.

stza 11, 1 1 ye] yow. 1 2 is it] it is

1. 3 chereth] cherysheth comforteth]

comfort 1 4 jonkers] jonckettes

stza 12, 1 1 bade] byd. 1 4 it] off it

1. 5 thowght] gret though[t]

stza 13, 1 3 defend] it defend

stza 16, 1. 3 gevith] gyve haue] shal haue v] fyffe 1 5 he] I a] no.

stzas. 17, 1 1 away] her wey 1. 4 no] be no. 1 5. Be] omits

stza 19, 1 2 Cummeth to] cost it

stza 20, 1 1 whan] where 1 5 eased] reisyd

stza. 22, 1 3 drynkes] drynk. 1 5 haue] han. stza 23, 1 1. thrise] ons. the (2)] a.

B

British Museum MS. Cotton Titus A xxvi.

XV cent.

[Gode gosyp . .]

.

[1]

'Go ye before be twayne and f 1611
twayne,

Wysly, that ye be not isayne,
And I shall go home *and* com agayne,
To witte what dothe owre syre

[2]

'For yff hit happ he dyd me se,
A strype or to God myght send me,
Yytte sche that is aferre, lette her flee,
For that is nowght be this fyre.'

[3]

That eueryche of hem browght ther
dysche,
Sum browght fleshe, and som brought
fyshe;

Quod Margery meke than *with* a wyise,
'I wold that Frankelyne the harper
were here.'

[4]

She hade notte so sone the word isayd,
But in come Frankelyn at a brayd
'God saue youe, mastres,' he sayde,
'I come to make youe some chere.'

[5]

Anon he began to draw owght his harpe,
Tho the gossypes began to starte;
They callyd the tawyrner to fyll the
quarte
And lette note for no coste.

[6]

Then seyde the gossypes all in fere,
'Stieke vp, harper, *and* make gode chere,
And wher that I goo, fere or nere,
To owre hu[s]bondes make thou no
[boste.']

[7]

'Nay, mastres, as mote I thee,
Ye schall newyr be wrayed for me;
I had leuer her dede to be
As hereof to be knowe.'

[8]

They fylled the pottes by *and* by; f 161 v
They lett not for no coste trully,
The harpy stroke vpe meirely,
That they myght onethe blowe.

[9]

They sette them downe, they myght no
more;
Theyre legges they thought were passyng
soore,
They prayd the harper, 'Kepe sum
store,
And lette vs drynke a bowght.

[10]

'Heye the, tauernere, I praye the,
Go fyll the potteys lyghtly,
And latte vs dry[n]ke by *and* by,
And lette the cupe goo route'

[11]

This ys the thought that gossypus take
Onys in the weke they wyll merey make,
And all smalle drynckys they wyll for-
sake,
And drynke wyne of the best.

[12]

Some be at the tauerne onys in the weke,
And some be there euery day eke,
And ellse ther hartes will be sekke
And gyffe her hosbondys ewyll reste.

[13]

When they had dronke *and* made them
glad,
And they schuld rekyn, theyn they sad,
'Call the tauernere,' anone they bade,
'That we were lyghtly hens'

[14]

'I swere be God and by Seynt f 162 r
Jayme,
I wold notte that oure syre at home
[Wiste] that we had this game,
Notte for founy pens.

[15]

'Gadyr the scote, *and* lette vs wend,
And lette vs goo home by Lurcas Ende,
For dred we mete note *wth* owre frend
Or that we come home '

[16]

When they had there countes caste,
Eueryche of hem spend vi [pence] at the
last,
'Alas,' cothe Seyscely, 'I am aggaste,
We schall be schent eurychone.'

[17]

Fro the tauerne be they all goone,
And eueryche of hem schewythe her
wysdom,
And there sche tellythe her husbond
anone
Shee had been at the chyrche.

Several leaves are missing from MS immediately before this piece, which consequently lacks its burden and initial stanzas

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1, 2, 4, 17, 20 gode
gosyp stza 3 Gode gosip stzas 5, 7, 8, 10-16, 18, 19 good gosyp stza 6 god
gossip stza. 9 Gode gosyp

Stzas 6 and 7 are transposed in MS, the correct order being indicated by a cross-mark
stza 13, 1 3 the] MS they anone] MS anoue stza 16, 1 2. [pence]] MS ^d
stza 17, 1 4 chyrche] MS chyrchee. At end Exsplycyt lytyll thanke

[18]

Off her werke she takythe no kepe,
Sche must as for anowe goo slepe,
And ells for aggeyr wyll sche wepe,
She may no werkes wurchen.

[19]

Off her slepe when sche dothe wake,
Faste in hey then gan sche arake,
And c[l]awthe her seruantes abowte the
bake,
Yff to here they outhe had sayd

[20]

Off this proses I make an end
Becawse I wil haue women to be my
frend;
Of there dewosyon they wold send
A peny for to drynke at the end

420

Balliol College, Oxford. MS 354.

XVI cent

f 251 v

Bon jowre, bon jowre a vous!
I am cum vnto this hows
Vith par la pompe, I say.

[1]

Is ther any good man here
That will make me any chere?
And if ther were, I wold cum nere
To wit what he wold say.
A, will ye be wild?
By Mary myld,

I trow ye will synge gay

[2]

Be gladly, masters euerychon,
I am cum myself alone
To appose you on by on,
Let se who dare say nay.
Sir, what say ye?
Syng on; lett vs see.
Now will it be
Thys or another day?

[3]

Loo, this is he that will do the dede!
He tempereth his mowth, therfore take
hede.
Syng softe, I say, lest yowr nose blede,
For hurt yowrsel ye may,
But, by God, that me bowght,
Your brest is so towght,
Tyll ye haue well cownght,
Ye may not therwith away.

[4]

Sir, what say ye *with your* face so lene?
Ye syng nother good tenowre, treble, ne
mene.
Vtter not *your* voice *withowt your* brest
be clene,
Hartely I you pray.
I hold you excused,
Ye shall be refused,
For ye haue not be vsed
To no good sport nor play

[5]

Sir, what say ye *with your* fat face?
 Me thynkith ye shuld bere a very good
 bace
 To a pot of good ale or ipocras,
 Truly as I you say.
 Hold vp *your* hede,
 Ye loke lyke lede,
 Ye wast myche bred
 Euermore from day to day.

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1, 2, 4 Bon Jowre stza.
 3 bonjowr stza 5 Bon joure stza 6 bon Jowr At end Explicit

[6]

Now will ye see wher he stondith
 behynde?
 Iwis, brother, ye be vnkynd,
 Stond forth, *and* wast *with* me som
 wynd,
 For ye haue ben called a synger ay.
 Nay, be not ashamed,
 Ye shall not be blamed,
 For ye haue ben famed
 The worst *in* this contrey

421

Balliol College, Oxford MS 354

XVI cent.

f 251 v

How, butler, how! Bevis a tow!'
 Fill the boll, jentill butler, *and* let the
 cup rowght.

[1]

Jentill butler, bell amy,
 Fyll the boll by the eye,
 That we may drynk by *and* by;
 With how, butler, how! Bevis a tow!'
 Fill the boll, butler, *and* let the cup
 rowght

[2]

Here is mete for vs all,
 Both for gret *and* for small,
 I trow we must the butlar call,
 With how, butler, how! Bevis a tow!'
 Fill the boll, butler, *and* lett the cupe
 rowght

[3]

I am so dry I cannot spek; f 252 r
 I am nygh choked *with* my mete,
 burden, 1 2 butler] MS butlet
 stza 4, 1 5 MS. Fill the boll &c.

I trow the butler be aslepe,
 With how, butler, how! Bevis a
 towght!
 Fill the boll, butler, [and let the cup
 rowght]

[4]

Butler, butler, fill the boll,
 Or elles beshrewe thy noll,
 I trow we must the bell toll,
 With how, butler, how! Bevis a
 towght!
 Fill the boll, [butler, and let the cup
 rowght]

[5]

Iff the butlers name be Water,
 I wold he were a galow-claper,
 But if he bryng vs drynk the rather,
 With how, butler, how! Bevis a
 towght!
 Fill [the boll, butler, and let the cup
 rowght.]

422

A

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet e 1

XV cent.

f 41 v

Bryng vs *in* good ale, *and* bryng vs *in*
 good ale;
 Fore owr blyssyd Lady sak, bryng vs
 in good ale.

[1]

Bryng vs *in* no browne bred, fore f 42 r
 that is mad of brane,
 Nore bryng vs *in* no whyt bred, fore
 therin is no game,
 But bryng vs *in* good ale.

[2]

Bryng vs *in* no befe, for *ther* is many
bonys,

But bryng vs *in* good ale, for that goth
downe at onys,
And bryng vs *in* good ale

[3]

Bryng vs *in* no bacon, for that is passyng
fate,

But bryng vs *in* god ale, *and* gyfe vs
inought of that,
And bryng vs *in* good ale.

[4]

Bryng vs *in* no mutton, for that is often
lene,

Nor bryng vs *in* no trypps, for thei be
syldom clene,
But bryng vs *in* good ale.

[5]

Bryng vs *in* no eggys, for *ther* ar many
schelles,

Siza. 1 is written last in MS Its proper position is indicated by a, the other stanzas being marked b, c, &c

But bryng vs *in* good ale, *and* gyfe vs
noth[y]ng ellys,
And bryng vs *in* good ale

[6]

Bryng vs *in* no butter, for *therin* ar
many herys,

Nor bryng vs *in* no pygges flesch, for
that wyl mak vs borys,
But bryng vs *in* good ale.

[7]

Bryng vs *in* no podynges, for *therin* is al
Godes good,

Nor bryng vs *in* no veneson, for that is
not for owr blod,
But bryng vs *in* good ale.

[8]

Bryng vs *in* no capons flesch, for that is
often der,

Nor bryng vs *in* no dokes flesch, for
thei slober *in* the mer,
But bryng vs *in* good ale.

B

British Museum MS Harley 541

XV cent

f 214 v

Brynge vs home good ale, *ser*, brynge
vs home good ale,
And for owre dere Lady love, brynge
vs home good ale

[1]

Brynge home no beff, *ser*, for that ys
full of bonys,

But brynge home good ale inowgh, for
I love wyle that,
But [brynge vs home good ale]

[2]

Brynge vs home no wetyn brede, for
that ys full of braund,

Nothyr no ry brede, for that ys of that
same,
But [brynge vs home good ale]

[3]

Bryng vs home no porke, *ser*, for that ys
very fat,

Nethyr no barly brede, for nethyr lovye
I that,
But bryng vs home good ale

[4]

Bryng vs home no muttun, *ser*, for that
ys togh and lene,

Nothyr no tryps, for they be seldyn
clene,
But bryng [vs home good ale]

[5]

Bryng vs home no vele, *ser*, for that
wyl not dure,

But bryng vs home good ale inogh to
drynke by the fyre,
But [bryng vs home good ale]

[6]

Bryng vs home no sydyr, nor no palde
 wyne,
 For, and thou do, thow shalt have
 Crystes curse and myne,
 But [bryng vs home good ale]

burden, 1 2 Lady] MS lady lady

stza 1, 1 3 MS but c

stzas 2, 5, 6, 1 3 MS but &c

stza 4, 1 1 muttun] MS mwittun 1 3 MS but bryng &c

423

Bodleian Library MS. Eng poet e 1

XV cent.

f 52 r

Doll thi ale, doll; doll thi ale, dole;
 Ale mak many a mane to haue a doty
 poll

[1]

Ale mak many a mane to styk at a brere,
 Ale mak many a mane to ly in the myere,
 And ale mak many a mane to slep by
 the fyere,
 With doll

[2]

Ale mak many a mane to stombyl at
 a stone,
 Ale mak many a mane to go dronken
 home,
 And ale mak many a mane to brek hys
 tone;
 With doll.

[3]

Ale mak many a mane to draw hys knyfe,
 Ale mak many a mane to mak giet stryfe,
 And ale mak many a mane to bet hys wyf,
 With dole.

[4]

Ale mak many a mane to wet hys chekes,
 Ale mak many a mane to ly in the stretes,
 And ale mak many a mane to wet hys
 shetes;
 With dole

[5]

Ale mak many a mane to stombyll at
 the blokkes,
 Ale mak many a mane to mak his hed
 haue knokkes,
 And ale mak many a mane to syt in the
 stokkes,
 With dol

[6]

Ale mak many a mane to ryne f 52 v
 ouer the falows,
 Ale mak many a mane to swere by God
 and Al-Halows,
 And ale mak many a mane to hang vpon
 the galows,
 With dol.

424

A

Balliol College, Oxford. MS. 354.

XVI cent.

f 176 v

As I walked by a forest side,
 I met with a foster; he bad me abide.

[1]

At a place wher he me sett f 178 r.
 He bad me, what tyme an hart I met,
 That I shuld lett slyppe and say, 'Go
 bett!'

With 'Hay, go bet! Hay, go bett! Hay,
 go bett! How!'

We shall haue game and sport ynow.

[2]

I had not stond ther but a while,
 Ye, not the mountenaunce of a myle,
 But a gret hart cam rennyng withowt
 any gile,

With 'Ther he goth! Ther he goth!
 ther he gothe! How!'

We shall haue game and sport ynow.

[3]

I had no sonner my howndes lat goo
 But the hart was overthrowe,
 Than euery man began to blowe,
 With 'Tro-ro-ro! Tro-ro-ro! Tro-ro-ro!
 Trow!'

We shall haue game *and* sport ynow.

At end Explicit

B

Bodleian Library Rawlinson 4to 598 (10) (Wynkyn de Worde)
 recto

1521.

[2]

As I came by a grene forest syde,
 I met with a forster that badde me
 abyde;

With 'Hey, go bet! Hey, go bet!
 Hey, go [bet!] Howe!'

We shall haue sport and game
 ynowe

[1]

Underneth a tre I dyde me set,
 And with a grete hert anone I met,
 I badde let slyppe and sayd, 'Hey, go
 bet!'

With 'Hey, go bet! Hey, go bet! [Hey
 go bet!] Howe!'

We shall haue sport and game ynowe

Heading in original A caroll of huntynge

stza 2, l 4 [There he gothe! How!]] Orig. &c

stza 3, l 4 [b]. [Hey, go bet! How!]] Orig. &c

1 4 [c] [There he goth! How!]] Orig. &c
*The three different texts of stza 3, l 4 were apparently to be sung simultaneously by
 three different voices*

At end Finis

I had not stande there but a whyle,
 Not the mountenaunce of a myle;
 There came a grete hert without gyle
 'There he gothe! There he gothe!
 [There he gothe! How!']

We shall haue sporte and game ynowe

[3]

Talbot my hounde, with a mery taste,
 All about the grene wode he gan cast,
 I toke my horne and blew him a blast,

[a] With 'Tro-ro-ro-ro! Tro-ro-ro-ro!
 [Tro-ro-ro-ro! Ro!']

[b] With 'Hey, go bet! Hey, go bet!
 [Hey, go bet! How!']

[c] 'There he gothe! There he goth!
 [There he goth! How!']

We shall haue sport and game ynowe.

425

Trinity College, Cambridge MS R. 4. 20

XV cent.

f 171 r.

Hay, hay, hay, hay!
 Thyneke on Whitson Monday

[1]

The Bysshop Scrope, that was so wyse,
 Nowe is he dede, and lowe he lyse,
 To hevyns blys yhit may he ryse

Thurghe helpe of Marie, that mylde
 may

[2]

When he was broght vnto the hyll,
 He held hym both mylde and styll,
 He toke his deth with full gode wyll,
 As I haue herde full trewe men say.

[3]

He that shulde his dethe be,
 He kneled down vppon his kne.
 'Lord, your deth, forgyffe it me,
 Full hertly here to yowe I pray.

[4]

'Here I wyll the commende
 Thou gyff me fyve strokys *with* thy
 hende,
 And than my wayes thou latt me wende
 To hevyns blys, that lastys ay.'

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza. 1 Hay, stzas. 2-4 hay.
 At end (*in another hand*) *per* me thomam henry persone.

426

a

Bodleian Library MS. Arch. Selden B 26.

XV cent

f 17 v

Deo gracias Anglia
 Redde *pro* victoria.

[1]

Owre kynge went forth to Normandy
 With grace *and* myght of chyualry,
 Ther God for hym wrought mervelusly;
 Wherefore Englonde may calle *and* cry,
 'Deo gracias.'

[2]

He sette a sege, the sothe for to f 18 r
 say,
 To Harflu toвне *with* ryal aray,
 That toвне he wan *and* made a fray
 That Fraunce shal rywe tyl domesday;
 Deo gracias.

[3]

Than went oure kynge *with* alle his oste
 Thorwe Fraunce, for alle the Frenshe
 boste;

He spared no diede of lest ne moste
 Tyl he come to Agincourt coste,
 Deo gracias.

[4]

Than, forsoth, that knyght comely,
 In Agincourt feld he faught manly;
 Thorw grace of God most myghty
 He had bothe the felde *and* the victory,
 Deo gracias

[5]

There dukys *and* erlys, lorde *and* barone
 Were take *and* slayne, *and* that wel sone,
 And summe were ladde into Lundone
 With joye and merthe *and* grete renone;
 Deo gracias.

[6]

Now gracious God he saue oure kynge,
 His peple, *and* alle his wel-wyllynge,
 Yef hym gode lyfe *and* gode endynge,
 That we *with* merth mowe sauely synge,
 'Deo gracias'

The burden is again written in full after stza. 1 and marked chorus.
 Stza. 3 is written after stza. 6 in MS. It is marked a, and stza. 4 is marked b

b Trinity College, Cambridge. MS. O. 3. 58, recto XV cent. (burden and stzas.
 1, 2, 4-6).

stza. 2, l. 1 the sothe for] for sothe.
 stza. 4, l. 1 Than went hym forth owr kyng comely 1 3. myghty] meruelowsly.
 l. 4. the . . the] omits
 stza. 5, l. 1. dukys *and* erlys, lorde] lordys eerlys 1 2. take *and* slayne] slayn *and*
 takyn wel] ful 1. 3 ladde] browth 1 4 merthe] blysse 1 5 D g.
 stza. 6, l. 1 Now gracious] Almythy saue] kepe 1 3 And yeue hem grace with-
 outyn endyng 1. 4 That we *with* merth mowe] Than may we calle *and*.
 The burden is again written in full after stza. 1.

427

British Museum. MS. Addit. 31042.

XV cent.

f 110 v

The Rose es the fayreste flour of alle
 That euermore wasse or euermore
 schall,
 The Rose of Ryse;
 Off alle thies flourres the Rose berys
 pryce.

[1]

The Rose it es the fairest flour,
 The Rose es swetteste of odoure,
 The Rose, in care it es comforthetour;
 The Rose, in seknes it es saluoure,
 The Rose so bryghte,
 In medcyns it es moste of myghte.

MS heading A Carolle for Crystynnesse

[2]

Witnesse thies clerkes that haue wysse
 The Rose es the flour moste holdyn in
 prysse;
 Therefore me thynke the Flour-de-Lyse
 Scholde wirchipe the Rose of Ryse
 And bene his thralle,
 And so scholde other floures alle.

[3]

Many a knyghte with spere and launce
 Folowede that Rose to his plesance,
 When the Rose betyde a chaunce,
 Than fadide alle the floures of Fraunce
 And chaungyde hewe
 In plesance of the Rose so trewe.

428

Bodleian Library. MS. Douce 302

By John Audelay, XV cent.

f 29 r

A, Perles Pryns, to the we pray
 Saue our kyng both nyght and day.

[1]

Fore he is ful yong, tender of age,
 Semele to se, o bold corage,
 Louele and lofte of his lenage,
 Both perles prince and kyng veray.

[2]

His gracious granseres and his grawn-
 dame,
 His fader and moder, of kyngis thay
 came;
 Was neuer a worthier prynce of name
 So exelent in al our day.

[3]

His fader, fore loue of Mayd Kateryn
 In Fraunce he wrought turment and
 tene;
 His loue hee sayd hit schuld not ben
 And send him ballis him with to play.

[4]

Then was he wyse in wars withall
 And taght Franchemen to plai at the
 ball,
 With tenes-hold he ferd ham hall;
 To castelles and setis thei floyne away.

[5]

To Harflete a sege he layd anon
 And cast a bal vnto the towne;
 The Frenchemen swere be se and sun
 Hit was the fynd that mad that fray.

[6]

Anon thai toke ham to counsele,
 Oure gracious kyng thai wold asayle,
 At Agyncowrt, at that patayle,
 The floure of Frawnce he fel that day.

[7]

The Kyng of Frawns then was f 29 v.
 agast,
 Mesagers to him send in hast,
 Fore wele he west hit was bot wast
 Hem to witstond in hone way.

[8]

*And prayd hym to sese of his outrage
And take Kateryn to mareage,
Al Frawnce to him schuld do homage
And croune him kyng aftyr his day.*

[9]

*Of Frawnce he mad him anon regent
And wedid Kateren in his present,
Into Englund anon he went
And cround our quene in ryal aay*

[10]

*Of Quen Kateryn our kyng was borne
To saue our ryght that was forelorne
Oure faders in Frawns had won before;
Thai han hit hold mone a day*

[11]

*Thus was his fader a conqueroure
And wan his moder with gret onoure,
Now may the kyng bere the floure
Of kyngis and kyngdams in vche
cuntre.*

[12]

*On him schal fal the prophece
That hath ben sayd of Kyng Herre*

MS heading *de rege nostro henrico sexto*
burden, l 1 r A] MS. A a Pryn] MS peryns
stza 2, l 2 moder] MS moderis

*The hole cros wyn or he dye
That Crist habud on Good Fryday,*

[13]

*Al wo and werres he schal acese
And set all reams in rest and pese
And turne to Cristyndam al hethynes;
Now gawnt him hit so be may*

[14]

*Pray we that Lord is lord of all
To saue our kyng, his reme ryal,
And let neuer myschup vppon him fall
Ne false traytoure him to betray.*

[15]

*I pray youe, seris, of your gentre,
Syng this carol reuerently,
For hit is mad of Kyng Herre;
Gret ned fore him we han to pray.*

[16]

*Yif he fare wele, wele schul we be,
Or ellis we may be ful sore;
Fore him schal wepe mone an e;
Thus prophecis the blynd Awdlay*

stza 13, l 2 all] MS all al

429

Lambeth Palace Library. MS Lambeth 306.

1461-4.

f 136 r

A, a, a,
Edwardus Dai gracia.

[1]

*Sithe God hathe chose the to be his knyht
And posseside the in thi right,
Thoue hime honour with al thi myght,
Edwardes, Dai gracia.*

[2]

*Oute of the stoke that longe lay dede
God hathe causede the to sprynge and
sprede
And of al Englund to be the hede,
Edwardes, Dei gracia*

[3]

*Sithe God hathe yeuen the thorough his
myghte
Owte of that stoke birede in sight
The floure to sprynge and rosse so white,
Edwardes, Dai gracia*

[4]

*Thoue yeve hem lawde and praisinge,
Thove vergyne knight of whom we
syng,
Vndeified sithe thy begynnyng,
Edwardes, Dai gracia.*

[5]

God save thy conteneuance
 And so to prospere to his plesance
 That euer thyne astate thou mowte en-
 haunce,
 Edwardes, Dai gracia

[6]

Rex Anglie *et* Francia, Y say,
 Hit is thine owne, why saist thou nay?
 And so is Spayne, that faire contrey,
 Edwardes, Dai gracia.

stza. 2, 1 1 lay dede] MS lade day
 stza 5, 1 2 prospere] MS prospepe

[7]

Fy on slowtfull conteneuance
 Where conquest is a noble plesance
 And regesterd in olde remembrance,
 Edwardes, Day gracia!

[8]

Wheifor, prince and kyng moste myghti,
 Remember the, subdeu of thi regaly,
 Of Englande, Fraunce, *and* Spayn
 trewely,
 Edwardes, Dai gracia

At end Explicit.

430

British Museum MS Addit. 19046.

c 1470.

f 74 r

Nowell, nowell, nowell, nowell!
 And Cryst saue mery Y[n]glon[d] *and*
 sped yt well!

[1]

Tyll home sull Wylekyn, this joly gentyl
 schepe,
 All to houre combely Kyng Hary this
 cnat ys knyht,
 Therefore let vs all syng nowel.

[2]

Tyll home sull Wylekyn, this joly gentyl
 mast,
 All to my Lorde Prynce, that neuer was
 caste,
 Therefore let vs all syng nowel

The burden is written at the end in the MS, followed by *fy amen quod* Jonys
 The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 nowell. stza 2, 3
 nowel. stza. 3 Nowel

[3]

Tyll home sull Wylekyn, this joly gentyl
 nore,
 All to my Lorde Chaberlayne, that neuer
 was for-sore,
 Therefore let vs all syng nowell.

[4]

Tyll home sull Wylekyn, this joly gentyll
 sayle,
 All to my Lorde Fueryn, that neuer dyd
 fayle;
 Therefore let vs all syng nowell

431

Trinity College, Dublin MS D 4. 18.

c 1461.

f 70 v.

Now is the Rose of Rone growen to
 a gret honoure,
 Therefore syng we euerychone, 'Ibles-
 sid be that floure.'

[1]

I warne you euerychone, for [ye] shuld
 vnderstonde,
 There sprange a Rose in Rone *and* sprad
 into Englonde,
 He that moued oure mone thorough the
 grace of Goddes sonde,
 That Rose stonte alone the chef flour of
 this londe.
 Iblessid be the tyme that euer God
 sprad that floure.

[2]

Blessid be that Rose ryall, that is so
fressh of hewe;
Almighty Jhesu blesse that soule that
the sede sewe,
And blessid be the gardeyn ther the Rose
grewe;
Cristes blessing haue thei all that to
that Rose be trewe,
And blessid be the tyme that euer
God sprad that floure

[3]

Betwix Cristmas *and* Candelmas, f 72 r
a litel before the Lent,
All the lordes of the northe, thei wrought
by oon assent,
For to stroy the sowthe cuntre thei did
all hur entent;
Had not the Rose of Rone be, al Englonde
had be shent.
Iblessid be the tyme that euer God
sprad that floure

[4]

Upon a Shrof Tuesday, on a grene leede,
Betwyx Sandricche *and* Saynt Albons
many man gan blede.
On an As Wedynsday we levid in mykel
drede;
Than cam the Rose of Rone downe *and*
halp vs at oure nede
Blessid be the tyme that euer God
sprad that floure

[5]

The northen men made hir bost *whan*
thei had done that dede
'We wol dwelle in the southe cuntrey
and take al that we nede;
These wives *and* hur doughters, oure
purpose shul thei spede.'
Than seid the Rose of Rone, 'Nay, that
werk shal I forbede'
Blessid be the tyme that euer God
sprad that floure.

[6]

For to saue al Englonde the Rose did his
entent,
With Calys *and* with loue Londone,
with Essex *and* with Kent,

And al the south of Englonde vnto the
watyr of Trent,
And, *whan* he saw the tyme best, the
Rose from London went
Blessid be the tyme that euer God
sprad that floure.

[7]

The wey into the northe cuntre the Rose
ful fast he sought;
With hym went the Ragged Staf, that
many man dere bought;
So than did the White Lyon; ful
worthely he wrought,
Almighty Jhesu blesse his soule that tho
armes ought'
And blessid be the tyme that euer
God sprad that floure

[8]

The Fysshe Hoke cam into the felde
with ful egre mode,
So did the Cornysse Chowghe *and*
brought forthe all hir brode;
Ther was the Blak Ragged Staf, that is
bothe trewe *and* goode;
The Brideld Horse, the Watyr Bouge by
the Horse stode.
Blessid be the tyme that euer f 72 v
God spred that floure.

[9]

The Grehound *and* the Hertes Hede, thei
quyt hem wele that day;
So did the Harow of Caunterbury *and*
Clynton *with* his Kay;
The White Ship of Brystow, he feryd
not that fray;
The Blak Ram of Couentre, he said not
ons nay
Blessid be the tyme that euer God
spred that floure.

[10]

The Fawcon *and* the Fetherlok was *ther*
that tyde,
The Blak Bulle also, hymself he wold
not hyde,
The Dolfyn cam fro Walys, iii Carpis
be his syde;
The prowde Libert of Salesbury, he
gapid his gomes wide.
Blessid be the tyme that euer God
spred that floure.

[11]

The Wolf cam fro Worce[s]tre; ful sore
 he thought to byte,
 The Dragon cam fro Glowcestre, he bent
 his tayle to smyte,
 The Griffen cam fro Leycestre, fleying
 in as tyte,
 The George cam fro Notynggham, with
 spere for to fyte
 Blessid be the tyme that euer God
 sprad that floure

[12]

The Boris Hede fro Wyndesover with
 tussches sharp and kene,
 The Estrich Feder was in the felde, that
 many men myght sene;
 The Wild Kat fro Norhamptone with
 hur brode nose—
 Ther was many a fayre pynone wayting
 vpon the Rose
 Blessid be the tyme that euer God
 sprad that floure.

[13]

The northen party made hem strong
 with spere and with sheld;
 On Palme Sondag after the none thei
 met vs in the feld;

Wtithin an owre thei were right fayne to
 fle and eke to yeld,
 xxvii thousand the Rose kyld in the feld
 Blessid be the tyme that euer God
 spied that floure

[14]

The Rose wan the victorie, the feld,
 and also the chace,
 Now may the housbond in the south
 dwell in his owne place,
 His wif and eke his faire doughtre f 71r
 and al the goode he has,
 Soche menyis hath the Rose made by
 vertu and by grace
 Blessid be the tyme that euer God
 sprad that floure

[15]

The Rose cam to loue Londone, ful
 ryally rydyng,
 ii erchbisshops of Englund thei crownded
 the Rose kyng.
 Almighti Jhesu save the Rose and geue
 hym his blessing,
 And al the reme of Englund joy of his
 crownyng,
 That we may blesse the tyme that
 euer God sprad the floure.

At end Amen pur charite

432

British Museum. MS. Addit. 5465.

XVI cent

ff 108 v, 109 r

This day day dawes,
 This gentill day day dawes,
 This gentill day dawes,
 And I must home gone
 This gentill day dawes,
 This day day dawes,
 This gentill day dawes,
 And we must home gone.

[1]

In a gloryus garden grene ff. 109 v, 110 r
 Sawe I syttyng a comly quene
 Among the flouris that fresch byn
 She gadird a floure and set betwene,
 The lyly-whighte rose me thought
 I sawe,

The lyly-whighte rose me thought
 I sawe,
 And euer she sang

[2]

In that garden be flouris ff. 110 v, 111 r.
 of hewe:
 The gelofir gent, that she well knewe,
 The floure-de-luce she did on rewe,
 And said, 'The white rose is most trewe
 This garden to rule be ryghtwis lawe.'
 The lyly-whighte rose me thought
 I sawe,
 And euyr she sang.

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by. this day day dawes
 this day day dawes this gentill day day dawes vt supra.

burden, 1 r day (1)] 3rd voice gentill.

1. 2. day (2)] 2nd and 3rd voices omit

Signature (ff. 108 v., 109 r) F.

433

British Museum MS Addit 5465

XVI cent.

ff 40 v, 41 r

'I loue, I loue, *and* whom loue ye?'
 'I loue a floure of fressh beaute,'
 'I loue another as well as ye'
 'Than shal be *provid* here anon
 Yff we iii can agre in on'

[1]

'I loue a flour of swete odour'
 'Magerome gentyll or lavendour,
 Columbyne goldis of swete flavour?'
 'Nay, nay, let be,
 Is non of them that lykyth me

[2]

'Ther is a floure where ff 41 v, 42 r
 so he be,
 And shall not yet be namyd for me,
 Prymeros, violet, or fressh daysy,
 He pass them all in his degre,
 That best lykyth me.

[3]

'On that I loue most ff 42 v, 43 r
 enterly.'
 'Gelofyr gentyll or rosemary,
 Camamyll, borage, or savery?'
 'Nay, certainly,
 Here is not he that plesyth me.

[4]

'I chese a floure fresshist ff 43 v, 44 r
 of face'
 'What is his name that thou chosen has?

The repetition of the burden in its first form is indicated after stza 1 by the first four lines and vt *supra* It is written again in full after stzas 2, 3 The burden as written after stza 4 is repeated in full after stza 5
 stza 3, l 5 plesyth me] 3rd voice best lykyth me
 Signature (f. 41 v) Syr Thomas Phelyppis

Therose, I suppose? Thyn hart vnbrace!
 'That same is he,
 In hart so fre, that best lykyth me.
 Now haue I louyd, *and* whom loue
 ye?'
 'I loue a floure of fressh beaute.'
 'I loue anothe as well as ye.'
 'Than shal be *provid* here anon
 Yff we in can agre in oon'

[5]

'The rose it is a ryall ff. 44 v, 45 r
 floure'
 'The red or the white? Shewe his
 colour'
 'Both be full swete *and* of lyke savoure,
 All on they be,
 That day to se it lykyth well me'

[6]

'I loue the rose, both red ff 45 v, 46 r.
and white'
 'Is that *your* pure *perfitte* appetite?'
 'To here talke of them is my delite.
 Joyed may we be
 Oure prnce to se, *and* rosys thre'
 'Nowe haue we louyd, *and* loue will
 we
 This fayre fressh floure full of
 beaute,
 Most worthy it is, as thynkyth me.
 Than may be *provid* here anon
 That we iii be agrede in oon'

434

British Museum. MS. Addit. 5465

XVI cent.

ff 104 v, 105 r.

[1]

From stormy wyndis *and* grevous
 wethir,
 Good Lord, preserve the Estrige Fether.
 From stormy wyndis *and* grevous
 wethir,
 Good Lord, preserue the Estrige Fether

O blessed Lord of heuyn ff. 105 v, 106 r.
 celestiall,
 Which formyd hast of thi most speciall
 grace
 Arthur oure prynce to vs here terrestriall,
 In honour to rayne, Lord, graunt hym
 tyme *and* space,

Which of alhaunce
Oure prince of plesaunce
Be inerytaunce
Of Ynglond *and* Fraunce
Ryght eyre for to be,
Wherefore now syng we:

[2]

Wherefore, good Lord, ff 106 v, 107 r
syth of thi creacion,
Is this noble prince of riall lynage,
In every case be his preseruacion,
With joy to reiose his dew enery-
taunce,
His ryght to optayne,
In honour to rayne,
This eyre of Brytayne,
Of Castell *and* Spayne

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 From stormy wyndis (*2nd voice* From stormy wyndis *and* grevous vt supra) stza 2 From stormy wyndes vt supra (*1st voice* wyndis) stza 3 From stormy wyndis vt supra
stza 3, l 4 Be] *2nd voice repeats.* l. 9. *3rd voice* ryght ayre for to be
Signature (f 104 v) Edmund Turges

Ryght eyre for to be;
Wherefore now syng we

[3]

Now, good Lady among ff 107 v, 108 r.
thi sayntes all,
Pray to thi Son, the secund in Trinite,
For this yong prince, which is *and* daily
shal
Be thi *servaunt* with all his hart so
fre.
O celestiaall
Modir maternall,
Emprise infernall,
To the we crye *and* call,
His savegard to be,
Wherefore now syng we.

435

British Museum. MS. Addit. 5665.

XVI cent.

f 44 v.

Jhesu, for thy mercy endelesse,
Saue thy pepill, and sende vs pesse.
Jhesu, for thy mercy endelesse,
Saue thy pepill, and sende vs f 45 r
pesse

MS heading ad placitum

The repetition of the burden is indicated by Jhesu for thi vt supra

Stza 1, l. 4. vs] MS *vus.*

[1]

Jhesu, for thy wondes fyff,
Saue fro shedyng Crystayn blode,
Sese all grete trobill of malice *and* stryffe,
And of oure neighbors sende vs tyd-
ynges gode,
Blessed Jhesu,
Blessed Jhesu

436

British Museum. MS. Addit. 5465.

XVI cent.

ff 115 v, 116 r.

Enforce yourselfe as Goddis kynght
To strenkyth your comyns in ther
ryght.
Enforce yourselfe as Goddis knyght
To strenkyth yowr comyns in ther
ryght.

[1]

Souerayne lorde, in erth ff. 116 v, 117 r
most excellent,
Whom God hath chose oure gyde to
be,
With gyfftes grete *and* euydent
Of marshall power *and* also hye dyg-
nite,
Sith it is so, now let your labour be
Enforcyng yourselfe with all your
myght
To strenkyth your comyns in ther
ryght.

[2]

God hath gyff you of his goodness ff 117 v, 118 r
 Wisdome *with* strenkyth *and* soueraynte
 All mysdone thynges to redress,
 And specially hurtis of thi commynalte,
 Which crye *and* call vnto your Majeste
 In your person all ther hope is pyght
 To haue recouer of ther vnryght

The repetition of the burden is indicated after stza 2 by Enforce yourselfe (*1st voice*
 Enforce your *2nd voice* Enforce vt supra)
 Signature (f. 115 v) Edmund Turges

437

British Museum MS Addit 31922

By King Henry VIII, XVI cent.

ff 71 v, 72 r

Though sum sayth that yougth rulyth
 me,
 I trust in age for to tarry;
 God *and* my ryght *and* my dewte,
 Frome them shall I neuer vary,
 Thoughsumsayththatyoug[t]hrulyth
 me.

[2]

I pray you all that aged be, f. 72 r
 How well dyd ye your youg[t]h carry?
 I thynk sum wars of ych degre—
 Therin a wager lay dar I!

[3]

Pastymes of youg[t]h sum ff 72 v, 73 r
 tyme among
 None can sey but necessary,
 I hurt no man, I do no wrong;
 I loue trew wher I dyd mary.

Then sone dycusse that hens f 73 r
 we must,
 Pray we to God and Seynt Mary
 That all amend, *and* here an end,
 Thus sayth the Kyng, the Eighth
 Harry

The words of the burden are written three times, once for each voice
 The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 thow sum sayth vt
 supra (*2nd voice* thow sum saith vt supra *3rd voice* thow sum) stza 2 though sum
 sayth &c stza 3 though sum
 stza 1, l. 4. trew] *3rd voice* trewly wher] *1st voice* when
 stza 3, l 4 Eighth] MS viiith.

438

College of Arms MS. I. 7.

1548

f 37 v.

Syng 'vp,' hart, syng 'vp,' hart, an[d]
 syng no more 'do[w]ne,'
 But joy in King Edward, that wereth
 the crowne.

To very moche myter 'down' hath ben
 added,
 But 'vp' is more sweter to make our
 hartes gladdened.

[2]

Sur, songe in tyme past hath ben
 'downe-a-downe,'
 And longe yt hath lasted in towre and
 towne,

King Edward vp spring from puerlitee
 And towards vs bryngeth joy and tran-
 quiltee.
 Our hart may be lyght and mery chere;
 He shall be of soche might that all the
 worlde may hum fare.

[3]

His father, late our soveraigne, both day
and also howre,
 That in yoth he might raingne lyke a
 prynce of high powre,
 By say and land hath *provided* for him
 eke,
 That never kinge of Englande had ever
 the leke.

[4]

He hath gotten allreddy Boullen, that
 goodly towne,
 And byddeth syng spedly 'vp' an[d]
 'downe.'
 When he waxeth wight *and* to manhod
 doth springe,
 He shall be streight of iiii realmes the
 kinge

MS heading A ballet of the kinges *Majestie*

The repetition of the burden is indicated after each stanza by Syng vp hart &c
 stza. 1, 1. 4 gladded] MS. gladden.

[5]

Ye childrine of England, for the honor
 of the same,
 Take bow and shafte in hond, larne
 shewtag to fiame,
 That yow another day may so do your
 parte
 That to serve *your* kinge as well w*ith*
 handes as with harte

[6]

Ye children that is towardes, syng 'vp'
 and 'downe,'
 And never play the cowardes to him
 that werith the crowne,
 But allway doo *your* cure his pleasure
 to fulfill,
 The[n] shall yow kepe right shure the
 honour of England styll.

439

Bodleian Library MS Eng poet. e 1

XV cent.

f 14 r

For pencynesse *and* grett distresse
 I am full woo;
 Destitute frome al refute,
 Alone I goo.

[1]

Whylome I *present* was w*ith* my sof-
 freyne;
 Ignorawnt I was of dolowr *and* payne,
 For than I lyued
 Fro sorow depraved,
 Of plesure hauyng habundawnce *and*
 delice,
 But now, forsothe,
 Sore hytt me ruthe,
 Fortune contrarythe to my device.

[2]

Whane Fortune flatery ay de- f. 14 v.
 seveabyll
 My hert en[t]ycyed by prosyrs delec-
 tabyll,
 I thougtht in mynd
 I schuld ay fynd

The whele of Fortunat fyxyd fast,
 Nott for no chawnce
 To mak delyawnce
 Whyle my terme of lyff had past.

[3]

Butt now prosyrs glorius be myxyd w*ith*
 gall,
 Wyche bytter ys *and* tedius ouer all,
 Venumus os poyson,
 To me full naysom,
 And from her palyse ryall
 Ful cruelly
 And onavysedly
 Sche heth soferyd me to fall.

[4]

And into gret dole *and* mysery,
 Devoyd of all felyce[te,]
 W*ith* her avtrage
 Me puttyng to dammag,
 W*ith* hert contrystant thyse wordes
 I sey:
 'For pencynesse
 And hyre distresse
 Fad doth my yoye *and* wannych away.'

[5]

For, by her rygurus *and* crabyd f 15 r
 violence,
 Preuentyd me sche hath of my pretence,
 Constreynyng me to fulfyll
 That repugnant is to my wyll,
 For, theas I neuer entendyd to be
 absent,
 Distawnce of place,
 My herd myschavnce *and* case,
 Vtterly hath alteryd my purpose *and*
 entent.

[6]

Schuld I not morne *and* in hert be sad,
 Whan slydery cyn, wych neuer abydyng
 had,
 Schuld do me payn
 By Fortuns dissayn,
 And al memory on me tak away,
 That the dyseys
 The hert on thynkys
 Wher syght ys novt, ferwel thowght,
and haue gud day!

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 for pyncy stza
 2 For pencyness stza, 3 For pyncynesse stzas 4-6 For pencynesse stza 7 For
 pinc (MS torn) stza 5, 1 7 My herd] MS hyherd stza 7, 1 3 confownd]
 MS consownd

[7]

Thus my enmye mortale doyth deter-
 myne,
 With dystawnce of place, *and* current
 tyme
 Me wyl confownd,
And neuer to red[o]wnd,
 But me consume *and* vtterly wast,
 And of al resort
 Of joy *and* comfort
 Desolate me make *and* in penurye me
 cast

[8]

Whome nature excellently hath f. 15 v
 avawncyd,
And heuynly grace gyftes most *and*
 syngularly hath enha[wncyd,]
 In bewte, in sagacite,
 In facund spech *and* in benyngnyte,
 In behauyowu gudly, me vmbyll in
 spyryt,
 And sondry wertuse
 Wych canot discuse,
 Frome hym am I sewrd be Fortuns
 despit.

440

British Museum. MS Harley 2253

XIV cent.

f 72 v

Blow, northerne wynd,
 Sent thou me my suetyng,
 Blow, northerne wynd,
 Blou, blou, blou!

[1]

Ichot a burde in boure bryht
 That fully semly is on syght,
 Menskful maiden of myht,
 Feii ant fre to fonde;
 In al this wurhliche won
 A burde of blod *and* of bon
 Neuer yete Y nuste non
 Lussomore in londe.

[2]

With lokkes leffiche *and* longe,
 With frount *and* face feir to fonde,

With murthes monie mote heo monge,
 That brid so breme in boure,
 With lossom eye, grete ant gode,
 With browen blysfol vnder hode,
 He that reste him on the rode
 That leffich lyf honoure!

[3]

Hire lure lumes liht
 Ase a launterne a-nyht,
 Hire bleo blykyeth so bryht,
 So feyr heo is ant fyn,
 A suetly suyre heo hath to holde,
 With armes, shuldre, ase mon wolde,
 Ant fyngres feyre for te folde;
 God wolde hue were myn!

[4]

Middel heo hath menskful smal,
 Hire loueliche chere as *cristal*,
 Theghes, legges, fet, ant al

Ywraht wes of the beste,
 A lussum ledy lasteles
 That sweting is *and* euer wes;
 A betere burde neuer nes
 Yheried with the heste

[5]

Heo is dereworthe in day,
 Graciouse, stout, ant gay,
 Gentil, jolyf so the jay
 Worhliche when heo waketh,
 Maiden murgest of mouth;
 Bi est, bi west, by north, *and* south,
 Ther nis fi[th]ele ne crouth
 That such murthes maketh

[6]

Heo is coral of godnesse,
 Heo is rubie of ryhtfulnesse,
 Heo is *cristal* of clannesse
 Ant baner of bealte;
 Heo is hlre of largesse;
 Heo is paruenke of prouesse;
 Heo is salsecle of suetnesse
 Ant ledy of lealte

[7]

To Loue, that leflich is in londe,
 Y tolde him, as ych vnderstonde,
 Hou this hende hath hent in honde
 On huerte that myn wes,

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1· blow &c stza. 2 Blou &c

Ant hire knyhtes me han so soht,
 Sykyng, Sorewyng, *and* Thoht,
 Tho thre me han in bale broht
 Ayeyn the poer of Pees.

[8]

To Loue Y putte pleyntes mo· f 73 r
 Hou Sykyng me hath siwed so
 Ant eke Thoht me thrat to slo
 With maistry, yef he myhte,
 Ant Serewe sore in balful bende,
 That he wolde for this hende
 Me lede to my lyues ende,
 Vnlahfulliche in lyhte.

[9]

Hue Loue me lustnede vch word
 Ant beh him to me ouer bord
 Ant bed me hente that hord
 Of myne hueite hele.
 'Ant bisecheth that swete ant swote,
 Er then thou falle as fen of fote,
 That heo with the wolfe of bote
 Dereworhliche dele'

[10]

For hire loue Y carke ant care;
 For hire loue Y droupne ant dare,
 For hire loue my blisse is bare,
 Ant al ich waxe won;
 For hire loue in slep Y slake,
 For hire loue al nyht ich wake,
 For hire loue mournyng Y make
 More then eny mon.

441

Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge. MS 383.

XV cent.

p 210

Thei Y syngre *and* murthus make,
 It is not Y wolde.

[1]

Myn owne dere ladi fair *and* fre,
 Y pray [y]ow in herte ye ruwen on me,
 For al my lykyng is on the
 Wan Y on yow beholde.

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 Thei y etc stza 2· Thei
 y syngre &c stza 3· Thei y &c

The name of the arr is written at the head. le bon l don. It is followed by one stave
 of a crudely written melody

[2]

Weie we to togadere beyne,
 Thou myst me lysse of my peyne,
 Y am agast, it wol not geyne,
 Myn herte falluth colde

[3]

Myself Y wol myn arnde bede;
 The betur Y hope for te spede;
 None so wel may do myn nede—
 A womman so me tolde.

442

Cambridge University Library. MS Ff. 1. 6.

XV cent

f 136 v.

Who so lyst to loue,
 God send hym right good spede

[1]

Some tyme Y loued, as ye may see;
 A goodlyer ther myght none be,
 Here womanhode in all degre,
 Full well she quytt my mede

[2]

Vnto the tyme, vpon a day,
 To sone ther fill a gret affray,
 She badde me walke forth on my way,
 On me she gaff none hede

[3]

I askid the cause why and wherfor
 She displeside was *with* me so sore,
 She wold nat tell, but kepe in store,
 Pardy, it was no nede

[4]

For if Y hadde hure displeased
 In worde or dede or hire greued,
 Than, if she hadde be sore meved,
 She hadde cause indede

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 2, 5 wo so lyst &c stzas
 3, 4, 6-9 wo so list &c.

[5]

But well Y wote Y hadde nat done
 Hure to displese, but in grete mone
 She hath me left and ys agone;
 For sorwe my herte doth blede

[6]

Some tyme she wold to me complayne
 Yff she had felt dysease or payne;
 Now fele Y nought but grete disdayne,
 Allas, what is youre rede?

[7]

Shall Y leue of and let hure go? f 137 r
 Nay, nere the rather will Y do so,
 Yet, though vnkyndnesse do me wo,
 Hure will Y loue and drede.

[8]

Some hope that when she knoweth the
 case,
 Y trust to God that withyne short spase
 She will me take agayne to giace,
 Than haue Y well abydde.

[9]

And for trew louers shall Y pray
 That ther ladyes fro day to day
 May them rewarde so that they may
 With joy there lyues lede

443

Canterbury Cathedral. Christ Church Letters, Vol. II, No 173

c 1500.

'I pray yow, *com* kyss me,
 My lytle prety Mopse,
 I pray yow, *com* kyss me'

[1]

'Alas, good man, most yow be kyst?
 Ye shall not now, ye may me trust;
 Wherefore go where as ye best lust,
 For, iwyss, ye shall not kyss me'

[2]

'Iwyss, swet hart, yff that ye
 Had askyd a gretur thyng of me,
 So onkynd to yow I wold not haue be,
 Where[fore,] I pray you, *com* kyss me.'

[3]

'I thynke very well that ye ar kynd
 Whereas ye lowe and set yore mynd,
 But all yore wordes be but as wynd,
 Wherefore nowe ye shall not kyss me.'

[4]

'I do but talke, ye mow me trust,
 But ye take everythyng at the worst.'
 'Wherefore I say, as I sayd furst,
 Iwyss, ye shall not kyss me'

[5]

'I pray yow, let me kyss yow.
 Iff that I shall not kyss yow,
 Let me loke, let me kyss yore karchos
 nocke;
 I pray yow, let me kyss yowe.'

[6]

'All so I say as I furst haue sayd,
 And ye wyll not therewith be dysmayd,
 Yet wyth that onsar ye shall be payd.
 Iwyss, ye shall not kyss me'

[7]

'Now I se well that kyssys ar dere,
 And, yff I shold labvr all the hole yere,
 I thynke I shold be neuer the nere,
 Wherefore, I pray yow, cum kyss me'

[8]

'Neuer the nere, ye may be shewre,
 For ye shall not so sone bry[n]g m[y]n
 [v]re

stza 11, l 2 cum] *Reading uncertain, MS is very faint* 1 3 ow[ne]] *MS rubbed,*
last part of word illegible At end Finys quod wulstane p . sone

To consent vnto yore nyse plesur,
 Nor, iwyss, ye shall not kyss me'

[9]

'I pray yow, com and kyss me,
 My lytle prety Mopse,
 And yff that ye wyll not kyss me,
 I pray yow, let me kyss yow'

[10]

'Well, for a kyss I wyll not styck,
 So that ye wyll do nothyng but lyk, k,
 But, and ye begyn on m[e] for to pryck,
 Iwyss, ye shall not kyss me.'

[11]

'Now I se well that ye are kynd,
 Wherefore [ye] shall cum know my
 mynd,
 And euer yore ow[ne] ye shall me fynd
 At all tymys redy to kyss yow'

444

Canterbury Cathedral. Christ Church Letters, Vol. II, No 174

c. 1500.

For [wele or w]oo I wyll not fle
 To love that hart that lovyth me.

[1]

That hart my hart hath in suche grace
 That of too hartes one hart make we,
 That hart hath brought my hart in case
 To loue that hart that lovyth me.

[2]

For one that lyke vnto that hart
 Never was nor ys nor never shall be,
 Nor never lyke cavse set this apart
 To love that hart that lovyth me.

[3]

Whyche cause gyveth cause to me *and*
 myne
 To serve that hart of suferente,
And styll to syng this later lyne:
 To love that hart [that lovyth me.]

burden, l 1 *MS is torn*
 stza 2, l 1 vnto] *MS wnto*

[4]

Whatever I say, whatever I syng,
 Whatever I do, that hart shall se
 That I shall serue with hart lovyng
 That lovyng hart [that lovyth me.]

[5]

Thys knot thus knyght who shall vntwyne,
 Syns we that knyght yt do agre
 To lose nor slyp, but both encline
 To love that hart [that lovyth me?]

[6]

Farwell, of hartes that hart most fyne,
 Farwell, dere hart, hartly to the,
And kepe this hart of myne for thyne
 As hart for hart for lovyng me

stzas 3-5, l. 4. [that lovyth me]] *MS &c*

445

British Museum MS Hailey 7578.

XVI cent.

f 85 r

My lady is a prety on,
 A prety, prety, prety on,
 My lady is a prety on

As *ever I saw

*f. 85 v

[1]

She is gentyll *and* also wysse;
 Of all other she berith the price
 That ever I saw

[2]

To here hir syng, to se her dance!
 She wyll the best herselfe advance
 That euer I saw.

[3]

To se her fyngers that be so small!
 In my consail she passeth all
 That ever I [saw]

[4]

Nature in her hath wonderly f 86 r.
 wrought;
 Crist neuer sych another bowght
 That euer I sawe.

[5]

I have sene many that have bewty;
 Yet is ther non lyk to my lady
 That euer I saw.

[6]

Therfor I dare this boldly say
 [I] shall have the best *and* farest may
 That ever *I saw *f 86 v

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows. stzas 1, 5 my lady is stza 2
 my lady stzas 3, 4 my. stza 6 my lady is a prety on *and* prety prety prety on

446

British Museum. MS Sloane 1584.

XV cent

f. 45 v.

So well ys me begone,
 Troly, lole,
 So well ys me begone,
 Troly, loly

[1]

Off *seruyng* men I wyll begyne,
 Troly, loly,
 For they goo mynyon trym,
 Troly, loly

[2]

Off mett *and* drynk *and* feyr clothynge,
 Troly, loly,
 By dere God, I want none,
 Troly, loly

[3]

His bonet is of fyne scarlett,
 Troly, loly,
 With here as black as geitt,
 Troly, lolye.

[4]

His dublett ys of fyne satyne,
 Troly, lolye,
 Hys shertt well mayd *and* tryme,
 Troly, lolye.

[5]

His coytt itt is so tryme *and* rownde,
 Troly, lolye,
 His kysse is worth a [hundred pounce],
 Troly, loly

[6]

His hoysse [is] of London black,
 Troly, lolye,
 In hyme ther ys no lack,
 Troly, lolye

[7]

His face yt ys so lyk a man,
 Troly, lolye,
 Who cane butt love hyme than?
 Troly, lolye

[8]

Whersoeuer he bee, he hath my hert,
 Troly, loly,
 And shall to deth depart,
 Troly, lolye.

stza 3, 1 4 Troly] MS Torly stza 5, 1 3 [hundred pounde]] MS. C^t
 The burden is writen again at the end
 So well ys me begone troly loly
 S[o] well ys me begone Troly lolye

447

British Museum. Book K. 1. e 1.

1530

f 22 v

Joly felowe, joly,
 Joly felowe, joly,
 Yf thou haue but lytyll mony,
 Spend it not in foly,
 But spend yt on a prety wenche,
 And she shal help the at a pinche,
 Hey, joly felow, jo*ly, joly, *f 23 r
 Hey, joly felow, joly,
 Hey, joly.

[1]
 A prety wenche may be plesur,
 In dalyance she may endure,
 Yf she be trym, proper, and pure. f 23 v

[2]
 Lytyll mony doth gret com*fort *f. 24 r
 Spende on the mynyon sort
 Delytyng in honest dysport

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 Joly felow joly joly.
 vt supra stza 2 Joly felow joly vt supra
 stza 2, 1 3 dysport] orig dysporst At end Finis

448

British Museum. MS. Addit. 31922

By King Henry VIII, XVI cent.

f 37 v

Grene growth the holy,
 So doth the iue,
 Thow wynter blastys blow neuer so
 hye,
 Grene growth the holy.

[1]
 As the holy growth grene f 38 r
 And neuer chaungyth hew,
 So I am, euer hath bene,
 Vnto my lady trew.

[2]
 A[s] the holy growth grene
 With iue all alone

When flowerys cannot be sene,
 And grenewode leuys be gone.

[3]
 Now vnto my lady
 Promyse to her I make,
 Frome all other only
 To her I me betake.

[4]
 Adew, myne owne lady,
 Adew, my specyall,
 Who hath my hart trewly,
 Be suere, and euer shall

MS heading The kyng. H. viii.

The burden is written three times, once for each voice.

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows. stza 1. grene growth. &c.

stzas 2-4 vt supra

burden, 1 1 growth] 2nd voice growth. 3rd voice growth 1. 2. iue] 2nd voice
 Iuye 1 3. blastys] 2nd voice blast 1. 4. growth] 2nd, 3rd voices growth

449

British Museum. MS. Royal Appendix 58.

XVI cent.

f 6 r.

Why soo vnkende, alas?
 Why soo vnkende to me?
 Soo to be kende to me.

[1]

Syne the tyme I knew yow fyrst
 You were my joy and my trust.

[2]

Erly *and* late I am ryght fayne
 Youre love *and* favour to attayne.

[3]

Ys ther no grace ne remedy,
 But euer to morne eternally?

[4]

Off my pour seruys ye may be sure
 As long as lyff dothe last *and* dure

[5]

Hope dothe to me consolacion,
 Els sholde I reu in dysperac[i]on.

[6]

Ye haue my hart; ye haue my love;
 Gode sende me youre, that syttyth
 above.

The burden is repeated in full after stanza 1. The other repetitions are indicated as follows stza 2 why soo vnkend &c stza 3 alas, why soo vnkende &c stza 4 why soo vnkende &c stza 5 why soo vnkend stza 6 why
 burden, 1 3 *written only after stza 1.* stza 2, 1 2 Youre] MS youere
 stza. 4, 1. 2 dure] MS durere.

450

Lincoln's Inn. MS Hale 135.

XIV cent.

f. 138 v.

[Nou] spr[un]ke[s] the sprai;
 Al for loue icche am so seek
 That slepen I ne mai

[1]

Als I me rode this endre dai
 O m[ai] [pleyinge,]
 S[ei]h I hwar a litel mai
 Bigan to singge.
 'The clot him clingge!
 Wai es him i loue-l[on]g[un]ge
 Sal libben ai.'

[2]

Son icche herde that mirie note,
 Thider I drogh;

I fonde hire [in] an herber swot
 Vnder a bogh
 With joie inogh.
 Son I asked, 'Thou mirie mai,
 Hwi sinkes tou ai?'

[3]

Than answerde that maiden swote
 Midde wordes fewe
 'M[ai] lemman me haues bihot
 Of loue trewe.
 He chaunges anewe;
 Yuf I mai, it shal him rewe
 Bi this dai.'

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 Nou spr[un]kes &c stza 2 Nou spr[un]kes the sprai &c stza 3. Now s[p]r[un]k . (*The line is partly concealed by the binding.*)

stza. 1, 1 1. MS this endre dai als i me rode 1 5 clingge] MS clingges
 stza 3, 1 6 Yuf] MS thuf

MS is much rubbed and worn at the beginning of the text.

451

Cambridge University Library. MS. Addit 5943.

XV cent.

f 178 v

Wolde God that hyt were so
As I cowde wysse bytuyxt vs too!

[1]

The man that I loued altherbest
In al thys contre, est other west,
To me he ys a strange gest;

What wonder est thow I be woo?

[2]

When me were leuest that he schold
duelle,
He wold noght sey onys farewelle,
He wold noght sey ones farewell
Wen tyme was come that he most go.

[3]

In places ofte when I hym mete,
I dar noght speke but forth go,
With herte *and* eyes I hym grete;
So trywe of loue I know no mo

stza 6, 1 2 hyt knywe] were trywe *interlined*

Another hand has interlined feminine pronouns as follows:

stza 1, 1 1 The man] sche

1 3 he] sche

stza 2, 11 1, 2, 3, 4 he] sche

stza. 3, 11. 1, 3 hym] hyre

stza 4, 11 1, 2, 4 he] sche

stza 5, 11 3, 4 he] sche.

stza 6, 1 1. hym] hyre 1 2 he] sche

[4]

As he ys myn hert loue,
My dyrward dyre, iblessed he be;
I swere by God, that ys aboue,
Non hath my loue but only he.

[5]

I am icomfortyd in euery side;
The colures wexeth both fies and
newe;
When he ys come *and* wyl abyde,
I wott ful wel that he ys trywe.

[6]

I loue hym trywely *and* no mo;
Wolde God that he hyt knywe!
And euer I hope hyt schal be so;
Then schal I chaunge for no new

452

Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge MS. 383.

XV cent.

p 41

Rybbe ne rele ne spyne yc ne may
For joyghe that it is holyday.

[1]

All this day ic han sou[ght];
Spyndul ne werne ne wond Y nought,
To myche blisse ic am brout
Ayen this hyghe [ho]lyda[y]

[2]

All vnswope ys owre vlech,
And owre fyre ys vnbech,
Oure ruschen ben vnrepe yech
Ayen this hy halyday.

[3]

Yc moste feschun worton in;
Predele my kerchef vndur my khyn;
Leue Jakke, lend me a pyn
To predele me this holiday.

[4]

Now yt draweth to the none,
And al my cherrus ben vndone;
Y moste a lyte solas mye schone
To make hem dowge this holiday.

[5]

Y moste mylkyn *in* this payl;
Outh me bred al this schayl;
Yut is the dow vndur my nayl
As ic knad this holyday.

[6]

Jakke wol brynge me onward *in* my wey,
Wyth me desyre for te play;
Of my dame stant me non eyghe
An neuer a god haliday.

[7]

Jacke wol pay for my scoth
A Sonda atte the ale-schoch,
Jacke wol sowse wel my wroch
Euery god halida[y.]

[8]

Sone he wolle take me be the hand,
And he wolle legge me on the lond,
That al my buttockus ben of son[d,]
Opon this hye holyday.

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 Rybbe &c stzas 2-10 R
stza 1, 11 1, 4 *A few letters have been destroyed by a tear in MS*
stza 2, 11 2, 3 MS *transposes* The correction is indicated by the letters a and b
stza 8, 1 2 me] MS men stza 10, 1 3 Durst] MS drurst

[9]

In he pult, and out he drow,
And euer yc lay on hym y-low
'By Godus deth, thou dest me wow
Vpon this hey holyday'

[10]

Sone my wombe began te swelle
A[s] greth as a belle;
Durst Y nat my dame telle
Wat me betydde this holyday.

453

Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge.

XV cent.

P 41

Alas, als, the wyle!
Thout Y on no gyle,
So haue Y god chence.
Ala[s,] ales, the wyle
That euer Y cowde daunce!

[1]

Ladd Y the daunce a Myssomur Day,
Y made smale trippus, soth for to say
Jak, oure haly-watur cle[r]k com be the
way,
And he lokede me vpon, he thout hit
was gay
Thout yc on ne gyle.

[2]

Jak, oure haly-watur clerk, the yong
strippelyng,
For the chesone of me he com to the ryng,
And he trippede on my to and made a
twynkelyng;
Euer he cam ner, he sparet for no thyng
Thout Y on [no gyle]

[3]

Jak, ic wot, preyede in my fayre face;
He thout me ful werly, so haue Y god
grace;
As we turndun owre dance in a narw
place,
Jak bed me the mouth, a cussyng ther
was.
Thout Y on no g[y]le.]

[4]

Jak tho began to rowne in myn ere
'Loke that thou be pruey, and graunte
that thou the bere;
A peyre wyth glouus ic ha to thyn were'
'Gramercy, Jacke!' was myn answer.
Thoute yc [on no gyle]

[5]

Sone after euensong Jak me mette
'Com hom aftur thy glouus that I the
byhette'
Wan ic to his chambre com, doun he me
sette,
From hym mytte Y nat go wan [we]
were mette.
Thout Y [on no gyle.]

[6]

Schetus and chalonus, ic wot, a were
yspredde,
Forsothe tho Jak and yc wenten to
bedde;
He prikede, and he pransede, nolde he
neuer lynne;
Yt was the murgust nyt that euer Y cam
ynne.
Thout Y [on no gyle.]

[7]

Wan Jak had don, tho he *rong* the bell;
 Al nyght *ther* he made me to dwelle;
 Of y *trew*e we haddun yserued the
 reaggeth deuel of helle,
 Of othur smale burdus kep Y nout to
 telle.

Thout Y [on no gyle]

[8]

The Monday at prime Y com hom, as ic
 wene,
 Meth Y my dame, coppud *and* kene

Only the last two lines of the burden are written at the head of the piece in the MS
 Alas alas the wyle that *euer* y coude daunce The entire burden is written after stza 1

'Sey, thou stronge strumpeth, ware
 hastu bene'

Thy trippynge *and* thy dauncynge, wel it
 wel be sene'

Thout Y [on no gyle]

[9]

Euer bi on *and* by on my damme reched
 me clot;

Euer Y ber it *pruey* wyle that Y mouth,
 Tyl my gurdul aros, my wombe wax
 out;

Euel therinne *es* ern euer it wole out
 Thout Y on no gyle.

454

St John's College, Cambridge. MS. S. 54.

XV cent.

f. 2 v

A, dere God, qwat I am fayn,
 For I am madyn now gane.

[1]

This enther day I mete a clerke,
And he was wyll in hys werke;
 He prayd me with hym to herke,
 And hys cownsell all for to le[r]ne.

[2]

I trow he coud of gramery;
 I xall now a good [s]kyll wy.
 For qwat I hade siccu[r]ly,
 To warne hys wyll had I no may.
 stza. 3, l. 4. xal I] MS. I xal.

[3]

Qwan he and me browt un *us* the
 schete,
 Of all hys wyll I hym lete,
 Now wyll not my gyrdyll met;
 A, dere God, quat xal I say?

[4]

I xall sey to man *and* page f. 3 r.
 That I haue bene of pylgrymage;
 Now wyll I not lete for no q[w]age
 With me a clerk for to pley
 stza 4, l. 4 a] MS *er*.

455

Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge. MS. 383

XV cent.

p. 210

Were it vndo that is ydo,
 I wold be war.

[1]

Y louede a child of this cuntre,
And so Y wende he had do me;
 Now myself the sothe Y see,
 That he is far

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 were it undo that is
 ido &c. stzas. 2, 3 were it undo &c

The *air* is indicated by the following line written before the burden bryd on brere y tell
 yt to none othur y ne dar After stza. 1 is written and deleted bryd on the brere &c.

[2]

He seyde to me he wolde be trewe
And change me for none othur newe;
 Now Y sykke *and* am pale of hewe,
 For he is far.

[3]

He seide his sawus he wolde fulfulle,
 Therefore Y lat him haue al his wille;
 Now Y sykke *and* morne stille,
 For he is fare.

456

Cambridge University Library. MS Ff 5. 48.

XV cent.

f. 114 v.

I haue forsworne hit whil I lufe,
To wake the well-ey.

[1]

The last tyme I the wel woke,
Ser John caght me *with* a croke;
He made me to swere be bel *and* boke
I shuld not tell[-ey]

[2]

Yet he did me a wel wors turne·
He leyde my hed agayn the burne,
He gafe my maydenhed a spurne
And rofe my bell[-ey]

Below the carol in the same hand is the signature (?) bryan hyf my name 1et.

[3]

Sir John came to oure hows to play
Fro euensong tyme til light of the day;
We made as mery as flowres in May;
I was begyled-ay.

[4]

Sir John he came to *our* hows;
He made hit wondrous copious,
He seyde that I was gracious
To beyre a childe-ey.

[5]

I go *with* childe, wel I wot;
I schrew the fadur that hit gate,
*With*outen he fynde hit mylke *and* pap
A long while-ey.

457

British Museum MS. Sloane 2593

XV cent.

f. 34 r

'Kyrie, so kyrie,'
Jankyn syngyt merie,
With 'aleyson'

[1]

As I went on Yol Day in owre proressyon,
Knew I joly Jankyn be his mery ton.

[Kyrieleyson]

[2]

Jankyn began the Offys on the f 34 v
Yol Day,

And yyt me thynkyt it dos me good, so
merie gan he say,
'Kyrieleyson'

[3]

Jankyn red the Pystyl ful fayre *and* ful
wel,

And yyt me thinkyt it dos me good, as
euere haue I sel

[Kyrieleyson]

[4]

Jankyn at the Sanctus crakyt a merie
note,

And yyt me thinkyt it dos me good·
I payid for his cote.

[Kyrieleyson]

[5]

Jankyn crakyt notes, an hunderid on
a knot,

And yyt he hakkyt hem smallere than
wortes to the pot.

K[yrieleyson]

[6]

Jankyn at the Angnus beryt the pax-
brede;

He twynkelhd, but sayd nowt, *and* on
myn fot he trede.

[Kyrieleyson]

[7]

Benedicamus Domino Cryst fro schame
me schylde;

Deo gracias therto alas, I go *with*
chylde'

K[yrieleyson.]

stza, 7, 1 2 chylde] MS schylde.

458

British Museum MS Royal Appendix 58.

XVI cent.

f 6 v

Kytt hathe lost hur key, hur key,
 Goode Kytt hath lost hure key,
 She ys soo sory for the cause
 She wottes nott what to say,
 She ys soo sory fore the cause
 She wott not what to say, to say,
 Goode Kytt, good Kytt,
 She ys soo sory for the cause,
 She wot not [what] to say, to say,
 Good Kytt

[1]

Kytt she wept, I axyde why soo f 7 r
 That she made all thys mone;
 She sayde, 'Alas, I am soo woo;
 My key ys lost and gone'

[2]

Kyt she wept *and* cryede one hye
 And fore hure key dyd axe,

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 kytt has lost hure key
 vt supra stzas 2, 3 kyt hathe lost hur key &c stza 4 kyt hath lost hur keye &c
 stza 5 kyt hath lost hure key

She beheyght to Seynt Sythe a key
 And offryde to hym a key of wexe

[3]

'Kyt, why dyd ye losse youre key?
 Foresothe, ye were to blame,
 Now euery man to yow wyll say
 Kyt Losse-Key ys youere name'

[4]

Kyt she wept *and* cryed, 'Alas!'
 Hur key she cowde not fynde;
 In fayth, I trow yn bouerr she was
 With sum that were not kende

[5]

'Now farewell, Kytt, I can no more,
 I wot not what to say,
 But I shall pray to Gode therefore
 That yow may fynde your key'

459

*Huntington Library Here Folowythe dyuers Balettys and dyties solacyous deuysed by
 Master Skelton Laureat* (Richard Pynson). By John Skelton, XVI cent.

f 1 v

With lullay, lullay, lyke a chylde,
 Thou slepyst to long, thou art begylde

[1]

'My darlyng dere, my daysy floure,
 Let me,' quod he, 'ly in your lap'
 'Ly styll,' quod she, 'my paramoure,
 Ly styll hardely, *and* take a nap.'
 Hys hed was heuy, such was his hap,
 All drowsy, dremyng, dround in
 slepe,
 That of hys loue he toke no kepe.

[2]

With 'ba, ba, ba,' *and* 'bas, bas, bas,'
 She cheryshed hym, both cheke and
 chyn,
 That he wyst neuer where he was;

He had forgotten all dedely syn.
 He wantyd wyt her loue to wyn,
 He trusted her payment *and* lost
 all hys pray;
 She left hym slepyng and stale
 away.

[3]

The ryuers 1owth, the waters wan,
 She sparyd not to wete her fete;
 She wadyd ouer, she found a man
 That halsyd her hartely and kyst her
 swete.

Thus after her cold she cought a hete
 'My lefe,' she sayd, 'rowtyth in hys
 bed;
 Iwys, he hath an heuy hed.'

[4]

What dremyst thou, drunchard, drousy pate? f 2 r
 Thy lust *and* lykyng is from the gone
 Thou blynkerd blowboll, thou wakyst to late;
 Behold, thou lyste, luggard, alone
 Well may thou sygh, well may thou grone,
 To dele wyth her so cowardly,
 Iwys, powle hachet, she bleryd thyne I

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 with hey lullay &c
 stzas. 2, 3 wyth hey lullay. &c At end Qd skelton Laureate.

460

Huntington Library. Christmas carolles newly Inprynted (Richard Kele) c 1550.

p [18]

Synge dyllum, dyllum, dyllum, dyllum!
 I can tell you, and I wyll,
 Of my ladyes water-myll

[1]

It was a mayde of brenten ars,
 She rode to myll vpon a horse;
 Yet was she mayden neuer the worse.

[3]

Iwys, the myller was full nyce; p [19]
 His mylstones hanged bothe by a vyce
 And wolde be walkynge at a tryce

[2]

Layde she was vpon a sacke;
 'Stryke softe,' she sayd, 'hurt not my
 backe,
 And spare not, let the myll clacke.'

[4]

This mayd to myll ofte dyd resorte
 And of her game made no reporte,
 But to her it was full great conforte.

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1, 4 Synge dyllum &c
 stzas 2, 3 Syng dyllum &c At end Fimis

461

Huntington Library. Christmas carolles newly Inprynted (Richard Kele). c. 1550.

p [19]

Inducas, inducas,
 In temptationibus

[1]

The nunne walked on her prayer;
 Inducas, [inducas,]
 Ther cam a frere and met with her
 In temptation[1]bus.

[3]

This fryer began the nunne to p [20]
 grope;
 Inducas, [inducas,]
 It was a morsell for the Pope,
 In temptationibus.

[2]

This nunne began to fall aslepe,
 Inducas, [inducas,]
 The frere knelyd downe at her fete
 In temptationibus

[4]

The frere *and* the nunne, whan they had
 done,
 Inducas, [inducas,]
 Eche to theyr cloyster dyd they gone
 Sine temptationibus.

The burden is repeated in full after each stanza
 stza 1, 1 2 Orig Inducas. &c 1 4. Orig In temptation[1]bus. &c.
 At end Fimis

462

British Museum MS Harley 1317.

c. 1500.

94 v

Wep no more for me, swet hart,
 Wepe no more for me;
 As scharpe as a dart hathe perysht
 my hart
 That ye shod morne for me.

[1]

Apon a mornynge of May,
 In the mornynge grey,
 I walkyd plesantly
 To a garden gren,
 So freshe besen
 That joy hyt was to se.

[2]

Ther walkyd I
 Al soburly,
 Musyng myselffe alon,
 Tyll sodenly
 I blenkyd myn y
 Wher I spyyd won.

[3]

Whych in gret payn,
 Me thowt sarteyn,
 Hyt semyd that he was,
 Hys gown al blake
 Apon hys bake,
 Lyke lede hys colore was

463

British Museum. MS. Addit. 31922.

XVI cent.

ff 45 v, 46 r.

Yow and I and Amyas,
 Amyas and yow and I,
 To the grenewode must we go, alas!
 Yow and I, my lyff, and Amyas.

[1]

The knyght knockett at the castell f 46r
 gate,
 The lady meruelyd who was therat.

[2]

To call the porter he wold not blyn;
 The lady said he shuld not com in.

[3]

The portres was a lady bryght;
 Strangenes that lady hyght.

[4]

She asked hym what was his name,
 He said, 'Desyre, *your* man, madame'

[5]

She said, 'Desyre, what do ye here?'
 He said, 'Madame, as *your* prisoner.'

[6]

He was counsellid to breffe a byll
 And shew my lady hys oune wyll.

[7]

Kyndnes said she wold yt bere,
 And Pyte said she wold be ther.

[8]

Thus how thay dyd we cannott say—
 We left them ther *and* went ower way.

The words of the burden are written three times, once for each voice
 The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas. 1, 2 *you and I and amyas*
 vt supra stzas 3-8 *you and I vt supra*,
 burden, 1 3. we] *2nd voice I*,

Signature. Cornysh.

464

British Museum MS. Addit. 5465

XVI cent.

ff 111 v, 112 r

Smale pathis to the grenewode,
 Will I loue *and* shall I loue,
 Will I loue *and* shall I loue
 No mo maydyns but one.
 Smale pathis to the grenewode,
 Will I loue *and* shall I loue,
 Will I loue *and* shall I loue
 No mo maydyns but one
 Smale pathis to the grenewod,
 Will I loue *and* shall I loue,
 Will I loue *and* shall I loue
 No mo maydyns but one.

[1]

Loue is naturall to euery ff 112 v, 113 r
 wyght,
 Indyfferent to euery creature,
 Chaungyng his course, now hevy, now
 lyght,
 As fortune fallyth, I yow ensure;
 So rennyth the chaunge from one
 to one.
 Smale pathis to the grenewode,
 Will I loue *and* shall I loue,
 Will I loue *and* shall I loue
 No mo maydyns but one

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 Smale pathis to the grene
 wode (1st voice adds vt supra) stza 2 vt supra (1st voice Smale pathis) stza 3
 Smale pathis to the grene wode vt supra stza 1, 1 5 chaunge] 1st voice chaunce

[2]

One is good, but mo were ff 113 v, 1141.
 bettyr
 Affter my reason *and* jugement,
 Consideryng dyuers fayrer *and* fetter,
 Plesaunt, buxum, *and* euer obedient,
 Tyll sum of them begyn to grone.
 Smale pathis to the grenewode,
 Will I loue *and* shall I loue,
 Will I loue *and* shall I loue
 No mo maydyns but one.

[3]

But I will do as I saide ff 114 v, 115 r
 furst,
 So it is best, as thynkyth me,
 To put in one my faithful trust,
 Foreuer yff she will trew be,
 And loue her only whereuer she
 gone
 Smale pathis to the grenewode,
 Will I loue *and* shall I loue,
 Will I loue *and* shall I loue
 No mo maydyns but one

465

British Museum MS. Addit 31922.

XVI cent.

f 65 v

I haue bene a foster long *and* many
 a day;
 Foster wyl I be no more;
 No lenger shote I may,
 Yet haue I bene a foster

[1]

Hange I wyl my nobyl bow vpon f 66 r
 the grenewod bough,
 For I cannott shote in playne nor yett
 in rough;
 Yet haue I [bene a foster.]

[2]

Euery bowe for me ys to bygge, myne
 arow ny worne ys;

The glew ys slypt frome the nyk, when
 I shuld shoote I myse;
 Yet haue [I bene a foster]

[3]

Lady Venus hath commaundyed me owt
 of her courte to go,
 Ryght playnly she shewith me that
 beawtye ys my foo;
 Yet haue I b[ene a foster]

[4]

My berd ys so hard, God wote, when I
 shulde maydyns kysse,
 Thay stand abak and make it strange
 lo, age ys cause of this;
 Yet ha[ue I bene a foster.]

[5]

Now will I take to me my bed, for and
 my sauter-booke,
 And pray I wyll for them that may, for
 [I] may nowght but loke;
 Yet ha[ue I bene a foster.]

The words of the burden are written three times, once for each voice
 Signature D Cooper.

466

British Museum. MS. Addit 31922.

XVI cent.

ff 69 v, 70 r

I am a joly foster,
 I am a joly foster,
 And haue ben many a day,
And foster will I be styll,
 For shote ryght well I may,
 For shot ryght well I may.

[1]

Wherforshuld I hang vp my ff 70 v, 71 r.
 bow vpon the grenwod bough?
 I cane bend *and* draw a bow and shot
 well enough.

[2]

Wherfor shuld I hang vp myne f 71 r
 arrow vpon the grenwode lynde?

The words of the burden and stza 1 are written three times, once for each voice
 The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stza 1 I am a Joly foster.
 stzas 2-4 I am
 stza. 1, 1 1 bough] 3rd voice bought 1 2. enough] 2nd voice enowght 3rd voice
 enought.

I haue streng[t]h to mak it fle *and* kyll
 bothe hart *and* hynd.

[3]

Wherfor shuld I hang vp my horne vpon
 the grenwod tre?
 I can blow the deth of a dere as well as
 any that euer I see.

[4]

Wherfor shuld I tye vp my hownd vnto
 the grenwod spray?
 I can luge and make a sute as well as
 any in May.

467

British Museum. MS. Addit. 17492

By Sir Thomas Wiat, XVI cent.

f 78 v

Grudge on who liste, this ys my lott
 Nothing to want if it ware not

[1]

My yeris be yong, even as ye see;
 All thinges thereto doth well agre;
 Yn feithe, in face, in eche degre,
 No thing doth want, as semith me,
 If yt ware not.

[2]

Some *men* dothe saye that frndes be
 skace,
 But I have founde, as in this cace,
 A frinde wiche gyvith to no *man* place
 But makis me happiest that euer was,
 Yf [yt ware not.]

[3]

A hart I have, besidis all this,
 That hathe my herte, *and* I have his.
 If he dothe will, yt is my blis,
 And when we mete no lak th[e]re is,
 Yf [yt ware not.]

[4]

Yf he *can* finde that *can* me please,
 A thinckes he dois his owne hertes ease,
 And likewise I coulde well apease
 The chefest cause of his misease,
 Yf [yt ware not.]

[5]

A master eke God hath me sente
 To hom my will is hollye lente
 To *serue and* love for that intente
 That bothe we might be well contente,
 Yf [yt ware not]

The burden is written again in full after stza 2 Groudge on who list this is my lot
 no thing to want if yt ware not The repetition after other stanzas is indicated as
 follows stza 4 Groudge on &c no thing to want &c stza 6 Groudge on who liste &c
 stzas 2-4, 1 5 MS yf &c stza 5, 1 5 MS yf c

[6]

And here an ende yt dothe suffice
 To speke fewe wordes among the wise;
 Yet take this note before *your* eyes.
 My mirth shulde doble ons or twise,
 Yf yt ware not.

468

A

British Museum MS Addit 17492
 f 20 r

By Sir Thomas Wiat, XVI cent.

As power *and* wytt wyll me assyst,
 My wyll shall wyll evyn as ye lyst

[1]

For as ye lyst my wyll ys bent
 In euerythyng to be content,
 To *serve* in love tyll lyf be spent
 And to reward my love thus ment,
 Evyn as ye lyst

[2]

To fayn or fable ys not my mynd,
 Nor to refuce suche as I fynd,
 But, as a lambe of humble kynd
 Or byrd in cage, to be assynd,
 [Evyn as ye lyst]

[3]

When all the flokk ys cum *and* gone,
 Myn eye *and* hart agreythe in one,
 Hathe chosyn yow only alone
 To be my joy or elles my mone,
 [Evyn as ye lyst]

[4]

Joy yf pytty apere in place,
 Mone yf dysdayn do shew hys face;
 stzas 2-7, 1 5 MS &c

British Museum MS Addit 18752

[Burden lacking]

Yet crave I not as in thys case
 But as ye lede to follow the trace,
 [Evyn as ye lyst]

[5]

Sum in wordes muche love can fayn,
 And *sum* for wordes gyve wordes agayn;
 Thus wordes for wordes in wordes re-
 mayn,
 And yet at last wordes do optayn,
 [Evyn as ye lyst.]

[6]

To crave in wordes I wyll eschew,
 And love in dede I wyll ensew;
 Yt ys my mynd bothe hole *and* trew,
 And for my trewth I pray you rew,
 [Evyn as ye lyst]

[7]

Dere hart, I bydd *your* hart farewell
 With better hart than tong can tell;
 Yet take thys tale as trew as gossell:
 Ye may my lyf save or expell,
 [Evyn as ye lyst.]

At end fynys

B

By Sir Thomas Wiat, XVI cent.

[1]

Evyn as *you* lyst my wyll ys bent f 89 v
 Yn everythyng to be content,
 To *serue* yn loue tyll lyf be spent
 And to reward my loue yncontynent,
 Even as *you* lyst

[2]

To fayn or fabele ys not my mynd,
 Nor to refuse suche as I fynd,
 But, even as a lambe humbull *and* kynd
 Ore byrd yn cage, to be assynd,
 Even as you lyst.

[3]

When all the folke ys com *and* gon,
 My joye *and* hart agreeth yn one,
And hartly chosen you only alone
 To be my joye or ells my mon,
 Even as you lyst.

[4]

Yf pyte appeyr yn his plas,
 Or yf dysdayn shew his fas,
 Yet craue I nothyng yn this cas
 But as you lyst to folow the tras,
 Even as you lyst

At end. fynys.

469

Cambridge University Library MS. Ff 1. 6.

XV cen/

f 139 v.

Vp, son and mery wether,
 Somer draweth nere

[1]

Somtyme Y loud, so do Y yut,
 In stedfast wyse and not to flit,
 But in danger my loue was knyht,
 A pitous thyng to hire

[2]

For when Y offrid my seruice,
 I to obbey in humble wyse
 As fer ferth as Y coude deuse,
 In contynauce and chere.

[3]

Grete payne for nought Y dude endure,
 Al for that wyckid creature,
 He and no mo, Y you ensur,
 Querthrew al my mater.

[4]

But now, Y thancke [God] of hys sond,
 I am ascapid from his band
 And fre to pas by se and land
 And sure fro yere to yere.
 stza. 6, l 3 cam] MS. can.

[5]

Some yn wordes movche loue doth f 9or.
 fayne,
And some for wordes gyue wordes agayne;
 Thys wordes for wordes yn wordes
 remayn,
And yet at last wordes dow obtayne,
 Even as ye list.

[6]

To craue yn wordes I woll eschewe,
And loue yn ded I woll ensue
 Wythe the, my hole hart faythfull *and*
 trew,
And of my trewth I pray you rew,
 Even as you lyst.

[7]

Der hart, I bed you now fawrwell
 With as good hart as tong can tell;
 Thys tall take trew as the gospell
 My lyfe you may both saue *and* spylle,
 Even as you lyst.

[5]

Now may Y ete, drynke, and play,
 Walke vp and doune fro day to day,
 And herkyn what this louers say,
 And laugh at there maner.

[6]

When Y shal slepe Y haue good rest,
 Somtyme Y had not altherbest,
 But, ar that Y cam to this fest,
 Y bought hit al to dere.

[7]

Al that affray ys clene agoo;
 Not only that, but many mo,
 And, sith Y am ascapid so,
 I thencke to hold me here.

[8]

But al the crue that suffren smert,
 I wold thay sped lyke yure desert,
 That thay myght synge with mery hert
 This song with vs in fere.

At end. desor mais

470

Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge MS 383.

XV cent.

p 68

Care away, away, away,
Murnyng away!
 Y am forsake, another ys take,
 No more *murne* yc may.

[1]

I am sory for her sake;
 Yc may wel ete *and* drynke,
 Wanne yc slepe yc may not wake,
 So muche on here yc thenke.

[2]

I am brout in suche a bale
And brout in suche a pyne,
 Wanne yc ryse vp of my bed,
 Me liste wel to dyne.

[3]

I am brout in suche a pyne,
 Ybrout in suche a bale,
 Wanne yc haue rythe god wyne,
 Me liste drynke non ale

471

Balliol College, Oxford MS. 354.

XVI cent.

f 241 v

Hay, hey, hey, hey!
 I will haue the whetston *and* I may

[1]

I sawe a doge sethyng sowse
And an ape thechyng an howse
 And a podyng etyng a mowse,
 I will haue the whetston *and* I may

[2]

I sawe an vrchyn shape *and* sewe
And anoder bake *and* brewe,
 Scowre the pottes as thei were new;
 I will haue the whetston *and* I may

[3]

I sawe a codefysse corn sowe
And a worm a whystyll blowe
And a pye tredyng a crow;
 I will haue the whetston *and* I may.

[4]

I sawe a stokfysse drawyng a harow
And anoder dryveyng a barow
 stza 6, l. 3. thirde] MS ^{md}

And a saltfysse shotyng an arow;
 I will haue the whetston *and* I may

[5]

I saw a bore burdeyns bynd
And a froge clewens wynd
And a tode mvstard grynd;
 I will haue the whetston *and* I may

[6]

I sawe a sowe bere kyrchers to wasshe;
 The second sowe had an hege to plasshe;
 The thirde sow went to the barn to
 throsshe,
 I will haue the whetston *and* I may

[7]

I saw an ege etyng a pye;
 Geve me drynke, my mowth ys drye;
 Ytt ys not long syth I made a lye;
 I will haue the whetston *and* I may.

At end Explicit

472

British Museum. MS Cotton Vespasian A. xxv.

XVI cent.

f. 135 v.

Newes, neues, neues, neues!
 Ye never herd so many neues!

[1]

A upon a strawe,
 Cudlyng of my cowe;
 Ther came to me Jake Dawe

[2]

Our dame mylked the mares talle,
The cate was lykyng the potte,
Our mayd came out wyt a flayle
And layd her under fat.

[3]

In ther came our next neyghbur,
Frome whens I cannot tell,
But ther begane a hard scouer,
'Have yow any musterd to sell?'

[4]

A cowe had stolyn a calfe away
And put her in a sake,

MS. is badly written, and part of the first line is illegible

The repetition of the burden is indicated after stzas 1-5 by *newes newes*
stza 4, l 1 calfe] MS. clafe stza 6, l 2. forwende] MS. forweme

Forsoth, I sel no puddynges today;
'Maysters, what doo youe lake?'

[5]

Robyne ys gone to Hu[n]tyngton
To bye our gose a flayle,
Lyke Spip, my yongest son,
Was huntynge of a snalle.

[6]

Our mayd John was her tomorowe,
I wote not where she forwende,
Our catelyetsyke and takyte gretsoiowe,
.

473

Huntington Library Christmas carolles newly Inpnynted (Richard Kele) c. 1550

p [20]

My harte of golde as true as stele,
As I me lened to a bough,
In fayth, but yf ye loue me well,
Lorde, so Robyn lough!

[1]

My lady went to Caunterbury,
The Saynt to be her bothe,
Shemet with Cate of Malmesbery; p [21]
Why wepyst thou in an apple rote?

[2]

Nyne myle to Mychelmas,
Our dame began to brew;
Mychell set his mare to gras,
Lorde, so fast it snow!

[3]

For you, loue, I brake my glasse;
Your gowne is furred with blew;
The deuyll is dede, for there I was,
Iwys, it is full trew.

[4]

And yf ye slepe, the cocke wyll crow;
True hart, thynke what I say;

The repetition of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1, 3-8 My hart &c.
stza 2. My harte &c burden, l 3 me] Orig my
stza 1, l 4. wepyst] Orig shepyst At end Fms.

Jacke Napes wyll make a mow,
Loke who dare say hym nay.

[5]

I pray you, haue me now in mynde,
I tell you of the mater
He blew his horne agaynst the wynde;
The crow gothe to the water.

[6]

Yet I tell you mekyll more. p [22]
The cat lyeth in the cradell,
I pray you, kepe true hart in store,
A peny for a ladell.

[7]

I swere by Saynt Katheryn of Kent,
The gose gothe to the grene,
All our dogges taylor is brent;
It is not as I wene.

[8]

'Tyrlerly lorpyyn,' the lauerocke songe;
So meryly pypes the sparow;
The cow brake lose, the rope ran home;
Syr, God gyue yow good morow.

474

Huntington Library. Christmas carolles newly Inprynted (Richard Kele). c 1550.

p [22]

Gebit, gebit, gebit, gebit,
Lux fulgebit hodie.

[1]

Ipsē mocat me,
An aple is no pere tree
In ciuitate Dauid.

p. [23]

[2]

Notum fecit Dominus
By the byll one knoweth a gose
In ciuitate Dauid.

[3]

Aparuit Esau
A red gowne is not blew
In ciuitate Dauid.

[4]

Uerbum caro factum est;
A shepe is a peryllous beste
In ciuitate Dauid.

The repetitiō of the burden is indicated as follows stzas 1-3. Gebit &c stza 4
Gebit gebit &c. At end Finis

APPENDIX

FRAGMENTS OF TEXTS PROBABLY IN CAROL FORM

i

Bodleian Library. Douce fragments f. 48.

XVI cent.

[1]	f 4 r	[3]
Whan Alleluya is alofte, I go gay and syt softe, And than I am mery ofte As any byrde on biere		Soone at Easter commeth Alleluya, With butter, chese, and a tansay, It is nothyng to my pay That he taryeth away so longe.

[2]	[4]
Whan Laus Tibi cometh to towne, Than me behoueth to knele downe And euer to be in orisowne, As it were a frere	Myght I byde Shere Thursday, Laus Tibi shall go away, [A]nd I haue wepte that I may, Though he neuer come vs amonge

At end Finis
Repr Flugel, E, *Anglia*, xii, p 588, *N L*, p. 124 (as if part of No 4), *fac*s Reed,
p 15.

Although imperfect at the beginning, so that no burden is preserved, this complaint of Lent is probably a true carol. It belongs to the same class of 'personified season' carols as Nos 3, 4, 141. Compare the *balade* to Lent by Deschamps (ed Raynaud, G, *Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1878-1903, vol x, p xxvii).

stza 1, l 1 1 e, except during the time from Septuagesima to Easter, during which 'Alleluya' is not said in the liturgy
stza 2, l 1 1 e, in Lent, when 'Laus tibi Domine' replaces 'Alleluya' in the services
stza 3, l 2 *tansay* a pudding, omelet, or cake flavoured with the herb tansy, a dish prepared and eaten at Easter time.

ii

Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge. MS. 383

XV cent.

p 210

Now this Yol, &c.

[1]	[3]
Mari mulde hath boren a chylde, Crist lyth in cradul bonde, He put his mouth to syk and couth To bringe vs out of bonde.	Seynt Jon kepte wile Crist slepte On rode for all man . . . Mari, the flour, was of myche onour, Scheld us from scl . . .
[2]	[4]
A douti knyht ys fallon in fit Seynt Steuene be his name; With stocus of stonus thei bursten his bonus— The Jewus were to blame.	The childron [of Israel] cried, 'Wa, wa!' Her wondus smertus sore; Crist in cradul seide, 'Ba, ba' Man synne . . .

v

British Museum. MS Sloane 2593.

XV cent.

[1]

.

 'Thou wost wol lytyl ho is thi foo f. 2 r

[2]

'Man, loke thou haue this gys,
 Quatsumeuere thou xalt doo
 Of thi speche the wil avys;
 Thou wost wol lytyl ho is thi foo

[3]

'Man, rewle thi tunge in swych a gys
 That non myssspeche come the froo,
 For than thou dost as the wys;
 Thou wost wol lytyl ho is thi foo.

The portion of this piece which is preserved begins with the last line of a stanza on what was formerly f 49 of the original volume. It is impossible to say certainly how many stanzas are lost or whether the piece had a burden. It appears to be a *chanson d'aventure* of the type in which a bird is the speaker encountered by the narrator. *Pr Wright, Wart Club*, p 1, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p 41. Both treat the first line as a burden, in spite of the index mark in the MS to connect the line with a preceding stanza, and the poem is listed in Brown, *Register*, by its second preserved line (No 1289).

[4]

'Idil speche I rede thou spys
 Lok to hom thou seyst thi wil too,
 Qwether thou stonde, walke, or ryde,
 Thou wost wol lytyl ho is thi foo'

[5]

The bryd seyde on his devys,
 'Thou mytyst telle sum man thi woo,
 He wol it were dublyd thryis
 Thou wost wol lytyl ho is thi foo.'

[6]

'If thou wyt beryn away the prys,
 Lestene this song, and synge thertoo.
 "Of thi speche the wil avys,
 Thou wost wol lytyl ho is thin foo"'

vi

St. John's College, Cambridge MS. S 54.

XV cent.

Women ben good for lo[ve] f 13 r
 that sit above.

[3]

Women xall in
 Day nye nyth
 Womenys cump [any] . . .

[1]

In evyn ther sitte a lady,
 Off all women sche
 Women to loue yt y

[4]

Iwys, I hold
 That of no w
 Women to good

[2]

Women to loue
 To loue women
 Women to loue

[5]

Women ben goo[d]
 Women to vus
 Women to lo[ve]

Pr James & Macaulay, p. 85.

vii

Cambridge University Library. MS Addit. 5943.

XV cent.

[1]

Of alle thynges that last fly-leaf, r.
 God

Wymmen ben fayre for t . . .
 Wommen ben fayre in . . .
 Wommen were ymad of . . .

[2]
 Ho so wol ysc God on h
 Whirschepe he wynimen
 For they ben myri &c.

[3]
 Of a womman God wa .

Al we schulle be glad .
 And he boughte vs, that wom

[4]
 A womman was ybore
 Al the world he for so
 Sche bare a chylde that

The text has been damaged by the cutting-down of the right-hand edge of an originally larger leaf. To the left of the text are two roughly drawn heads in profile, one with a mitre. At the foot of the page are a few lines of scribbles, one line blotted out.

viii

British Museum MS Addit 5666.

XV cent.

I have loued so many a day, f 3 v
 Ligthly spedde, bot better I may

[1]
 This ender day wen me was wo,
 Naghtgale to meue me to,
 Vnder a bugh ther I lay.

Music for one voice *Pr*, with music, Ritson, *Ancient Songs* (1877), p xlv1

This fragment appears to be the burden and part of the first stanza of a carol using the *chanson d'aventure* formula, probably on an amorous theme

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ORIGINAL SOURCES

A MANUSCRIPT

LONDON: BRITISH MUSEUM

COTTON TITUS A XXVI.

Paper, $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6$ in., ff. 293 Centt xvi, xvii

The volume is composed of several different MSS bound together Five leaves have been cut out between ff 25 and 26

Written in several hands The carol is in the same hand as the religious poetry preceding it and *Ypots* following it. The same hand appears again on ff 145-207

Principal contents Hymns and songs, French and Italian, some with music An illustrated Italian treatise on naval architecture A Latin herbal, alphabetically arranged. A treatise, *De Pulsibus* English material A life of St Alexis, in verse, *Merita Missae*, in verse, Lydgate's *Fifteen Joys of Our Lady*, Carol No 419 B, imperfect at beginning, *Ypots*, Lives of SS Mary Magdalene and Catherine, *The Seven Sleepers*, *St Julian the Harboureer*

On f 144 (with the English material) is written (cent xvi): 'Iste lybar constat Rychard Redhood'

COTTON VESPASIAN A. XXV.

Paper and parchment, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ in, ff 205 Centt xv, xvi

Parts of several MSS bound together, written in several hands Carol No 472 is written on one of two parchment leaves (ff 125, 126) which did not originally belong with the other material It is in a hand of cent xvi (early), which appears only on these two leaves It has also written

f 125 r 'per me Wyllum Covsien' and a short bit of verse 'After droght commythe rayne'

f 125 v. Scribbles with names 'thomas a beltton' and 'Rychard cartar'

f 126 v 'thomas bewelto, thomas bewelton, thomas barton of appelton that hit hys a myll in appelton feld wytyns that hur[?]th.'

On f 126 r in another hand is the beginning of an indenture dated 12 February in the reign of Philip and Mary, but without a year

The other English poems in the MS, including several labelled as carols, were written after 1550 Of these, No 95 a is included in the present volume, as version b shows it to have been composed before this date It is in the same hand as the English carols and songs which precede and follow it The dates recorded here and there are from 1573 to 1578

Principal contents. Carols Nos. 95 a, 472. Other English songs and verses. Miscellaneous material in English and Latin, principally theological

On f. 180 v. is the name 'William Asheton'.

On f. 205 r. is written in a hand of cent xvii 'This is master Jac his booke' and 'R. Boutant'. Later owners were Henry Savill and Sir John Anstis

For other description of the volume, see Boddeker, K, 'Englische Lieder und Balladen aus dem 16 Jahrhundert', in *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Sprache und Literatur*, N F 11 82-5.

EGERTON 613

Vellum, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in, ff 74, the last from another volume Centt XIII, XIV, XV. Some leaves are damaged

Written in several hands, with some initials in red and green. The carol-variant is in a hand (cent. XIII) different from those of all the other items

Principal contents Carol No 191 B a Norman-French material A letter on the sufferings of Christ, The Pseudo-Gospel of Nicodemus, Account of the finding of the Cross by St Helena, *The Exaltation of the Cross*, The *Bestiary* of Guillaume de Normandie, with pen-drawings, *Poema Morale*

Other English poems A song of the Passion. 'Somer is comen and winter gon', An orison to the Virgin 'Blessed beo thu lauedi', A song on the love of the Virgin 'Litel uotit enman', *Poema Morale* (two copies)

HARLEY 275

Paper (except ff 1*, 2*, 159, 160 vellum), $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in, ff 162 Cent xv

Written in several hands The carol is in a different hand (of the latter part of the century) from those of the other items

Contents Religious prose treatises as follows Richard Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae* and *Incendium Amoris*; St Bernard's *Meditationes*, Innocent III's *De Contemptu Mundi* (imperfect), Rolle's *Lectones de Servizio Mortuorum* (*Job*), *Liber Elucidarius*, attributed to Anselm, Origen's *De Cantico Canticorum*, *Speculum Humane Salvacionis*, 'Si Ecclesiastica Sententia in aliquibus debeat exerceri' Carol No 23 B Letter of Thomas Kemp, Bishop of London, dated 1451 'Tractatus de Supersticione, Incantacione, seu Divinacione' 'De Penitencia Ade et Eve' Two medical recipes

HARLEY 541. Collectanea, Principally by Sir Simonds D'Ewes.

Paper, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 6$ in, ff 229. Centt xv, xvi, xvii.

Written in several hands. The two carols are in the same hand, which wrote nothing else in the volume

Principal contents Carols Nos. 125 C, 422 B A collection of Welsh proverbs translated into Latin by John Davies A prayer by Paul D'Ewes. A life of St. Catherine John More's journal of the House of Commons The Mass defended against a book of errors, A.D. 1606 Two diplomatic documents, in French. A religious tract Part of a masque for the entertainment of Queen Elizabeth. Alexander King's Latin oration at Edinburgh Michael Lok's notes on Russia. A description of Holland A poem on the Family of Stanley. Poems of cent. xv 'The Lytyle Childrenes Lytill Boke', The lines 'Wit hath wonder', &c, A love-song, Lydgate's *Dietary*, Dialogue between Nurture and Kind, *The A B C of Aristotle* (2 copies). A prayer to the Virgin Lists with a few notes (by John Stow) of officials, churches, gates, halls, and trades of London. Lists of English lords, knights, bishops, and mayors.

HARLEY 1317.

Paper, $11\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in, ff i+101. Centt. xv (second half), xvi (first half) Owing to a mistake in numbering, there are two ff. 94. The second is designated as f 94*.

Written principally in one hand. Two others have added scribbles and household accounts towards the end. The carol is the only item written in a fourth hand.

Contents An abridgement of the laws of England, in Latin and French Carol No 462. Letter from one John Stevenson to his brother Index to the laws above. Letter of Henry VIII to one William Eliot, in Latin. Household accounts. Among the scribbles on f 94 v are two snatches of songs. 'And I were mayden', 'loley to syng and sey as here'

The following names appear 'homffrey dymmok' (variously spelled), 'John taylbotte', 'Edward torpyn', 'frances torpin'.

HARLEY 2253.

Parchment, $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ in, ff 1+142 Cent xiv (first half).

Written principally in two hands Three other hands are represented in recipes, notes, and on fly-leaves. The carol is in the same hand as all the other English songs, written at Leominster Priory, Herefordshire, cell of St Mary's Abbey, Reading

Principal contents Carol No 440 English and French prose and poetry *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Harlerianae* (London, 1808) lists 114 items in the MS. In addition to the English songs printed by Boddeker, K, *Altenglische Dichtungen des MS Harl 2253* (Berlin, 1878), these include the *Vitae Patrum* and *Le Passion Nostre Seignors* in French verse, religious and historical treatises in French prose, a life of St Ethelbert in French verse, and French songs and poems on various subjects

HARLEY 2330

Parchment, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 4$ in, ff 11+122. Cent. xv

Written in two hands, the carol in one, the remainder of the volume in another, with initials in red and blue The carol is preceded by two blank leaves

Contents English translations of St Augustine's *Contra Iulianum* and *Tractatus de Creatione Primi Hominis* Carol No 149 c

On f 17 r. (inverted) is 'Elizabeth Vincent', on f. 45 r (inverted) 'Robert Vincent his booke', both of cent xvi

HARLEY 2380.

Paper and parchment, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in, ff 79. Cent xv.

The margins are damaged throughout ff 78, 79 are small fragments

Written principally in two hands, the bulk of the medical material in one, the carol and other English poetry in the other

Principal contents A collection of medical receipts, with a table of contents prefixed. Carol No 146 B. Other English poems, including 'This is Gods aun complaynt', 'Thurght a forest als I went' ('The Bird with Four Feathers'), 'The blyssed barn in Betlem born' (a miracle of the Virgin, imperfect).

HARLEY 4294.

Paper, except f. 82 parchment, $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ in, ff. 82 Cent xv (second half), xvi (first half)

Written in two hands, the first, of cent. xv, extending throughout the *Dialogues*. The carols are in the second hand, of cent xvi (early), which has also written the other verses and the medical recipes On the parchment last leaf are some merchants' accounts in still another hand, some scribbles, among them 'Henry by the grace of god kynge', and 'Ambrose' several times repeated

Contents Translation in English verse of the *Dialogues of Sydrac and Boctus* (imperfect at beginning), cent xv, with marginal notes in a hand of cent xviii Didactic verses, signed Ricardus Spery, beg 'worth your hartes so planted in pryde'. Two medical recipes, one for the sweating sickness, the other 'The quenys preseruatye' Carols Nos 103 B, 343, 396.

HARLEY 5396

Parchment and paper, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in., ff 311. Centt xii, xv.

Three MSS bound as one Written in several hands. All the English poems, including the carols, are in one hand (cent xv), the same which wrote the accounts

Principal contents Latin sermons, collected by J Felton, Vicar of Oxford.

Holkot's (?) treatise *Convertimini*. An antidotary, arranged alphabetically (imperfect at beginning) English poems Carols Nos 36 b (signed Wylyam northe of yorke), 80, 136 A, A hymn at the Elevation of the Host, A hymn to the Virgin, A tale against wedlock-breaking, 'Our Lady's Song of the Child that Sucked her Breast', *The Ten Commandments*, *A Pennyworth of Wit* (imperfect), *Good Rule Is Out of Remembrance*, *Turn Up Her Halter and Let Her Go*, *Our Lord's Exhortation*, *The Bysom Leads the Blnd*, *How the Wise Man Taught His Son*, The 'Long Charter of Christ' (A-text), *The Tournament of Tottenham*, *Alas, That Any Kind Man Wants Good*, *A Tale of King Henry II* (imperfect)

Accounts, apparently of a Midlands merchant, for such articles as red wine, vinegar, wool, wax, 'cloth of Rone', sheepskins, a horse, dated 'the xxxiiii of kyng henry the VI' (1455) Among the places named in the accounts are Woolaston and Weston (Glos.), Coventry, London, Henbury (Glos, or perhaps Hanbury in Staffs or Worcs), Northampton, Barton (which one is not indicated), Kingsthorp (Northants), Uppingham (Rutl)

On f 285 r is 'Iste liber pertinet Ricardo Taylour'

HARLEY 7358

Paper, $5\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in, ff 25 Cent xiv (second half)

Written throughout, including the carols, in one hand

Contents Miscellanea, principally theological, including a drawing of a crucifix labelled 'Crux fidelis' and another of a hand A Latin treatise on the Cross and the woods of which it was made. A Latin treatise on the Sacraments Latin liturgical notes, those referring to the Virgin and St Thomas of Canterbury crossed out A prayer to St Appolonia as the healer of toothache Carol No 395 a A list of saints' days *De annis embolismalibus* in Latin verse Carol No 155 b Form of a will dated 1374 at East Walworth.

On f. 10 v. is. 'Edwardus Willem willem'.

On f 24 r is a colophon 'Explicit liber iste. Sperhauckus de est wolleworth'

HARLEY 7578

Parchment and paper, leaves of varying sizes, ff 129 Centt. xv, xvi, xvii

The volume is made up of parts of several MSS now bound together. The section containing the carol (No 445) is a part-book of songs of cent. xvi, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in It is written in several hands, the carol being in the same hand as the songs before and after it.

On f. 117 v is the name 'Thomas Awdcoron' (repeated as 'Adcone') in a hand of cent. xvi, and the following note '17 February, 1717-18 This Book given to Humfrey Wanley, by James Mickleton of Grayes Inne, Esq, containing a Collection of old Songs, &c. used within and about the Bishoprick of Durham.' On f. 83 r is a note to the same effect in the hand of Joseph Ritson.

For a list of the contents of the entire volume see *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Harleianae* (London, 1808), for a list of the other English songs see Hughes-Hughes, A., *Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum* (London, 1908).

LANSDOWNE 379.

Paper, $7\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in, ff 86. Centt. xvi (first half), xvii Some leaves are much damaged and mended ff. 23 r-35 v. are printed.

Written by several hands. The carols are in the hand which wrote ff. 9 r.-22 v., the prescriptions, and the continuation of the printed item.

Principal contents *Oratio D. Johannis Damasceni*, in Greek and Latin verse (cent. xvii). English sermons on the Eucharist, for Easter, and for All Saints.

A copy of Bishop William Lyndewode's *Constitutiones Provinciales* printed by Wynkyn de Worde, imperfect at beginning and at end, the deficiency at the end supplied in MS Carols Nos 43, 94 Prescriptions for the stone, toothaches, &c. Notes on the temperaments of the body and the four elements Notes on chronology. English prayers (imperfect) by a member of the Charterhouse, London

On f 11 r is the note 'I bought this Book out of the Library of Sir Joseph Jekyl It was formerly Lord Somers / James West / February 1738'

ROYAL 17 B XLIII

Vellum, $7\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in, ff 187. Cent xv.

Written in four different hands The carol is in a hand (c 1500) different from those of the rest of the volume, except for some scribbles on ff 183 v., 184 r, among them the name 'Johan' thrice repeated

Contents Mandeville's *Travels* in the defective English version The romance *Sir Gowghter St Patrick's Purgatory*. The above are in a hand of cent xv (first half) *The Vision of Tundale*, written A D 1451 (imperfect at beginning). Carol No 270.

ROYAL 17 B XLVII.

Paper (except ff 1, 11, 1, 52, 53 vellum), $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$ in, ff 11+174 Cent xv (middle)

Written in several hands The carol is in the same hand of cent xv (late) as the following small items

ff 88 v, 89 r. Three medical prescriptions

f 113 r Two English quatrains *beg* a 'O Lord of hevyn *and* kyng of might' (not recorded in Brown, *Register*) b 'Shall I go to her agayn onys to prove

ff 114 r, 119 r Legal notes

The volume is a commonplace book of forms for letters and legal documents The items listed above were written later than the rest of the MS.

Principal contents Lydgate's *Dietary Prudence* (one stanza of Burgh's *Cato Major*) Forms of bonds (for London) in Latin, French, and English A 'modus dictandi' signed Thomas Sampson Forms for state and other letters in Latin Forms of 'begging letters' for a poor scholar Versified English instructions on buying land Miscellaneous legal forms in Latin, French, and English, including indentures, powers of attorney, licences to debtors, manumissions, wills, deeds, manorial documents, &c, &c Medical recipes Carol No 393

On vellum scraps at the beginning of the MS are the names of owners 'magister Leye' (cent xv), William Challner (cent xvi), Thomas Cheke (cent xvi) The first named may have been one of the family of Leigh of Herriard in Hampshire

ROYAL 20. A. I

Vellum, $8\frac{3}{8} \times 6$ in, ff 1v+122 Cent xv (first half)

Written in three hands The two carols are in different hands, and the *Travels* in a third, with initials in red and blue.

Contents Mandeville's *Travels*, in French, written by Jean de Bourgogne of Liège. Carols Nos 27 B, 167

The hand of No 167 has added a colophon to the *Travels*. The hand of No 27 B has written on f 121 v a confused scrap (of a lullaby carol?) 'Werede ye fede *and* ye chelleth fynde In fayth wyth owtenne a baby y buffed y billed y lofid y lapped y led in clos' On f 122 r another hand has written three lines of an English hymn to the Virgin 'amonge al merthes manny / we chol senge of o lady / In al this wordil nis svch a siht'

ROYAL Appendix 58.

Paper, $5\frac{7}{8} \times 7\frac{7}{8}$ in, ff 60 Cent. xvi (first quarter)

Written in several hands, with musical settings throughout Of the carols Nos. 449, 458 are in the same hand, No 150 D in another Both hands have written other pieces as well

Contents Carols Nos 150 D, 449, 458 Other English songs (some imperfect) by Cornysh, Parker, Cooper, Drake, and anonymous composers.

The words of the entire MS are printed by Flugel, E., 'Liedersammlungen', &c, *Anglia*, xii 256-72.

SLOANE 1584

Paper and vellum, $5\frac{3}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ in, ff. 96 Cent. xv.

Written principally in one hand, that of John Gysborn, Canon of Coverham, Yorks. Another hand has written the history of confession, and still others have added a few of the medical recipes The carol is in Gysborn's hand, but not the other English song

Principal contents Theological material, including instructions for deacons and subdeacons, questions to be asked in confession, prayers, &c Medical recipes Carol No 446 A sermon for Easter Directions for making colours, enamelling, &c A history of confession. English love-song 'Greuous ys my sorowe'

On f. 12 r. is written 'Scriptum per me Johannes Gysborn Canonicus de Couerham

On f. 26 v. is a drawing of Christ's wounds, on ff. 27 r.-28 r alphabets of initials, on f. 28 v a conventional design, and on f. 83 v a drawing of a gaily dressed man dancing

SLOANE 2593

Paper (except part of f. 12 parchment), $5\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ in., ff. 37. Cent. xv (first half).

The MS is a part of a larger volume, of which the rest is not known to exist A previous numbering shows the present f. 2 to have been formerly f. 49 of a volume The first remaining piece in the MS. is imperfect at the beginning. There is no music All the songs and carols are in one hand (A) At the end are minor items in three other hands as follows (all cent. xv)

B Notes on ff. 35 v. and 36 v The latter reads 'Johannes bardel debet istum librum the qweche bradel is of . . . dwellyd In . . .'

C Medical recipes on f. 36 v

D Scribbles on f. 37 v.

Contents Three Latin songs 'Procedenti puero', 'Non pudescit corpore', 'Meum est propositum in taberna mori' Carols Nos 7 B, 8 b, 16, 24, 25, 27 A, 28, 68, 86 A, 87, 114 a, 122 B, 123 B, 124 A, 125 A, 143, 145 b, 148 A, 157 C, 168, 169, 175 C, 180 B, 185 A, 188, 231, 234 C, 236, 242, 312, 315-17, 320, 329, 330, 339, 341, 355 a, 356 a, 357, 363, 365, 368, 381, 383-5, 390, 392, 395 b, 403, 405, 416, 417, 457, App. No v. Other English songs 'I syng of a mayden'; 'I haue a gentil cook'; 'Omnes gentes plaudite'; 'Adam lay ibowndyn', 'I haue a yong suster', 'I haue an newe gardyn', 'Robynn lyth in grene wode bowndyn' (ballad); 'As I went throw a gardyn grene', 'Be the way wanderyng as I went', 'Seynt Steuene was a clerk' (ballad), 'Aue maris stella'; 'If I syng ye wyl me lakke', 'Enmy Herowde, thou wokkyd kyng'; 'As I me lend to a lend'

The entire MS is printed by Wright, Thomas, *Songs and Carols, Publications of the Warton Club*, iv (London, 1856) Many of the pieces are again printed by Fehr, B., 'Die Lieder der Hs Sloane 2593', in *Archiv*, cix. 33-70, with general observations on the collection.

ADDIT 5465. The 'Fairfax MS.'

Vellum (paper interleaved where parts of original are missing and ff i, ii, 1), $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in, ff ii+124. Cent. xvi (first quarter)

Leaves are missing after ff 9 v., 11 v., 19 v.

Written throughout in a single hand, with initials in red and blue. Musical settings are given for all the pieces

Contents Carols Nos. 146 A, 165, 263 a, 264, 432-4, 436, 464 Other English songs, sacred and secular, many with the composers' names

This volume was owned by Dr. Robert Fairfax, d. 1529, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and an organist His arms are on the title-page Later owners were Charles Fairfax, Ralph Thoresby of Leeds, and John White of Newgate Street, London

For fuller description see Fehr, B, 'Die Lieder des Fairfax MS.' in *Archiv*, cvi 48-70 Fehr prints most of the texts Others are printed by Ritson, Joseph, *Ancient Songs* (London, 1790, 1829, 1877), and Flugel, E, *Neuenglisches Lesebuch*, 1 (Halle, 1895)

ADDIT 5665 The 'Ritson MS.'

Paper and vellum, 10 x 7 in., ff 1-149 Cent xvi (first quarter)

The volume is well written, with some initials in blue and red The pieces are provided with musical settings throughout. In some cases the words of a song, for a second voice, are written in red, now badly faded There are eight different hands in the volume, according to a MS memorandum affixed at the end All the pieces in carol-form are in the second of these hands, which begins on f 4 v and writes ff. 4 v.-38 r, 39 v.-47 r, 48 v.-53 r, 54 v, 55 r., 56 v.-59 r.

Contents Carols Nos 1, 2, 6, 13, 14 c, 31 c, 57-9, 85, 89, 91 A and B, 96, 99, 103 A d and e, 109-11, 116, 118, 131 a, 133, 186, 259, 277, 306, 307, 330, 337 c, 348, 354, 359 B, 367, 375, 387, 435. Other English songs, sacred and secular. Sacred compositions with words in Latin. A French song 'Votre trey dowce regaunt plesaunt'

The composers represented include Trouluffe, Smert, Turges, Pakk, John Cornysh, Henry Petyre

On f 61 r is a Latin legal memorandum dated 17 October 1510

The volume was presented to the British Museum by Joseph Ritson in 1795.

Most of the English pieces in the MS. are printed as plain texts by Fehr, B, 'Die Lieder der Hs Add 5665', in *Archiv*, cvi 262-85. Others are printed by Ritson, Joseph, *Ancient Songs* (London, 1790, 1829, 1877), Flugel, E, *Neuenglisches Lesebuch*, 1 (Halle, 1895), and Smith, John Stafford, *Musica Antiqua* [London, 1812]

ADDIT. 5666

Paper (except f 1 parchment), 5½ x 3¾ in., ff 22 Cent xv (first half)

Written in three hands, the songs, carols, and prose tract in one, the accounts in another, and notes on ff. 5 v., 7, 8 r. in a third.

Contents A fragment of a lullaby, much faded. Carol No 151 B Song, 'Now has Mary born' (imperfect) Carol, App, No viii. Carol No 144 Treatise of Latin grammar, in Latin prose. Expense accounts of John White, dated 12 Henry IV (1411) White's name also appears on ff. 7 v, 8 r., and in the following notes f 6 v 'Robertus Brouham et Johannes White sunt ssemper Boni et omnibus temporibus ut dicit Thomas krim et semper erunt', f 7 r 'Robertus brouham precepit Johann White vt diceret. Johann pepir q[u]od venret tali die. Johannes White vt dicit brouham'

On f 18 r is drawn a device of a tree and a pierced heart with the motto 'pur verz amur je su mort' and 'Fuit homo'. On f 22 v are three lines of French love-verse.

The note written on f 1 v of the volume is certainly erroneous. It states that the volume is in the hand of Friar John Brackley of Norwich, the friend

and adviser of the Paston family. None of the hands, however, is that of Brackley as represented in his preserved holograph letters (British Museum MS Addit 34888)

ADDIT 14997.

Paper, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ in (some leaves of other sizes), ff 115 Centt xv, xvi (first half)

The volume is imperfect at the beginning, and the margins of many leaves are damaged and repaired

Written by several hands The carol is in the same hand as some of the Welsh poems and the charms and medical receipts

Contents Poems in Welsh by a large number of different bards. Charms and medical recipes, in Latin and English Two stanzas, in English, begging another drink for the singer, not in the hand of the carol Carol No. 10, with date of 1500. A few grammatical rules in Latin

The MS, of Welsh origin, was presented to the British Museum in 1844 by the Cymmrodorion Society.

ADDIT 17492 The 'Devonshire MS'

Paper, $9\frac{1}{16} \times 6$ in, ff 121 Cent xvi (first half) ff 1, 93, 94, 96 are fragments f 96 is an older vellum fragment There are numerous blank leaves not numbered in the present foliation, which runs from 1 to 96

Written in several hands Carol No. 468 A is in the hand which has written ff 2 r-22 r, Carol No 467 in the hand which has written most of the poetry on ff 69 r-87 v, with the initials 'T V' interlaced

Principal contents Poems by Sir Thomas Wyatt and contemporaries, including Carols Nos 467, 468 A

For a history of the MS. and some account of its various owners, including Lady Margaret Howard and Mary Shelton, whose names are on the fly-leaf, see Foxwell, A. K., *A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems* (London, 1911), pp 125-35

ADDIT 18752.

Vellum and paper, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in, ff. 216 Centt xiv, xv, xvi

Written in several hands. The carol is in a hand that has written some of the other poems

Principal contents Carol No 468 B Other English poetry (cent xvi) Latin treatises on astrology, medicine, &c *Secretum Philosophorum* (imperfect) Several herbals Copies of two letters, one addressed to Robert Oxtone, Archdeacon of Coventry (1408). The order of guests at the queen's table at the coronation banquet of Catherine of Valois, wife of Henry V (1421) Lists of courses at banquets, one given to the king by Sir John Cornewelle.

The following names appear in the MS John Gryntter of Hawkchurch (Dorset), Margaret Chechester.

ADDIT 19046.

Paper, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ in, ff 132. Cent. xv

Written by several hands The one carol is in the hand which wrote the English glosses in the margins of ff. 65 r-73 r, and the scribbles on f 82 v. The name of John Jones of Carmarthen is signed to several of the pieces.

Principal contents. Carol No 430. Proverbs, in Latin distichs 'Liber parvi doctrinalis de parabilis philosophie.' Latin verses on synonyms (imperfect) Latin and English rules of grammar. 'De regimine vocum.' Latin verses giving the names of familiar objects Lydgate's *Stans Puer ad Mensam*.

On f. 73 v. is the note in a hand of cent xv 'Thomas stanlye est postessor huius [?] libri testis est Robertus cavtum'

ADDIT 24542.

Paper, $7\frac{3}{4} \times 6$ in, ff 200 Cent XIX

Written by Joseph Hunter ff 192–200 are miscellaneous fragments.

The contents are Hunter's collectanea, marked by him 'Antiquities of Common Life, Poetry, etc, etc, Begun at Bath, about 1820'

The carol, No 260, has the following note appended 'This & the other poems of a like nature which follow are copied from a register of writs—a small MS in vellum of the age of Edward II—& have been written in the blank pages of it, probably about the reign of Henry VII—The MS belonged in the time of Charles I to Gabriel Wettinhal of Nantwich in Cheshire, afterward to Wm Falconer of Chester Esq & is now (Aug 1826) the property of his nephew Mr Tho Falconer M D of Bath'

The other poems referred to begin as follows 'Ave gra[cia] plena devoide of all trespace', 'All haile Lady mother & virgyn immaculate', 'The infinite power essenciall', 'O radiant luminar of light eternurable'

ADDIT 31042

Paper (except ff 1, 2, 182, 183 vellum), $10\frac{5}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ in, ff 183 Cent xv (middle).

Written principally by one hand, that of Robert Thornton, scribe of the 'Thornton MS', Lincoln Cathedral A 5 2 The carol is in his hand but appears to have been written at a different time from the poems which precede and follow it. The two leaves directly following the carol have been torn out The four fly-leaves are from a breviary of cent xv

Principal contents A fragment of the *Cursor Mundi* The Northern Passion. *The Destruction of Jerusalem* *The Siege of Melayne* The romance *Sir Ottuel*. Lydgate's *Dietary* A song 'The werlde es tournede up so downe' *The Quatrefoil of Love* Prayer in verse 'Haile, holy spyritt' Lydgate's *The Virtue of the Mass* Carol No 427. The story of the Three Kings, in verse, imperfect at beginning

On f 49 r. in a hand of cent xv (late) is 'John Nettletons boke'.

For fuller description of the MS and texts of some pieces see Brunner, Karl, in *Archiv*, cxxxii 316–27.

ADDIT 31922

Vellum, $12 \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in, ff 129 Cent XVI (first half)

The volume has musical settings throughout and some initials in blue, red, and gold It is well written by three different hands as follows A ff 3 v–21 r, 26 r, B ff 21 v–25 v, 27 r–124 r, C. ff 124 r–128 r

Contents Carols Nos 437, 448, 463, 465, 466. Secular songs, mostly in English but a few in French. The composers include King Henry VIII, Cornysh, Cooper, Farthing, and others For a complete list see *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS. in the British Museum, 1882–7* (London, 1889), pp 7–9. Forty-nine pieces of instrumental music, some ascribed to King Henry VIII, Kempe, Farthing, Lloyd, Dunstable, Fairfax, and Cornysh Of these a few are printed with transcription of the music by Trefusis, Lady Mary, *Songs, Ballads, and Instrumental Pieces Composed by King Henry the Eighth* (Roxburghe Club, Oxford, 1912)

For a full description of the MS (with four facsimiles) see Chappell, W, 'Some account of an Unpublished Collection of Songs and Ballads', &c., in *Archaeologia*, xli 371–86

The MS is described and the words printed in full by Flugel, E, 'Liedersammlungen', &c, in *Anglia*, xii 226–56.

Among former owners of the volume were the family of Sir Charles Montolieu Lamb, Bt., the 11th Earl of Eglinton, Stephen Fuller, M D

On f. 129 v is scribbled in a hand of cent xvi 'ser John leed in the parishe uf Denynden' and 'vynsent Wydderden ys an onest man so sayeth Nycolas Benden Cuius est contrarium verum est', also the names of Sir John Berde, Davey Jones, and Jane Reve

ADDIT 40166 (C 3).

Paper, unbound, $6\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in., ff. 2 Cent xv. The first of the two leaves is much damaged

Contents An English poem on the signs of the Judgement, but treating of six days only, instead of fifteen, as usual (imperfect) Carols Nos 26, 121 (both in the same hand). Rules for Latin syntax in Latin verse with marginalia in English.

After Carol No 26 is tricked a coat of arms, not yet identified *arg.* within a bordure *sa* semé of torteaux a lion rampant *gu*, on its head an anchor (?) *sa* Around it is scribbled the verse '*domine [sic] est terra et plenitudo orbis terrarum et munere [?] qui habittu mes*'.

LONDON COLLEGE OF ARMS

I 7 Records of Coronations and Other Ceremonies

Paper, $13\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ in ff i+92 Centt xvi, xvii ff 1, 92 are fragments.

Written in several hands The carol is in the hand which wrote the rest of the account of the coronation of Edward VI

Principal contents *Forma Coronationis Regum et Reginarum* An account in English of the funeral of Queen Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII. An account of the coronation of Henry VIII. A Proclamation by Edward VI. A description of the procession through the City to Westminster on the occasion of the coronation of Edward VI, including: A song (not a carol) at the conduit in Cheapside, Carol No 438 An account of the funeral of the Earl of Oxford. An account of the funeral of the Bishop of Westminster, A.D. 1500. An account of the coronation of Queen Mary An account of the coronation of Charles I as King of Scotland at Holyrood, A.D. 1633.

A note on f 1 r reads, 'A booke of the forme of coronation *and* buriall of diuers estates belongyng to thomas hawlay rex Clarenceux. gyuen to Clarenceu ... by wyll ...'

LONDON: LAMBETH PALACE

LAMBETH 306.

Paper, $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in., ff. 204. Centt. xv, xvi.

Written in several hands, ff 46 v to 72 r. being in that of John Stow, the antiquary The carols are in a hand of cent xv (second half). A printed prose life of St Winifred is bound with the MS.

Principal contents The *Brut*. Historical notes by Stow. *Libeaus Desconus*. *The T'rental of St. Gregory*. A life of St. Eustace. Hymns to the Virgin. Lydgate's *Horse, Goose, and Sheep*. A poem on 'the letters that shall save England' Carols Nos 401 B, 429. Other courtly and religious poems. A list of the retinue of Edward III at Calais. *The Stations of Rome* Directions for keeping hawks The 'proper terms' for game The tale of the knight who married a widow's daughter. A decree of the City of London, concerning St. Peter's, Cornhill. Verses on the purchase of land *The Battle of Brantown*.

Many medical recipes written *passim*, some on the same leaves as the two carols

LONDON: PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

CHANCERY MISCELLANEA, Bundle 34, File 1, No 12.

Paper, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4$ in, ff. 2. c. 1400.

Written in one hand Much faded and stained, in parts illegible

Contents Carol No 36 c Carol No 114 c Latin verses on the Epiphany. Macaronic English and Latin verses on pride, *beg* 'Pryde pryde wo thou be mater viciorum' These verses cite the example of Lucifer and satirize fashionable swaggerers.

LONDON: LINCOLN'S INN

HALE 135.

Vellum, $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in, ff 138 Centt XIII (late), XIV (early).

Written in one hand, except for the fly-leaves, ff 1, 137, 138 The carol is in a hand, different from that of the body of the book, which has written several memoranda concerning swans dated 1302-5 There are scribbles in hands of various dates on ff. 1, 137 r

Contents: The legal treatise of Henry de Bracton, with prefixed table of contents Carol No 450 Memoranda on the swans of Sir Alan de Thornteton, to whom the volume belonged in the time of Edward I 'He appears to have resided in Lincolnshire, and was probably a relation of Gilbert de Thornteton, who was chief justice of the king's bench in the 18th The motto, in a recent hand on the first page [f 6 r], *περι παντος την Ελευθεριαν* [*sic*], seems to mark it as having once belonged to Selden' (Hunter, Joseph, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn*, London, 1838)

LONDON. WESTMINSTER ABBEY

20

Vellum and paper, $6\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ in., ff 38. Centt XIV, XV.

Written in several hands The carol is in a hand different from those of the other items

Contents The *Tractatus de Sphaera* of Johannes de Sacro Bosco An arithmetical treatise. Carol No. 142 b An astronomical diagram. A treatise on grammar Verses on grammar

On f. 38 v. are written the name John Foster and the date 1489, and on a scroll 'audaces fortuna iuvat'. On the inside back cover is the name Thomas Moyle.

OXFORD: BODLEIAN LIBRARY

ARCH. SELDEN B 26 (Summary Catalogue No 3340)

Parchment and paper, $10\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in, ff. 135 Centt VIII, XV, XVII.

The volume comprises five unrelated MSS. Only Part I contains any carols. A few leaves of Part I are stained.

Part I. (Cent. xv, middle.) A collection of English and Latin songs and carols, with well-written music in black and red The initials are in blue and red and some of the refrain-lines in red. This part of the MS is reproduced in facsimile in *Early Bodleian Music*, 1, with transcriptions *ibid* 11, 74-180.

Contents: Carols Nos 5, 14 b, 18 b, 29, 30, 31 a, 32-4, 69, 73, 117 c, 176, 179, 182, 185 B, 190, 234 B, 235 a, 337 a, 338 a, 359 A b, 426 a. Other two- and three-part songs and antiphons in Latin, French, and English.

The entire English contents of this part of the MS are printed by Padelford, F M., in *Anglia*, xxxvi. 86-115 Modernized versions with the music of some of the carols and songs are in Terry, Sir Richard, *A Medieval Carol Book* (London, [1931]).

Ten different hands are represented in the words of the songs To the list as given by Padelford, op cit, p 81, should be added a hand 'J', which wrote an additional stanza on f 23 r.

All the carols except No 337 a and the accompanied words of Nos 18 b, 29, 33, 34, are in hand 'F' in Padelford's list Padelford's dating of 1570-5 is an obvious error

ASHMOLE 189 (Summary Catalogue No 6777).

Paper, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ in, ff 219. Cent xv. The volume consists of four MSS bound together

Written in several hands The carols are in the same hand as the other religious poems and as the Golden Table and the astronomical pieces. The treatise on thunder is in another later hand, that of Richard Coscumb (or Robert Coscob), prior in 1534 of Muchelney Abbey, Somerset, who owned the MS

Principal contents Part I 'The boke of Astronomy and of phylosophy' On f 69 v in an early sixteenth-century hand is 'Be hyt knowyuth son to All men that y Gylbart Banystur hafe receyd of wyllum Buttelar' This may possibly be the composer Gilbert Banastur.

Part II. *The Table of Pythagoras* Astronomical treatises. A treatise of the significance of thunder according to the time heard English songs and carols Carols Nos 86 B, 333, 'Regem regum a mayde hath borne' (English translation of the 'Laetabundus' prose, Introduction, p, lxxx1), 'Fadyr and sone and holy gost', 'Fadyr and sone and holy gost', with refrain, 'Parce mihi domine', 'Swete lady now ye wys', 'Thys yonder nyghth y sawe a syghte', 'Omnipotentem semper adorant Operacyons hevenly and yerthly all' (macaronic, English and Latin), 'Thou synfulle man of resone', 'Wette ye alle that bene here' (The Short Charter of Christ), *The Fifteen O's of Christ*

Part III A German MS. in Latin and German, containing astrological and medical pieces, including the *Thesaurus Pauperum*.

Part IV Fragments of miscellaneous astronomical and physiognomical material, and the list of 'proper terms' for beasts and birds

For fuller description see Black, W H., *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Bequeathed . . . by Elias Ashmole, Esq* (Oxford, 1845)

ASHMOLE 1379 (Summary Catalogue No. 4666).

Paper, $5\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ in, pp 38 c 1500.

Written by two hands. The carol is in a different hand from that of the other material

Contents A prose treatise of the medicinal properties of rosemary, in English

A poem on the same subject, in English (imperfect) Carol No 170.

In the same hand as the carol is written on p. 3: 'Robertus Hyckys hujus libri possessor Robert Hyckys ys the ower of thys boke' A bit of account-roll pasted on the last leaf is dated 1519-20, and bears the names of John Colcootte and Roger Deyer.

ASHMOLE 1393 (Summary Catalogue No. 7589).

Paper and vellum, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$ in. (Part V, there are slight variations of size in other parts), ff. 70 Cent xv. The margins of some leaves are damaged.

The volume comprises parts of five different MSS., bound together and written in several hands. All of Part V, including the carols, is in the same hand.

Principal contents I Alchemical, magical, and medical formulas. II Recipes for dyeing and alchemical formulas. III. A religious tract, 'What thynges dispothe a man rightly to life'. IV Latin devotional verses A revelation of St. Thomas of Canterbury V. Medical treatises. Astronomical notes. The

song, 'Loue wolle I withoute eny variance', with music A Latin *cantilena*, 'Ecce quod natura' (see Introduction, p. lxxxvii) Carols Nos 35 A, 191 A
See also Black, W. H., *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Bequeathed by . . . Elias Ashmole, Esq* (Oxford, 1845), and for the English songs and carols, *Early Bodleian Music* (London, 1901), ii 61-5 (facsimile, *ibid*, i, No xxviii)

BODLEY 26 (Summary Catalogue No 1871) Religious Homilies, &c
Vellum, $5\frac{3}{8} \times 4$ in, ff 11+208 ff 112-123 are missing. Centt XIII, XIV.

Parts of ten different MSS bound together Written in several hands. The carol is in the same hand as sermons and notes which precede it

Principal contents Latin sermons and religious treatises on the Gospel of Luke, for Palm Sunday, on St. Thomas of Canterbury, St Agatha, Habbakuk, &c. Latin treatises on St John the Evangelist, St Stephen, St Laurence Latin sermons and sermon notes by a Franciscan, with bits of English verse interspersed Carol No 12 a (in a sermon on the locks on the heart of a sinner, and their keys) Astrological and other fragments The treatise on arithmetic of Johannes de Sacro Bosco, in Latin. A treatise of physiognomy, in Latin An astrological chart

Formerly owned by Thomas Twyne, who gave it to the Bodleian in 1612 For fuller description see Madan, *Summary Catalogue* (ii, pt 1 91).

DOUCE 302 (Summary Catalogue No. 21876) The Poems of John Audelay.

Parchment, $10\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in, ff 11+36 (the first and last paper fly-leaves). Cent. xv (first half) The MS is imperfect at the beginning, and there are gaps in the text after f 7 v and f 19 v In parts the writing is faded and rubbed.

Written in double columns, by three hands, as follows A ff 11-34 v. (col 1), B f 35 r, and corrections throughout, C f 34 v (col 2).

Contents. Poems by John Audelay Carols Nos 7 A, 97, 102, 108, 113, 117 a, 122 A, 172 a, 177, 230 b, 272, 310, 311, 314, 324-8, 347, 369, 397, 398, 411, 412, 428 Other English poems (The numbers are those assigned in Whiting's edition) 1. Instruction in Christian living (imperfect), 2 Counsels to those in religious orders, 3 Of nine virtues (imperfect), 4. 'De effusione sanguinis Christi', 5 'Quomodo Jhesus fuit reprobatus a Judeis', 6. 'De psalterio passionis', 7 'De septem verbis Jhesu Christi pendentis in cruce', 8 'De salutacione corporis Jhesu Christi', 9 'De meritis misse, quomodo debemus audire missam', 10 'Quomodo Dominus Jhesus Christus apparuit Sancto Gregorio in tale effugie', 11 'De visitacione infirmorum et consolacione miserorum', 12. A call to repentance, 13 'De passione Domini nostri Jhesu Christi et de horis canonicis', 14 'Hore canonicæ passionis Jhesu Christi[i]', 15 'De epistola Domini nostri Jhesu Christi de die Dominica', 16 'Narracio quo Michel duxit Paulum ad infernum', 17 An appeal of God to men, 18. Audelay's 'Counsel of Conscience', 19 'Salutationes beate Marie virginis', 20 'Alia oracio de sancta Maria virgine', 21 'Hec salutacio composuit Angelus Gabrielus', 22 'Psalmus de Magnificat', 23. 'Salutacio Sancte Brigitte virginis', 25 'Salutacio Sancte Wenefrede virginis', 26 A salutation to St Anne; 27. A salutation on the Vernicle, 53 On the Paternoster, 54 'De tribus regibus mortuis', 55 'Sapiencia huius mundi stulticia est apud Deum' A religious treatise in prose, on the allegory of a bed as the type of the soul prepared for Christ. The Latin poem *Cur Mundus Militat sub Vana Gloria*

For fuller description of the MS see Whiting, Ella K., *The Poems of John Audelay* (E.E.T.S., Or. Ser., No 184, London, 1931), pp vii-xi Whiting prints all the contents of the MS except the last two items listed above

ENG POET. e. 1 (Summary Catalogue No 29734)

Paper, $4\frac{3}{8} \times 6$ in, ff 65 (numbered in error to 64, two successive leaves being

marked 27) of which ff. 11-62 belong to the MS proper, the remainder to the modern binding. Cent xv (second half). The margins of a good many leaves are mended, and the writing is rather faded in some places. Written in two hands, as follows. A. ff 11 r-50 r, B ff 50 v-61 r, part of ff 41 v, 42 r, two deleted lines on f 34 v.

There is music on ff 40 v, 41 v (full settings), and on f. 50 v (for the burden of a carol only)

On f 13 v is a diagram of a maze

Contents Carols Nos 8 a, 21 B, 31 b, 37-41, 42 a, 44, 79 A a, 86 C, 93, 103 A b, 104, 115, 125 B b, 134, 137, 138, 140, 145 a, 150 B, 151 A, 157 B, 175 A, 180 A, 184, 206, 232 B, 237 A, 238 B, 239 a and d, 261, 282, 309 a, 332, 334, 337 b, 340, 342, 344, 356 b, 358, 370 a, 371, 382, 386 a, 388, 389 a, 399 b, 401 A b, 402 a, 404, 406, 407, 409, 410 b, 414, 419 A b, 422 A, 423, 439 Songs not in carol form Latin songs 'Angelum misit suum Deus omnipotens', 'Bonum vinum cum sapore', 'Et virgine natus, Christe, es sine macula', 'Psallimus cantantes' English songs 'Herfor, and therefor, and therfor I came', 'Now ys wele and all thyng aryght', 'Wold God that men myght sene', 'Tydynges I bryng yow for to tell', 'Man, be war, or thou knyte the fast', 'Man upon mold, whatsoever thou be', 'Holvyr and Heyvy mad a gret party' (see Introduction, p xcix), 'The best tre if ye tak entent' (macaronic English and Latin) Recipe 'A good medycyn for sor eyen'

A nineteenth-century transcript of this collection is in the British Museum, MS Addit. 25478

The entire MS is printed by Wright, Thomas, *Songs and Carols, Percy Society Publications*, xxiii (London, 1847) (Note Chambers and Sidgwick's charge of mis-citation by 'Flugel, Fehr, and others', in *Early English Lyrics*, p 306, is itself an error)

Formerly owned by Joseph Mayer, before him by Thomas Wright (who lost it)

The few scribbles of cent xvi on f 62 v give no clue to earlier ownership. There is no external evidence that it was made 'presumably for the use of a professed minstrel' (Madan, *Summary Catalogue*)

LAUD MISC 683 (Summary Catalogue No 798)

Vellum, $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in., ff 1+151 Centt xv, xvii One leaf has been torn out between ff. 107, 108 ff 59, 60 have been torn and neatly stitched

Written in two hands, Lydgate's poetry and the carols in one (cent xv), the two prose treatises in the other (cent xvii) A few other hands have added notes and scribbles

Contents. Poems by John Lydgate, including Carol No. 263 b. Carol No 152 b An anonymous treatise on military musters, imperfect at beginning. 'A discourse of John Yonge, gentleman, for a Bancke of money to be established for the releef of the common necessitie', with a dedicatory letter to Queen Elizabeth prefixed

On f 107 r are a few accounts On f. 105 r. is written (cent. xv). 'thys boke ys mastres Coles boke' On f 108 r is 'John Coker is my name', on f 151 r (inverted) 'John Coker is the tru oner of this booke 1630 in march' Below it in another hand is some doggerel abusive of John Coker, dated 1632. On f 151 v in another hand is 'Johannes yonge mihi' On f 149 v is: 'Johannes Stephanus' (defaced) The name John Stevens is written *passim* with notes in the same hand On f. i v is written the name of Archbishop Laud with the date 1639.

RAWLINSON C. 506 (Summary Catalogue No 15353)

Paper, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ in., ff 304. Cent. xv (first half). Thirty leaves of the original volume are missing. ff. 1-5, 304 are smaller leaves from a thirteenth-century service-book.

Written in several hands

Principal contents A medical treatise by Peter of Salerno Miscellaneous charms Verses on blood-letting A table of dates for Easter Carol No 15, in the same hand as the preceding material A treatise of urines A lunar calendar A treatise of diseases of the head and stomach The gynaecological *Practica* ascribed to Trotula The *Surgery* of Rogerus Venetius A medical lexicon A translation of Lanfranc's *Antidotarium* A lexicon of herbs Directions for choosing horses, for fishing, for hawking, for dyeing

Former owners were Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, and Henry Dingley (1547). A hand of cent xv (late) has written on f 303 v 'Ego Humfridus Harrison, capellanus, sana m[ente] condo testamentum meum in hunc modo In primis'

ADDIT A 106 (Summary Catalogue No 29003) Medical and Scientific Treatises, with Religious Poems

Paper (except vellum fly-leaves, ff 1-3, 286-7), 8×5½ in., ff. 295 Cent xv (second half), except fly-leaves, cent. XIII

Written in several hands, as follows A ff 1-3, 286-7, B ff 4r-195v, 221r-230v, C ff 198r-219v; D ff. 232v-266r, E f 266v, F ff 267-276v A few other hands have added brief scribbles or single recipes

Principal contents Two English translations of the treatise on the plague by John of Burgundy *The Quatrefoil of Love*, in 13-line stanzas Cato's *Distichs*, in English Three herbals An English translation of a treatise of precious stones A poem on lucky and unlucky days A treatise on the medicinal properties of water Many medical recipes Carol No 147, in hand 'B'.

Among the scribes' names are 'Charke Plenus amoris/Totum nomen habes Johannem si superaddes', 'Edmundus Chader'.

Formerly owned by Col. J Sidney North Earlier owners were John Pryste (f 196v) and possibly Harry Fonston (f 277v)

For fuller description see Madan, *Summary Catalogue* (v 540)

See Macray, W D, *Annals of the Bodleian Library* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1890), p 21 n., on the frequency of the name Plenus-Amoris in MS colophons.

OXFORD' BALLIOL COLLEGE

354 The Commonplace Book of Richard Hill

Paper, 11½×4½ in., ff 255. Cent xvi (first half)

Entries appear to have been made in the volume over a period of some thirty or more years, 1536 being the latest date definitely assignable.

Some leaves are slightly wormed, and the margins of many have been damaged and mended The lower half of one quire has been cut off.

Most of the volume, including all the carols, is written in one hand This hand Coxe would identify with that of one John Hyde, but on what grounds is not clear The memoranda on f 17r beginning 'The birth of children of me Richard Hill,' are in this hand, as is the 'Explicit quod Hill' at the end of some pieces, this points to the hand as being Hill's own

The leaves of the volume are not correctly numbered throughout There are errors in both original and modern numbering In the latter f 249 follows f. 241, although there is no gap in the MS at this point All references in this collection are to the existing modern numbering.

Principal contents *The Seven Sages of Rome* Selected tales from Gower's *Confessio Amantis* 'Jack, his Stepdame, and the Friar' Sir Thomas More's *Fortune* *The Siege of Rouen* *The Trental of St Gregory* Lydgate's *Stans Puer ad Mensam* The courtesy-book 'Little John' *The Boke of Curtasie* in English and French Lydgate's *The Myrroure of Mankynd*. Dunbar's 'London, thou

art the flower of cities all'. *The Nutbrown Mayde*. Miscellaneous short religious and secular poems. Collectanea of useful information, medical prescriptions, household recipes, topographical information, puzzles, and riddles. Carols Nos. 11, 20, 21 A, 27 C, 35 B, 45-52, 77, 78, 79 A b, 100, 103 A c, 105, 114 d, 120, 122 C, 123 A, 126, 131 b, 132 A, 136 B, 141, 150 C, 152 a, 153, 158, 162, 163 a, 166, 172 b, 175 B, 178, 183, 187 B, 230 a, 232 C, 233, 234 D, 237 B, 238 A, 239 c, 240, 241, 273, 319, 321, 322 A, 331 b, 345, 346, 350, 351, 355 b, 359 A a, 361, 370 b, 372-4, 386 b, 389 b, 399 a, 401 A a, 402 b, 408, 410 a, 413, 419 A a, 420, 421, 424 A, 471

For complete description of the MS and full list of contents see Dyboski, *Roman, Songs, Carols, and other Miscellaneous Poems* (E.E.T.S., Ex Ser., No. CI, London, 1907), pp. xii-lxx, also Flugel, E., 'Liedersammlungen des xvi Jahrhunderts', in *Anglia*, xxvi 94-105.

Dyboski and Flugel print a large proportion of the contents of the MS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Ee 1 12.

Parchment, $7\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in., ff. 110 Cent. xv (1490-1500) Three leaves are cut out between ff 108, 109.

Written in three hands as follows A ff 11-2 v, one line on f 46 v; B ff. 31-101, 81 v-105 v, C ff 111-80 v. (possibly Ryman's own hand) Another hand (cent xvi) has added a few corrections to f 11 and has written a burden on f 110 r. Other scribbles are on ff. 109 v, 110 v On f. 81 r. is some crude musical notation without words, and on ff 105 r, 107 r are a few lines of writing erased to illegibility

For the text of the colophon on f. 80 r. which asserts Ryman's authorship, see notes on No. 205

Contents English songs and translations of hymns by James Ryman, a Franciscan. Carols Nos 3, 21 D. Carols by James Ryman Nos. 53-6, 61-3, 65-7, 70-2, 74-6, 81 A, 82, 84, 88, 92, 127-30, 154, 156, 159, 160, 174, 189, 192-205, 207-12, 214-29, 243 a and b, 244-55, 257, 258, 262, 267-9, 275, 276, 279-81, 283-305, 318, 352, 353, 360

The contents of the entire MS, except for ff 1, 2, 110, are printed by Zupitza, J, in *Archiv*, lxxxix. 167-338

Ff. 1. 6.

Paper, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ in., ff 159. Cent. xv (second half) Many leaves have been removed and replaced by blank leaves in the modern binding.

Written by several hands. The two carols are in different hands. No 442 is the only piece in its hand. No 469 is in the same hand as a poem beginning 'Alas what planet was y born vndir' and signed 'Crocit dytyn'.

Contents: English, principally poetry, including Carols Nos. 442, 469. Chaucer's *Complaint unto Pity*, *Parliament of Fowls*, *Complaint to his Purse*, *Anelida and Arcite*, *Complaint of Venus*, *Truth* Several tales from Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. Hoccleve's *Literia Cupidinis*. The romance *Syr Degrevaunt* Burgh's *Cato Major*. Various short poems. *The Chronicles of Saints and Kings of England*.

Among the scribes who have signed their work are 'lewestoun', 'nicholaus plenus amoris', 'Clanvowe', 'W Caluerly'.

There is an inventory of clothes at Findern (Derbyshire) and on f. 59 v. a note: 'A rekenyng betw[e]ne John wylsun and mester tynderne The furst tyme that I went into lestershyre with richard lathbery. I spent iiii.' &c.

At the end of *Syr Degrevaunt* are the names 'Elisabet Koton' and 'Elsabet Frauncys'.

Ff 5 48

Paper, $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in, ff 135 (t 1 missing). Cent xv (second half).

Written in two hands, ff 79 r–92 v in one, the remainder of the volume, including the carol, in the other

Principal contents Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests* (imperfect at beginning). *The ABC of Aristotle*. *The Northern Passion Signs of Death* Remedies for the Seven Deadly Sins A tale in verse of an incestuous daughter A tale of King Edward and the shepherd Dialogue between a nightingale and a clerk. A verse *fabliau* of a basin *The Tournament of Tottenham* The tale of the adulterous Squire of Falmouth. Two lamentations of the Virgin A prayer of the Five Joys of the Virgin *St Michael and the Annunciation*, from the *South-English Legendary* Part of *The Southern Passion* 'The mourning of a hare' Weather prophecies Carol No 456 Verses on provisions for a feast. *The Tale of Robin Hood* (ballad)

The colophon to *The Northern Passion* is in the name of Gilbertus Pylkynton

I 4 11.

Vellum, $9\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{5}{8}$ in, ff 170 Centt xiv, xv

Written principally in one hand (cent xiv), with coloured initials The list of Latin words is in another hand and the table of names in a third The carol, which is surrounded by scribbles, is the only item in a fourth hand (cent xv, first half)

Contents Liber Etymologiarum A few Latin hexameters A list of Latin words A table of etymologies of Biblical names Carol No 36 a.

ADDIT. 5943

Paper (except six fly-leaves parchment), $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ in, ff vi+179 Cent. xv (first quarter) ff 1, 8 are mostly, ff 155–9 completely, torn out.

Written principally in one hand (A). The carols, memoranda, and accounts are in several other hands as follows (all of cent. xv) B f 145 r, Carol No 151 C, C f 145 v, Carol No 349, D ff 161 r–169 r, French, Latin, and English songs with music, E f 169 r, Carol No 149 d, F. f 170 r, Prayers, f 170 v, English erotic folk-songs, f 172 v., English poem, 'Ecce ancilla domini', f 178 v., Carol No 451, f. 179 r–180 v, Accounts, G The hand of the owner, Johannes — in other memoranda, H Building accounts on f iii r, I Book-hand on fly-leaves, ff ii v, iv A few other hands are represented by short scribbles

Principal contents Latin sermons for various Sundays and feast-days throughout the year, the first imperfect at the beginning Latin poem, 'Urbanus' Latin tracts on religious subjects, confession, the Holy Spirit, Articles of the Faith, &c. Richard Rolle's *Emendatio Vitae* and *Melum Contemplativorum* Reckonings of eclipses of the sun and moon from 1415 to 1462, with diagrams Carols Nos. 149 d, 151 C, 349, 451, App, No vii. Other English, French, and Latin songs. Latin theological material on fly-leaves (cent xiv) Various accounts and memoranda On f iii v. a quaint Latin and English note. 'Muncy, tumpha, myfmaffemofe'.

A Latin note on f. penult v records that the book is the property of John — (the surname is thoroughly erased), now (10 December 1418) a Carthusian monk at the Priory of Henton, Somerset, to whom it has been given by Thomas Turke, formerly perpetual vicar of 'Biere' (Beer, Somerset)

Some of the accounts record receipt, apparently by an archdeacon, of sums from various Somerset vicars, including those of Horton, Staunton, Sheepwick, Hungerford. Other names written in the MS are 'hennynge's harper' and 'wymundus' A modern hand on f. ii has written 'Hh Price 1800', and another has (wrongly) noted 'Hendon' The MS was formerly owned by Lord Howard de Walden and was acquired by the Cambridge University Library in 1915

The songs from this MS are printed by M[ayer], L. S., *Music Cantelenas Songs Etc. from an early Fifteenth Century Manuscript* (London, privately printed, 1906).

CAMBRIDGE CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE

233.

Paper, $8\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in., ff. 182 Cent xv (second half)

Written throughout, except for the carol, in one hand, that of the owner, 'Hampshyre' Some initials are decorated with pen-work, on f 85 v. is a sketch of a bagpiper The carol is in another hand of c 1500

Principal contents Latin grammatical treatises with illustrative verses and occasional English passages *Liber Facetiae Proverbia Alan de Insulis Ecloga Theoduli* Carol No 17 a.

'Constat Hampshyre' is written *passim*.

On f 70 v is 'Expl Ethroclita quod Hampshyre et T Bowes et Brudenell et Howtyng et Trew' 'Lychefelde' and 'Gvndys' also appear, and on f 26 v. is 'Coplay'.

The owner was probably the William Hampshire who was admitted to King's College, Cambridge, from Eton in 1479 The other names are probably those of university contemporaries A William Bowes proceeded to King's from Eton in the same year, a John Gundys the next year There were several Lichfields at Cambridge in the fifteenth century, though none are recorded at the same dates as Hampshire

Sir Robert Brudenell, born in 1461 and later a Chief Justice, was at Cambridge in Hampshire's time. See Venn, J and J A., *Alumni Cantabrigienses* (Cambridge, 1922)

CAMBRIDGE GONVILLE & CAIUS COLLEGE

383

Paper, $8\frac{7}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ in., ff 108 Cent xv (middle) The edges are badly worn, and a few leaves are torn The numbering is by pages.

Written principally in two hands as follows: A. pp 1-70, 101-216, B pp 71-100. All the carols are in hand A.

Principal contents: Forms of letters, deeds, &c., in French. Latin grammatical notes and verses. A note from Sidonius' *De Natura Rerum* on the names of animals Much miscellaneous and some confused material, including Latin grammatical exercises. Latin treatises on passages of Scripture used in the liturgy. The statute 'Quia emptores terrarum'. French songs in carol-form See Introduction, pp xxvi-xxvii Accounts in French Instructions for keeping accounts, with specimens. An English verse-riddle. Carols Nos 114 b, 187 A, 418, 441, 452, 453, 455, 470, App, No. 11

The name Wymundus London, apparently that of the owner, appears frequently. Other names include 'le prouost de Hanlee', 'Thomas de Halton marchand de couentre', 'a Tadmerton a la ostel de Joh Fayiel'. On p. 119 is 'Nomen scriptoris Johannes plenus amoris' There are other tags on the same page, and the name (frequently found) has probably no particular significance here.

None of the material from this MS. has previously been published

CAMBRIDGE: ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE

S 54 (259).

Paper, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ in., ff. 14 Cent xv (second half) The MS is incomplete at the beginning and end, the two outer leaves of the quire having been lost ff 13, 14 are mere fragments, and the other leaves are worn and torn. It is enclosed

in a contemporary vellum wallet-like wrapper, and is of unusual interest as a pocket-book of carols in its original form

Written in four hands as follows A f 1 (one stanza), f 2 r (in part), ff 3 v -4 v, 7 v -10 r, 12 r -14 v, B f. 1 (remainder), ff 2 r -3 v, 4 v -7 v, 10 r -11 v, C f 3 r (one stanza), D f 6 r (burden, not distinguished by James and Macaulay).

Contents Carols Nos 83, 90, 125 B a, 139, 142 a, 148 B, 149 b, 232 A, 266, 274, 313, 366, 391, 394, 400, 415, 454, App, Nos. III, IV, VI. English song on the Epiphany (no burden) 'Qwan crist was borne in bedlem'

On the inside of the cover is written 'puer natus hodie syt we down on owr kne' (scrap of a carol, cf No 35 A, stza 5) 'Fuit homo miserrimus et deus'

There is no mark of ownership The MS was given to the library by Thomas Baker, the antiquary, who was a fellow and resident of the College until his death in 1740

The entire MS is described and printed by James, M. R., and Macaulay, G. C., 'Fifteenth Century Carols and Other Pieces', in *The Modern Language Review*, VIII 68-87

CAMBRIDGE TRINITY COLLEGE

B 14 39

Vellum, $7\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$ in, ff 87 Cent XIII Bound in one volume with MS B 14 40

Written in several hands The carol-source is in the same hand as the ballad *Judas* and much of the other English poetry, but in a different hand from that of the sermon on 'Bele als'

Principal contents *De Ordine Creaturarum* Miscellaneous Latin verse, mostly religious Latin prayers and notes A sermon on 'Bele als matyn se leua' (see Introduction, pp cxiv-cxv) French poetry, including a legend of St Nicholas and tales from the Gospels *The Proverbs of Alfred* English religious poetry, including A life of St Margaret, Carol No 191 B b, the ballad *Judas*, 'Wolle ye iheren of Twelte Day', *Debate between the Body and the Soul*

For full list of contents see James, M. R., *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, I (Cambridge, 1900)

O. 2 53

Paper, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ in, ff 74. Centt xv, xvi f 74 is a fragment

A commonplace book, written in several hands The carol is the only item in its hand (c 1500)

Principal contents Carol No 379 Miscellaneous Latin verses. Medical recipes Short English religious and political verses A record of the birth of Prince Edward in 1470 Forms of indentures, &c, mentioning Bromley, Orpington, and Wimbledon Note of the birth of 'robard ramston', 17 Henry VIII A 'moralized' version of 'Come over the burn, Bessy' (cent xvi) Ecclesiastical and theological extracts in English and Latin Instructions for setting a harp, by J. Stowell

A note on f 72 v mentions the following places Sevenhampton, Worth Stratton, Cricklade (all in north-eastern Wiltshire), Barnsted Manor, and Grimsby

For full list of contents see James, M. R., *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, III (Cambridge, 1902)

O 3. 58

Vellum roll, 6 ft 8 in \times 7 in, in three sections laced together Cent xv (first half) In parts faded and injured by damp

All the carols are in one hand, with music. The staves and some notes are in red and the initials in red and blue.

Contents recto Carols Nos 17 b, 18 a, 19, 21 C, 22, 98, 103 A a, 117 b, 173, 234 A, 235 b, 338 b, 426 b. At the head are two lines in red, now almost entirely illegible. Part of the second line gives 'Christi . . . m. . . matris eius . . . sanctorum'

verso (in another and later hand). Offices in Latin De Sancta Trinitate, De Angelis, Officium Corporis Christi, De Sancta Cruce (incomplete).

The MS was presented to the library in 1838 by H O Roe

All the carols are printed by Fuller Martland, J. A., and Rockstro, W S, *English Carols of the Fifteenth Century* (London, [1891])

O 7 31

Paper, $5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$ in., ff. 206 Centt xv, xvi The first 21 leaves have been scorched.

The carol is in a different hand from that of the breviary (c. 1500)

Contents Breviary (Sarum, imperfect at beginning) Proprium de Tempore, Commune Sanctorum, Proprium Sanctorum, Special offices for the Virgin, SS John Evangelist, Martin, and Benedict Carol No 380 a and b Two medical recipes Scribbled notes which mention the birth of a prince, and deaths of 'abbot Tony', 'abbot Westfyld', 'abbot champyon', also 'blacheth fylde', 'electus ad breconiam'

O 9 38

Paper, $11\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$ in., ff. 90 Centt. xv, xvi The edges are much worn, and some leaves are badly damaged

Written for the most part in one hand of cent xv (second half), with some items in several other hands The carols are in the hand of the bulk of the MS

The volume is a commonplace book, much resembling in size and shape Balliol College, Oxford MS 354 It was written at Glastonbury Abbey, presumably by one of the monks

Principal contents *Apocalypsis Goliae* *Goliae de Coniuge non Ducenda* *De Virtute Clauum* *De Prato Gregori* *Contentio inter Aquam et Vinum* *Satyricon quid in Abbates* *De Cunitatibus Angliae* A triumph of King Henry VI described in English English poems on gardening and hawking English didactic poems 'Reuertere', 'Who sayth soth he schall be schent', *Parce mihi, Domine* ('The Bird with Four Feathers'), 'Ever more thanke God of all', 'Hyre and se, and say not all', Lydgate's *Ryght as a Rammes Horne*, 'Beware, the blynd ettyth many a fly', 'What euer thow say avyse the welle', *De Symonia et Avaricia et de Morte*, *De Cantu Alma Redemptoris Mater* (The Boy of Toledo); *Narratio de Duobus Militibus*, Latin poems to St. Joseph, *Estas et Hiems*, *Prædicatio Goliae*, *De Ingratitudine*, 'editus a fratre Stephano Deuerell monacho Glaston.', *Tryvylam de Laude Universitatis Oxonie*; Latin poems against the friars (one with 'O and I' refrain); *De Petro de Gauerstone* (Latin parodies of hymns), *Historia Tancredi*, Latin cantilena 'Puer natus in Bethlem' Carols Nos. 161 b, 331 a. Copies of letters, one from Nicholas, Abbot of Glastonbury, concerning a council of 1433 *Historiae de Santa Cruce*, *de Pilato*, *de Iuda Iscariota* Many miscellaneous notes and verses in Latin and English.

R 4. 20.

Vellum, $10 \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in., ff. 172. Cent xv. f. 172 is a fragment.

Written principally in one hand of the first half of cent. xv. The two carols and other verses are in another hand of the second half of the century. Various other hands are represented by scribbles, and in the love-letter

Principal contents Mandeville's *Travels* in English. One complete and several partial copies of an English love-letter (cent. xvi) Lydgate's *Siege of Thebes*.

English poems Carols Nos 181, 425, 'A gentyll fortune', 'I have nowe sett myn herte so hye', Advice in verse from a father to sons and a mother to daughters, 'O tonge so often here byfore', 'Hayll, mary' (fragment)
 Among the names written here and there in the MS are Danyell Dunstayn, Parnell Wilford, 'Sire Thomas Potter, preste', Rowland Kenston, John Hyde, William Kelyng

The MS was presented to the College in 1663 by a fellow, Dr Crane.

R 14 26

Paper and vellum, $5\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in, ff 150. Cent xv (first half) A number of leaves have been cut out

Written for the most part, including the carol, by one hand The 'Sophisma' which precedes the carol is in a different hand.

Principal contents Miscellaneous Latin notes and verses Latin questions on music. Carol No 377 Latin sermon on the *Ave Maria* Various Latin logical treatises Latin sermons in the form of logical discourses Latin treatise on music St Thomas's Aquinas' *De Ente et Essentia* Various accounts with the date 1617

Two of the logical treatises are signed 'Pynchebeke' On f 1 v in a hand of cent xv (late) is a bond given by 'Thomas Pierson de houeden in Com Ebor. Clericus' to John Palmer On f. 2 r is the name Alan Steele, and on f 11 r. in a hand of c 1500 is 'This booke bylonges to the good wyfe Sanderson at Beuerlay Dwellynge in Weddynsday merkyt &c. per me Johannem Aulaby.'

The MS was given to the library by John Wilson

CANTERBURY. CATHEDRAL LIBRARY

CHRIST CHURCH LETTERS, vol 11, No 173

Paper, one leaf, $12 \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in Cent xvi (first half) Stained and faded, with several holes at the bottom which render the text imperfect

Contents Carol No 443.

CHRIST CHURCH LETTERS, vol 11, No 174

Paper, one leaf, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6$ in Cent xvi (first half) Stained and with a small tear at the top which damages the text of the first line.

Contents. Carol No 444

The above two MSS formerly bore the press marks S B b 34 and b 185, under which they are described in the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, v, Appendix, p 458

MANCHESTER: JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

18932

Vellum and paper, $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in, ff. 11+146. Cent. xv.

Written principally in two hands The carols are in the same hand as the other English verse

Principal contents Richard Rolle of Hampole's *Postillae super Canticum Cantorum, Incendium Amoris, De Amore Dei*. Extracts from St Bonaventure and others. *De Sancta Katerina Meditationes Passionis Christi*. English verses 'Man with good aduertisement' Carols Nos 161 a, 308 'VI Vertuous Questions and thanswers' *De Vitis Patrum*. St Augustine's *De Laude Psalmorum De Ieiunio*. Miscellaneous Latin verses *Legenda Sancti Sampsonis Archiepiscopi* Printed *Proposito Clarissimi Oratoris Magistri Johannis Russell . . . ad Karolum ducem Burgundie* . &c (Caxton, c 1476). *Autores Biblie*.

On f 117 v. is: 'quod W Ebsham', on f 119 v.: 'quod Stevens E'

The MS. was formerly in the library of Earl Spencer at Althorp

Previous owners were the 5th Duke of Marlborough, Robert Tophook, and the Reverend John Brand, the antiquarian See Guppy, Henry, ed., *Propositio Johannis Russell. The John Rylands Facsimiles*, 1 (Manchester and London, 1909).

BRIDGWATER, SOMERSET' TOWN HALL

BRIDGWATER CORPORATION MUNIMENTS, 123.

Parchment, a single strip, $10\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ in. Cent xv.

Contents recto A Latin indenture, dated 8 August 1471, between one Master Maurice, prebendary of the prebendal church of Llangoulo, in the diocese of St Davids, and Sir Hugh, perpetual vicar of that church, and one Thomas ap Rees ap Davyd of that parish, conveying to the latter two parties the said church for five years at a rent of twenty shillings per annum Scribbles 'hay hay w' / 'a and . '

verso Carols Nos 14 a, 362

The carols are in a hand different from that of the indenture, but of about the same date

The fragment is described in the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, III, Appendix, pp 316-17.

EDINBURGH. NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND

ADVOCATES 18 7 21

Vellum, $6\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ in, ff 1+166 Cent xiv (second half) The margins of the leaves in the latter half are damaged

Written throughout in one hand, that of the compiler, Johan de Grimestone, a Franciscan The language is that of the northern part of the East Midland region

Principal contents Latin religious poetry. English religious poetry Carols Nos. 149 a, 155 a, 157 D, 271. 'In Bedlem is a child iborn.' 'Als I lay upon a nith'

Commonplace book of Latin theological materials arranged alphabetically by subjects, with much verse in Latin and English interspersed

On f. 9 v. is 'Orate pro anima fratris Johannis de Grimistone qui scripsit istum librum cum magna sollicitudine Anno domini 1372 Ave maria pro anima sua pro amore dei'

On f. 67 v. in a hand of cent. xv is a memorandum with the names of Sir Thomas Holder Cornell and Sir Wa[l]ter Haukke

On f. 108 v. is 'Iste liber constat Wilmo Broin quem deus amat et Deabolus odit.'

ADVOCATES 19 3. 1.

Paper, $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in, ff 216 Cent xv (second half).

Written principally in one hand, that of John Hawghton Some short items are in various other hands Carols Nos 23 A, 378 are written by Hawghton, No 150 A by another hand, in which are also the prognostics of thunder.

Principal contents Carols Nos 23 A, 150 A, 378 Other English religious poetry: Bks V-VII of Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady*, *The Trental of St Gregory*, Lydgate's *Stans Puer ad Mensam* A prose life of St. Katherine The romances *Sir Gowther* and *Sir Ysumbras* The tale of *Sir Amadas*. English poems on 'marvels' and deceit Prognostics from thunder on different dates. 'Proper terms' for game, &c Medical and alchemical recipes Accounts, one of 'gorgye Hopkyns [u]nto xx pond of god boldurs'. Latin hymn with music (one part) 'Deus creator omnium'.

Other scribes' names occurring are 'John Allwod', 'heeg', 'hyheg'.

DUBLIN TRINITY COLLEGE

D 4 18

Vellum and paper, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ in, ff 155 Centt XIII, xv. The volume is made up of two unrelated MSS. bound together

Written in several hands The carol is in the same hand as the other political songs

Principal contents Part I (cent XIII) French religious poetry, one piece with music Two dialogues of St Gregory An All-Saints sermon by St Edmund of Canterbury A Latin hymn 'Summe summi tu patris unice' A life of St Eustace in French verse Ecclesiastical edicts, in Latin, with glosses

Part II (cent xv, imperfect at beginning) English Dialogue in verse between Palamon, Arcite, and Emylye, *King Robert of Sicily*, The 'Seven Scoles', *King Palaan*, *A Miracle of Our Lady*, 'A story of an onhappy boye', *A Lament of Our Lady*, Verses on the Battle of Northampton, Verses on Yorkist policy, An acrostic poem on 'Warwyk', Carol No 431, Verses on the Yorkist lords, A list of Christian, and another of English, kings, The 'Dublin' play of *Abraham and Isaac*, A list of mayors and bailiffs of Northampton, A table of dates of Easter (imperfect), A tract by Richard Rolle of Hampole Theological miscellanea in Latin

See Madden, Sir F, 'Political Poems,' &c, in *Archaeologia*, xxix. 330-47, where the carol and three other poems are printed

There is a brief description of the MS by Brotanek, R, 'Abraham und Isaak', in *Anglia*, xxi 21-2

SAN MARINO, CALIFORNIA:

HENRY E HUNTINGTON LIBRARY AND ART GALLERY

HM 147

Vellum, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ in, ff 114 Cent xv

Written in two hands, the body of the MS in one of c 1450, in another of c 1500 the carol and a note on the front fly-leaf describing the bounds of the 'chace of cramborne', Cranborn Chase, which lies in Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and Wiltshire, and extends on the north as far as Salisbury

Contents Prose translation of the *Somme le Roi* of Laurentius Gallus Carol No 9 The initials 'T. M' are stamped on the sides of the sixteenth-century binding, but are not a certain indication of ownership, as the sides may have been previously used on another book On the recto of the last leaf (now pasted to the cover as an endpaper) is written in a hand of cent XVI (early) the name 'I Touk [or Tonk]'

The above information on this MS, which I have not seen, has been kindly supplied me by Mr Godfrey Davies, of the Huntington Library See Schulz, H C, 'A Christmas Carol', in *Huntington Library Bulletin*, No 6 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934), 'Notes', pp 165-6

PRIVATELY OWNED MSS

THE HON MRS R DOUGLAS HAMILTON, OAKLEY HOUSE, DISS, NORFOLK
BROME MS

Paper, $8 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in, ff 81 Cent xv (second half).

Written in three hands The carol is in the same hand as the other poems in the volume.

Principal contents *Rules for Conduct*, in verse Ciphers and puzzles *On Casting Dice*, in verse *The Catechism of Adrian and Epotys* The 'Brome' play of *Abraham and Isaac* *The Fifteen Signs of Doomsday* Accounts of Robert Melton A prescription for jaundice *Owain Miles* *The Life of St Margaret*, in verse (imperfect). 'Felson Book' or accounts of payment for common-rights at Staston Roll of taxes and church duties Various legal forms of

charters, bonds, &c, in Latin and English Articles of inquiry at courts baron and leet A list of prayers to be said Carol No 239 b Directions for a trental. A fragment of Lydgate's *Seven Wise Counsels*

The MS was probably the property of the Cornwallis family of Brome Manor, Suffolk The Robert Melton who wrote the accounts appears to have been their steward. The MS was discovered in the eighties of the last century, when Brome had passed from the family of Cornwallis to that of Kerrison. On the death of Sir Edward Kerrison, it became the property of the present owner.

For fuller description and edition of the entire contents see Toulmin Smith, Lucy, *A Common-place Book of the Fifteenth Century* (London, privately printed, 1886)

LORD HARLECH, BROGYNTYN, OSWESTRY

PORKINGTON 10

Parchment and paper, $5\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in, ff. 211. Cent. xv (third quarter).

Written in several hands.

Principal contents An astrological treatise, calendar, &c, 1462-81. An anatomical figure of a man and medical information Weather-lore. The romance *Gawain and the Carle of Carlisle* A treatise on grafting and horticulture A treatise on book-illumination A moral English verse dialogue with a bird. English poetry A song in which the wives at the ale complain of their husbands, 'Lord how shall I me complayne' ('When I sleep I may not wake'), a verse-translation of the *Visio Fulberti*, the 'Hours of Man's Life', *Earth upon Earth*, 'How the Virgin came to the Devil', and tales of SS Martin and Anthony from the *Northern Homily Collection*, *The Knyght and his Wyfe* (pr Halliwell-Phillips, J O, *Contributions to Early English Literature*, London, 1849), a song to the Virgin, *The Life of St Katherine*, *The Good Wife's Counsel to her Daughter*, 'Ever say well or hold thee still', 'Do for thi selfe wyle thou art here', *The Friar and the Boy* ('Jack, his Stepdame, and the Friar'), *The Siege of Jerusalem*; Carols Nos 124 B, 135, 152 c, 323, 335, 'Mercy Passeth Righteousness', *The Complaint of a Hare*.

On f. 4 v, among the scribbles, is the name 'Griffyth Owen of the County of Carnarvon'

The MS has been at Brogyntyn (formerly Porkington) in the possession of the family of Ormsby-Gore for the past century

LORD TOLLEMACHE, HELMINGHAM HALL, SUFFOLK

HELMINGHAM HALL L.J. 1. 7

Paper (except six vellum fly-leaves), $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8$ in, ff vi+181. Cent. xiv. Some leaves have a corner cut out.

Written in several hands, the carol-stanza in the hand of the sermon in which it occurs and the sermon preceding it.

Contents Theological material in Latin prose, including *Convertimini* with index; *De Fide Catholica*, with English verses interspersed, a short tract on whether a parish priest should celebrate several masses in one day, *De Decem Preceptis*, *Sermones*, in one Carol No 12 b

On f. 11 r in a hand of cent. xiv are two receipts written by a *capellanus*, William Harthoys, and another to John Everard

On f. 181 v in a hand of cent. xv is 'Pertinet Domina [sic] Roberto Sevyere de Blakeney [Norfolk] parochiali presbiter[1].'

HELMINGHAM HALL L.J. 1. 10.

Vellum, $12\frac{1}{4} \times 8$ in, ff. 119. Cent. xv, xvi. Some leaves are cut out wholly or in part

Written in two hands, the *Chronicle* in one (cent. xv), the carol and the other poem in the second (cent. xvi, first half)

Contents. Hardyng's *Chronicle of England* (to Edward IV) English poem 'A lamentable complaynt of our saviour . . . kyng eternall, to sinfull mane his brother naturall' Carol No 95 b

The hand of the carol has written on f 119 v. notes of some executions in 1531, and, at another time, notes of similar events in 1534

On f 115 v. is written in another hand 'This is John Ravells boke have wittnes Robard Crafft and Tomas Winay, Robard Chamberlyn and other more.'

In the binding is a strip from accounts of cent xiv relating to Waltham and Essex

NOTE

Descriptions of the MSS containing Nos 263, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, n, and 309 b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, versions which are not in carol-form, are omitted from this bibliography. The MSS of No 263 k (Phillipps 8299) and No 309 j (the 'Bilyngs MS') I have not seen. The latter MS was formerly in the collection of William Bateman at Lomerdale House, Derbyshire, and has not been traced since its sale in 1893. See Murray, Hilda M. R., *Erlie upon Erlie* (E. E. T. S., Or Ser., No 141, London, 1911), p. 35

The MS of Nos. 79 B, 112 was destroyed by fire at Birmingham in 1879.

No 402 c is a casual MS. entry in one copy of an unrelated printed book

B. PRINTED

LONDON: BRITISH MUSEUM

PRINTED BOOK, K. 1 e 1 The bass part of a set of part-song books of which the others are lost. The title-page of the 'triplex' part is bound with the volume.

7½ × 5½ in., ff 53 Printed by Wynkyn de Worde, dated 10 October 1530.

On title-page is ¶ Bassus.

On f 1 v. is a list of contents headed. In this boke ar conteynynd xx songes ix. of iii partes / and xi. of thre partes.

The songs are set to music by Cornysh, Pygot, Ashwell, Fayrfax, Cowper, Gwynneth, Jones, Tauernar, and in four cases without a composer's name. No. 447 (anonymous) is the only piece the music of which indicates that it was sung in the carol-fashion.

For a description of the volume see Imelmann, Rudolf, in *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, xxxix. 123-5.

The songs are printed without music by Flugel, E., in *Anglia*, xii 589 ff; Imelmann, op cit., pp 125-37. Facsimiles of five pages are printed by Reed, Edward Bliss, *Christmas Carols Printed in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1932), pp. 4-8

OXFORD: BODLEIAN LIBRARY

DOUCE FRAGMENTS f 48.

Four leaves, paper, 5¼ × 3¾ in., printed by William Copland [?] c. 1550. Somewhat damaged, with holes and rubbed spots

The fragment is without colophon or signature. It is part of a volume the rest of which is not known to be extant in any copy. The two parts of the fragment (ff 1, 4, and ff. 2, 3) are not consecutive.

Contents: f. 1 r Title-page Christmas ca[rolles] newly Imprinted. [In the middle a woodcut of the Nativity within a decorative border. Above it a capital C, below it three ornaments.]

f 1 v Carol No. 64 (incomplete).

f 2 r 'Quid ultra debuit facere?', imperfect at the beginning, three stanzas only. Whether it had a burden in this text or not cannot be known. In the other known text, Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson C. 86, f 65 r. (cent. xv)

(*pr* Sandison, *Chanson d'Aventure*, p 110) there is no burden The MS version has 14 stanzas, of which those here printed are Nos 2, 3, 4.

ff 2 v-3 v Carol No 171.

f 3 v. Carol No 4 (imperfect at end)

f 4 r Song of Advent, probably a carol, imperfect at beginning, App , No 1

The fact that these last two items both contain abuse of Advent has led to the assumption that they are parts of the same piece, e g by Flugel, E , *Anglia*, xii 588 The difference in stanza form shows that this is not the case, not to mention the improbability of one carol's being long enough to fill the two or more pages which must have intervened in the original volume

f 4 r and v Carol No 60

The fragment is reproduced in facsimile by Reed, *Christmas Carols Printed in the Sixteenth Century*, pp 9-16.

RAWLINSON 4to 598 (10).

A single leaf, paper, 5 × 4 in , damaged and mended at both edges and with a mended tear in the middle Printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1521

This fragment is obviously the last leaf of a carol-book printed for sale It is the earliest printed item in the bibliography of English carols See Dibdin, T F , ed , *Ames's Typographical Antiquities* (London, 1810-19), ii 250-2, 394

Contents recto Carol No 424 B

verso Carol No 132 B and the following colophon Thus endeth the Christmasse carol=|les / newly enprinted at London / in the | fletestrete at the sygne of the sonne by | wynkyn de worde The yere of our lor=|de M D. xxi

The verso of the fragment is reproduced in facsimile by Reed, *Christmas Carols Printed in the Sixteenth Century*, p 3

SAN MARINO, CALIFORNIA:

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY AND ART GALLERY

Christmas carolles newly Inprynted

A collection of one complete volume and parts of four others, printed by Richard Kele, c 1550 3 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in , pp. 48

The title-page of the complete book reads as follows ¶[Christmas ca=|rolles newly Inprynted | [Woodcut of the Crucifixion with two woodcut floral side-ornaments] ¶Inprynted at London in the Powl=|try by Rycharde Kele, dwellyng at the | longe shop vnder saynt Myldre=|des chyrche.

Contents. Carols Nos 42 b, 81 B, 101 A and B, 106, 107, 119, 157 A, 163 b, 164, 213, 235 c, 256, 265, 278, 364, 370 c, 376, 460, 461, 473, 474 Pieces not in regular carol form 'Psallemeus cantantes', *A caroll of the Innocentes*: 'Marke this songe for it is trewe.'

The entire collection is reproduced in facsimile by Reed, *Christmas Carols Printed in the Sixteenth Century* For detailed bibliographical information and history see Reed's Introduction, pp xl-lxiv

Here Folowythe dyuers Balettyts and dyties solacyous deuysyd by Master Skelton Laureat.

6 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 5 in , pp 8, printed by Richard Pynson, c 1520 [?].

The title-page reads HEre Folowythe dyuers | Balettyts and dyties sola=|cyous deuysyd by Master Skel=|ton Laureat. Below is a woodcut of the poet, crowned with a wreath and reading in a lectern, with the legend. Arboris omne ge|nus viridi conce=|dite lauro.

Contents. Carol No 459. Other poems by Skelton. 'The auncient acquaintance madam between vs twayn', 'Knolege Aquayntance resort fauour with grace', 'Cuncta licet cecidisse putas discrimina rerum', 'Go pytyous hart rasyd with dedly wo.'

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

- Anal Hym* Dreves, G M, and Blume, C, eds, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*. Leipzig, 1886—
- Angha* *Angha Zeitschrift fur englische Philologie* Halle, 1877—
- Archiv* *Archiv fur das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* Elberfeld, 1846—9, Brunswick, 1849—
- Bliss Bliss, Philip, ed, *Bibliographical Miscellanes* Oxford, 1815
- Brown, R L 14 C Brown, Carleton F, ed, *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century* Oxford, 1924
- Brown, *Register* Brown, Carleton F, ed, *A Register of Middle English Religious & Didactic Verse* Bibliographical Society, Oxford, 1916, 1920
- Br. Sar* Proctor, Francis, and Wordsworth, Christopher, eds, *Breviarium ad Usus Insignis Ecclesiae Sarum* Cambridge, 1879—86
- C & S Chambers, [Sir] E K, and Sidgwick, Frank, eds, *Early English Lyrics, Amorous, Divine, Moral, & Trivial* London, 1926
- C & S, M L R. Chambers, [Sir] E K, and Sidgwick, Frank, eds, 'Fifteenth-Century Carols by John Audelay', in *The Modern Language Review*.
- Child Child, Francis J, ed, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads* Boston and New York, 1882—98
- Daniel, *Thes Hym* Daniel, Hermann Adalbert, ed, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus* Leipzig, 1855—6
- Dyboski Dyboski, Roman, ed, *Songs, Carols, and Other Miscellaneous Poems*. Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No CI, London, 1908
- E B M* Stainer, Sir John, ed, *Early Bodleian Music* London, 1901
- EDD Wright, Joseph, ed, *The English Dialect Dictionary* London, 1898—1905
- E E T S Early English Text Society
- Engische Studien* *Engische Studien Organ fur englische Philologie*, &c. Heilbronn, 1877—89, Leipzig, 1890—
- Ex Ser Extra Series
- Fehr. Fehr, Bernhard, ed, 'Die Lieder der Hs Add 5665', in *Archiv fur das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, vol cvi
- Fest* Flugel, Ewald, ed, 'Engische Weihnachtsheder aus einer Handschrift des Balliol College zu Oxford', in *Forschungen zur deutschen Philologie Festgabe fur Rudolf Huldebrand* Leipzig, 1894.
- Fuller Maitland. Fuller Maitland, J A, and Rockstro, W S, eds, *English Carols of the Fifteenth Century* London, [1891]
- James & Macaulay James, M R, and Macaulay, G C, eds, 'Fifteenth Century Carols and Other Pieces', in *The Modern Language Review*, vol viii
- MacCracken MacCracken, Henry N, ed, *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, Parts I, II Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. CVII, Original Series No. 192, London, 1911, 1934
- Mayer [Mayer, L S.], ed, *Music Cantelenas Songs Etc* London, privately printed, 1906.
- M L R. *The Modern Language Review*. Cambridge, 1906—
- Mus Ant* Stafford Smith, J, ed., *Musica Antiqua* [London, 1812]
- N L. Flugel, Ewald, ed, *Neuenglisches Lesebuch*, vol 1 Halle, 1895.
- OED Murray, Sir James A H, et al, eds, *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* [*The Oxford English Dictionary*] Oxford, 1888—1928.

Or Ser. Original Series.

Oxford Book of Carols. Dearmer, Percy, Williams, R. Vaughan, and Shaw, Martin, eds, *The Oxford Book of Carols* London, 1928

P S Percy Society Publications. London, 1840-52.

Padelford Padelford, Frederick M., ed., 'English Songs in Manuscript Selden B. 26', in *Angha*, vol xxxvi.

Pat Lat Migne, J P, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus [Patrologia Latina]*. Paris, 1842-80

Patterson. Patterson, Frank A., ed, *The Middle English Penitential Lyric*. *Columbia University Studies in English* New York, 1911.

pr printed.

Reed. Reed, Edward Bhss, ed., *Christmas Carols Printed in the Sixteenth Century* *Huntington Library Publications*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1932

Rel. Ant Wright, Thomas, and Halliwell[-Phillipps], J O, eds, *Reliquiae Antiquae*. London, 1841-3.

Ritson, *Ancient Songs*

(1790) Ritson, Joseph, ed, *Ancient Songs from the Time of King Henry the Third to the Revolution* London, 1790.

(1829) Ritson, Joseph, ed., *Ancient Songs and Ballads from the Reign of King Henry the Second to the Revolution* London, 1829

(1877) Ritson, Joseph, ed, *Ancient Songs and Ballads from the Reign of King Henry the Second to the Revolution* (re-ed. Hazlitt, W C.). London, 1877.

repr. reprinted.

S T.S Scottish Text Society.

Sandison Sandison, Helen E, *The 'Chanson d'Aventure' in Middle English* *Bryn Mawr College Monographs, Monograph Series*, vol. xii. Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, 1913.

Sandys Sandys, William, ed, *Christmas Carols, Ancient and Modern*. London, 1833.

Sar. Miss. Wickham Legg, J, ed, *The Sarum Missal*. Oxford, 1916.

Terry. Terry, Sir Richard R., ed, *A Medieval Carol Book* London, [1931].

Wart. Club Publications of the Warton Club. London, 1855-6

Whiting Whiting, Ella K., ed., *The Poems of John Audelay*. Early English Text Society, Original Series, No. 184, London, 1931.

Wright, P S., iv, 'Christmas Cards'. Wright, Thomas, ed., *Specimens of Old Christmas Carols, etc.* *Percy Society Publications*, vol iv, London, 1841.

Wright, P.S. xxiii Wright, Thomas, ed, *Songs and Carols of the Fifteenth Century*. *Percy Society Publications*, vol. xxiii, London, 1847.

Zupitza Zupitza, Julius, ed, 'Die Gedichte des Franziskaners Jakob Ryman', in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, vol. lxxxix. (References to Zupitza's notes give volume and pages of *Archiv*)

1. O Radix Jesse.

Music for two and three voices *Pr* Fehr, p. 268.

The source of this carol is the third Advent Antiphon (*Br Sar.* 1, col. clv) 'O radix Jesse qui stas in signum populorum, super quem continebunt reges os suum, quem gentes deprecabuntur. veni ad liberandum nos, jam noli tardare.' The antiphon is based on Isaiah xi. 1.

stza. 1, l. 3 *bote*: help.

2. O Clavis David.

Music for two and three voices. *Pr* Fehr, p. 268

The source of this carol (a companion piece to No. 1) is the fourth Advent

Antiphon (*Br Sar* 1, col. clv) 'O clavis David, et sceptrum domus Israel, qui aperis et nemo claudit, claudis et nemo aperit veni et educ vincitum de domo carceris, sedentem in tenebris et umbra mortis' The antiphon is based on Isaiah xxii 22.

stza 2, 1 5 This line is obviously the result of an error in copying, the scribe having been confused by the repetition of the previous line. The correct reading was probably something like 'And that thou byndest may no man twynne'

3. Farewell to Advent

Pr Zupitza, p 238, notes, xcv, 274.

It is hard to believe that this carol is the original composition of Ryman, in view of the more patient piety of the rest of his pieces. The single stanza on the same theme on f 74 v of the MS is more characteristic of him, and was undoubtedly suggested by stza 12 of this carol (*pr* Zupitza, p 272)

Prince, duke and erle, lord, knyght, and squier,

With alle other in youre degree,

Caste oute Aduent into the myere,

For he with vs to long hath be,

And welcome we that King so fre

That now was borne for loue of vs

Of mayde Mary, named Jhesus

The personification of Advent as a periodic visitor is parallel to that of Christmas in Nos 5, 6, 141, and of the New Year in No 10 A similar personification of Lent is indicated by stza 12, 1 3, with which compare No 4, stza 2, 1 1, and No 141, stza. 3, 1 3 It is probable that Advent was sometimes actually impersonated as we know Christmas and Lent to have been In a procession in Norwich in January 1448 appeared 'Lenten cladde in white with redde herrings skunnes and his hors trapped with oyster shelles after him in token y^t sadnesse and abstinence of merth shulde followe and an holy tyme' (Guilford, E L, *Select Extracts Illustrating Sports & Pastimes in the Middle Ages*, London, 1920, p 52)

stza. 2, 1 2 souce pickled pork

stza 9, 1 3 The mention here of Boughton Blean, the hamlet best known through Chaucer's *Canon's Yeoman's Prologue*, 1 3, strongly suggests that the carol comes from Kent or its immediate neighbourhood In 1384 there was a good-sized chapel and hospital for lepers and infirm persons at Boughton-under-Blean which would have been an appropriate haven for such a meagre figure as Advent (*Victoria History of the County of Kent*, London, 1926, vol 11, p 208) With stza 10, 1 1, compare the proverbial phrase of emphasis 'neither in Kent nor Christendom' which Grose (*A Provincial Glossary*, London, 1787) lists as local to Kent. It appears, however, in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* (Sept, 1 153) and elsewhere See Lean, V S, *Collectanea* (Bristol, 1902), vol 1, p 107

4. Farewell to Advent

Repr Flugel, *Angha*, xii, p 588, *N L*, p 124 (as if one piece with the fragment on the next page of the original), *fac*s Reed, p 14

burden, 1. 1 Compare the burden of No 141 and notes on that carol

5 Good Day, Sir Christmas!

Music for two voices *Pr* Padelford, p 89, C & S, p 233, with music, *E B M* 11, p. 107, *fac*s No xlvii, Terry, p 39

See notes on No 6

stza 3, 1 3 *snelle* keen, lively, here with the connotation of gladness.

6. A Welcome to Christmas.

Music for two and three voices *Pr* Fehr, p 266, Flugel, *N L*, p 124, Sandys, p. 17, Rutson, *Ancient Songs* (1790), p 128, (1829), vol 11, p. 17, (1877), p. 161, with music, Terry, p 57, *Mus Ant*, p 26, *Oxford Book of Carols*, Music Edition, p. 40

The personification of Christmas in this carol, as in No 5, is one of the most frequent features of popular celebrations, occurring in many centuries and many lands. It persists to the present day in 'Father Christmas'. This figure has been especially prominent in mummers' plays. With the greeting in this carol compare his speech as presenter of such a play.

Here comes I, Father Christmas, welcome or welcome not,

I hope Old Father Christmas will never be forgot

(Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, vol 1, p 216) See also the similar personification of Yule in the burden of No 7 and notes on No 3

The dramatic character of the carol is obvious. It may have been actually used in a ceremony of admitting to the hall a singer representing Sir Christmas. In the present setting of the burden, however, the challenge and welcome are in three parts, the words of Sir Christmas in two. The long 'nowel' refrain is unusual and is probably an addition by the composer of this setting

stza. 1, 1 1 *byewsser beau sire*

stza. 2, 1 3 *atte a brayde* in a quick movement, suddenly

7. A Welcome to Yule.

A *Pr* C & S, *M L R* v, p 483, Whiting, p 186

B *Pr* Wright, *Wart Club*, p 93, *P S* iv, 'Christmas Carols', p 4, Ritson, *Ancient Songs* (1790), p 81, (1829), vol 1, p 140, (1877), p 120, Sandys, p 3, &c

The alternative ways of regarding the Christmas season as composed of the twelve days to Epiphany or of the forty to the Purification are illustrated by the two versions. Audelay's welcome is to 'the xii days efere', in the anonymous B the line is to 'Twelthe Day' as one of the series of feasts, and a stanza not in A extends the welcome to Candlemas. Both traditions flourish in popular custom, some communities of England removing Christmas greens, for instance, after Twelfth Night, others leaving them until Candlemas. Compare Nos 8, 141. The inclusion of Candlemas, an occasion on which the Virgin is the centre of attention, naturally leads to her being 'welcomed' in that connexion and to the omission of stza. 2 of A.

Audelay's original authorship of the carol is doubtful. Probably his version was made with more or less revision from a prototype which took the form of B under other hands.

8. The Christmas Feasts

a *Pr* Wright, *P S* xxiii, p 24

b *Pr* Wright, *Wart Club*, iv, p 98, *P.S* iv, 'Christmas Carols', p 17.

The device of devoting one stanza each to the important days of the Christmas season, as used here and in No. 9 and App, No 11, is probably educational as well as rhetorical in intention. Compare the last stanza of a late fifteenth-century *noel* by Jehan Tisserant (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS français 2368, f. 14 r.).

Par douze jours fut nouel acomply,

Par douze vers sera mon chant finy,

Par chascun jour j'en ay fait vng couplet.

A similar device survives in traditional English folk-song, but without the ecclesiastical application, in the well-known cumulative piece, 'The first day of Christmas' (Husk, W H, *Songs of the Nativity*, London, n.d., p. 182).

9. The Christmas Feasts

Pr Schulz, H C., *Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 6 (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934), 'Notes', p 166

burden, 1 2, stza. 2, 1. 4 See tables in Introduction, pp. lxx, lxxxiv

stza. 2, 1 1 This is probably meant to be taken metaphorically in the spiritual sense, but compare App, No 11, stza. 2, 1 1

stza. 3, 1 3 *preuete* 'secret'

stza. 6, 1 1. *knyghtes* The substitution for 'kings' may be merely a copyist's error.

10. Christmas Mirth.

Previously unpublished

The text implies that it was common for people in general, and not merely for professional singers like the minstrels or semi-professional ones like the friars, to know carols which they could sing from memory. But the piece itself is most suited to a visiting minstrel who is organizing the fun. The other English song in the MS (which is Welsh) is a minstrel's request for drink.

The 'messenger' of stza. 2 suggests that of the dramatic carol No. 117, which is in two versions associated with New Year's Day. Behind both references may be some custom of welcoming a person taking the part of a herald of the New Year, perhaps a carefully selected 'first foot' (See Introduction, p. ci).

It is unusual to find the same rimes used in all stanzas of a carol, as here. Compare Nos. 22, 234.

stza. 1, 1 2 *gomyn* sport, fun

stza. 5, 1 3 *fere* companion, neighbour

11. Christmas Sports

Pr. Dyboski, p. 15, Flugel, *N L*, p. 123, *Fest*, p. 69

The carol is written as if to be sung by a master of festivities or 'Lord of Misrule' with power to 'punish'. The obligation of each person present to contribute to the general entertainment is characteristic of many English holiday customs. Compare No. 10 and the refrain of No. 134.

stza. 1, 1 2 The marshal of a medieval hall had the duty, among others, of seating the guests at any feast. A groom served under a marshal, building the fires and performing other practical tasks in the hall. See Furnivall, F. J., ed., *The Babees Book* (EETS, Or. Ser., No. 32, London, 1868) for *The Book of Curtayse*, Bk. III, ll. 379-422, which deal with the marshal.

12. Of the Nativity

a *Pr.* Brown, *R L 14 C*, p. 110

b *Previously unpublished*

This piece is the earliest carol yet discovered on the subject of the Nativity. See Introduction, pp. cxxv, cxli, and Brown's notes, op. cit., pp. xii, 272.

The discrepancy in the metre between the first stanza and the other two might be accounted for by regarding the piece as made up of two originally different sets of verses, like No. 135. The b-version shows that stza. 3 at least circulated without a burden, and although, like a, it occurs in the course of a Latin homily, there is no indication that it is there regarded as part of a carol or song.

It is equally possible that the short third and sixth lines were omitted in error from stza. 1, perhaps through confusion with the four-line form of the burden. For the first stanza to be sung to the same melody as the other two, such lines would, of course, be indispensable.

stza. 1, 1 2 *wam* spot, stain

stza. 2, 1 2 *peys ys grad* peace is proclaimed

13. Of the Nativity

Music for two and three voices. *Pr.* Fehr, p. 274, Sandys, p. 14

Like No. 120 this is a welcome expressed by a singer on behalf of a host burden, l. 1. *Proface* 'a formula of welcome or good wishes at a dinner or other meal', OED. *Fr. bon prou vous fasse*, may it do you good.

stza. 1, 1 2 *toure* in allusion to the 'tower of ivory' as a type of the Virgin's body.

14. Of the Nativity

a *Pr.* Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, III, Appendix, p. 316, Dilks, T. Bruce, *Pilgrims in Old Bridgwater* (Bridgwater, 1927), p. 35

b Music for two and three voices. *Pr* Padelford, p. 91, with music, *E.B.M.* 11, p. 109, facs No 11, Terry, p. 2.

c Music for two and three voices *Pr* Fehr, p. 273

See Introduction, pp lxxx1-lxxxii, xcvi. The 'holly and ivy' phrase attached to a in the MS is probably an indication that the tune of some holly-ivy carol was to be used for it. The settings of b and c probably replaced simpler and more popular tunes in the case of this carol as in others

stza 3, 1 3 *saw* save

stza 5, 1 2. *strewe* beam of light 1 3 *weme* spot, stain

15. Of the Nativity

Pr Macray, W. D., *Catalogi Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae, Part V, Fasc. II* (Oxford, 1878), p. 266

The burden and one stanza of this carol are written at the top of the page in the MS, the rest being left blank. Several leaves immediately following have been torn out, and others are blank. Apparently the writer began to use a vacant part of the volume for a collection of carols and soon thought better of it.

16. Of the Nativity and Life of Christ

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 78, *P.S.*, iv, 'Christmas Carols', p. 12

The burden is the same as that of No. 27 A and B

stza 2, 1. 1 *schorn* circumcised

17. Be Merry in the Nativity

a *Pr* Patterson, F. A., 'Shakspeare and the Medieval Lyric', in Matthews, B., and Thorndike, A. H., eds, *Shaksperian Studies* (New York, 1916), p. 444

b Music for two voices *Pr.*, with music, Fuller Martland, p. 11, Terry, p. 48.

stza 3, 1 3 *holdyn vppon* continue

18. Of the Nativity

a Music for two voices. *Pr.*, with music, Fuller Martland, p. 5, Terry, p. 42

b Music for two and three voices *Pr* Padelford, p. 110, with music, *E.B.M.* 11, p. 155, facs No lxxxvi, Terry, p. 36

The two musical settings of the carol are quite distinct and are undoubtedly the work of different composers. The words are probably older than either setting.

stza 1, 1 3 *I schryf* (b *take schryft*) I confess (with connotation of ascribing praise, OED, s.v. 'Shrive', 4 b)

stza 3, 1 1 *powste* power *emprys* adventure, undertaking

stza 4, 1. 4 The MS is faded almost into illegibility at the beginning of the line. Terry's emendation, 'For lo the Son', is impossible

stza. 5, 11 5, 6 1 e in the Annunciation.

19. Of the Nativity

Music for two voices *Pr.*, with music, Fuller Martland, p. 9, Terry, p. 46.

The burden and stza. 1 also appear as burden and stza. 1 of No. 20

stza 2, 1 1. *chaffare* bargain

stza. 3, 1 4 *kalange* claim, demand as of right.

stza 5, 1. 4 *do sterte*: make to depart

20. Of the Nativity and Passion.

Pr Dyboski, p. 30, Flügel, *Fest.*, p. 76, C. & S., p. 116

The burden and stza. 1 also appear as burden and stza. 1 of No. 19. The refrain is the same throughout both carols

stzas 3, 4. Compare Nos 268, 269

stza 3, 1 2. Compare No. 333.

stza 4, 1 2 See note on No. 269, burden.

21. Of the Nativity.

A *Pr* Dyboski, p 12, *Flugel, Fest*, p. 67

B *Pr* Wright, *P S* xxiii, p 52

C Music for two voices *Pr.*, with music, Fuller Matland, p 13, Terry, p 49

D *Previously unpublished*

For the sources of the Latin lines see table in Introduction, pp lxv-lxvii

A stza 3, 1 2 *wembe* stain

A stza 4, 11 1, 2 Compare No 234 C, stza 4, 11 1, 2 Of all the figures of speech which the Middle Ages applied to the Virgin Mary none is more prominent in the carols than the simile which likens the action of the Holy Spirit in causing her to conceive to the sun's shining on a glass, which it penetrates without injuring It is, of course, echoed and re-echoed in theological writings, so that it is idle to point to a particular passage as a 'source' for any particular carol The most authoritative use of the figure and the one which probably reached the most readers is that of St Augustine, which is incorporated in the sixth *Lectio* for Matins on the Third Sunday in Advent (*Br Sar* 1, col cvi) 'Solis radius specular penetrat, et soliditatem ejus insensibili subtilitate pertransit . ad ingressum et egressum ejus specular integrum perseverat Specular ergo non rumpit radius solis integritatem virginis ingressus aut egressus numquid vitare poterat deitatis'

The figure also appears in Nos 56, 63, 66, 67, 73, 84, 174, 194, 200, 207, 208, 246, 281

C stza 4, 1 1 *wurchebyn* honour

22. Of the Nativity.

Music for two voices *Pr*, with music, Fuller Matland, p 17, Terry, p 50.

The carol keeps the same rime throughout the stanzas.

stza 2, 1 4 *rent* in the sense of 'inheritance' Compare Nos 10, 234

23. Of the Nativity

A *Pr*. Turnbull, W B D D, *The Visions of Tundale* (Edinburgh, 1843), p 139, Breul, K, *Englische Studien*, xiv, p 402, C & S, p 134

B *Previously unpublished*

A probably represents the original arrangement The rime of B stza 1, indicates that the stanza was made from a couplet by the addition of two lines The burden of B is a common one having no particular association with this stanza-text Compare Nos 142, 148, 157

For the sources of the Latin lines see table in Introduction, pp lxvi-lxvii

24. Of the Nativity.

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p 9, *P S* iv, 'Christmas Carols', p 5, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cvii, p 48, Sandys, p 6

For the sources of the Latin lines see table in Introduction, p lxvi.

25. Of the Nativity.

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p 34, Fehr, B, *Arch* cix, p 51.

The highly repetitive character of this carol, so like that of traditional game-songs, indicates that its author was imitating closely the methods of folk-song. This is emphasized by the occurrence of the carol in the MS. among other pieces which are not carols, but which use the same device of repetition and are even more obviously affected by folk-song, e g, 'I haue a yong suster', which precedes the carol, and 'I haue an newe gardyn', which follows it Compare also Nos 27, 54

The allusions to the canonical hours may have been suggested by the traditional correspondence of the events of the Passion to the several hours, but they do not

conform The Sarum *De Horis Canonicis Hymnus* (*Br Sar*, iii, p cxxx), for instance, has Sext as the hour for the fixing to the cross and None as the time of the piercing

stza. 1, 1 4 *wem* stain

26. Of the Nativity.

Previously unpublished Not listed in Brown, *Register*

stza 1, 1 4 Probably from Luke 11 16

stza 2, 1 1 *loure* frown, look of pain

stza. 3, 11 1, 2 Mary's age at the time of her marriage was set at fourteen by some medieval tradition, in accordance with the Pseudo-Gospel of Matthew, viii 1. The Book of James, however, sets it at twelve (viii 2, 3), and Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* (Cambridge University Library, MS Mm 6 5, stza 215) fixes her age at the Nativity at sixteen

stza 4, 1 1 *Nere* were it not that Compare No 398, stza 6, 1 1

27. Of the Nativity.

A. *Pr* Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 68, *P S* iv, 'Christmas Carols', p. 11

B *Previously unpublished*

C *Pr* Dyboski, p 7, *Flugel, Fest*, p 61, *Angla*, xxvi, p 231

The repetition of the opening formula in each stanza is probably in this, as in other carols, an imitation of folk-song style

A stza 1, 1 3 *uerement* truly

A stza 5, 1 4 *tou* 1 e heaven.

B stza 5 The failure of the sense at the end of B is paralleled by a sudden change for the worse in the writing The hand is the same as that of the other stanzas, but the scribe is evidently less master of himself

28. Of the Nativity.

Pr Wright, *Wart. Club*, p 80, *P S* iv, 'Christmas Carols', p 14

stza 4, 11 3, 4 This wholly unhistorical reference to the presence of the prophets at the Circumcision is probably the result of the writer's acquaintance with some form of dramatic service or procession of the prophets in which they appeared in appropriate costumes. See Young, Karl, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933), chap xxi As Professor Young points out (vol ii, pp 153, 154), this observance took place in some churches, notably Tours and Rouen, on the Feast of the Circumcision The author of the carol has apparently taken somewhat literally the symbolic marshalling of the prophets which is based ultimately on the famous pseudo-Augustinian sermon *Contra Judaeos, Paganos, et Arianos*.

29. Of the Nativity.

Music for two voices *Pr* Padelford, p 87; with music, *E B.M.* ii, p 104, facs. No xlv, Terry, p 32, *Oxford Book of Carols*, Music Edition, p. 128

The unusual palindromic arrangement of the rimes should be noted stza 1 rimes with stza. 5, stza. 2 with stza 4, and stza 3 stands alone.

The Latin phrases at the beginnings of the stanzas are from the Christmas services Compare No. 474.

stza 1, 1 1. *lysse*. joy 1 2. *gysse*: equip, prepare.

stza. 2, 1. 3. *dyght* put.

stza. 3, 1. 2 *blent* took

stza 4, 1 2 *his pynon pyght*: set up his pennon

stza 5, 1 2 *wysse* guide 1. 3 *rent* benefit, reward.

30. Of the Nativity.

Music for three voices *Pr* Padelford, p 96, with music, *EBM* 11, p 122, facs No 1x, Terry, p 34

stza 1, ll 1, 2. These lines occur with slight variation in No 74, stza 1, ll 1, 2, by James Ryman

l 4 *bereth the belle* This common phrase denoting excellence is variously explained Grose (*A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, ed Partridge, E, London, 1931, p 32) calls it an allusion to the custom of putting a bell on the harness of the lead-horse of a team Gomme (*The Gentleman's Magazine Library*, London, 1886, vol 11, p 90) and others think it refers to the giving of a bell as the prize for country races OED suggests that it may be from 'bell-wether'

31. Of the Nativity

a Music for two voices *Pr* Padelford, p 97, with music, *EBM* 11, p 124, facs No 1xi, Terry, p 28, *Oxford Book of Carols*, Music Edition, p 48

b *Pr* Wright, *PS* xxiii, p 48, Padelford, p 98

c *Pr* Wright, *PS* 1v, 'Christmas Carols', p 57, Fehr, p. 270, Padelford, p 98

For the sources of the Latin lines see table in Introduction, pp lxxv-lxxvi The arrangement of the Latin as first and fourth lines of couplet-rimed stanzas is unique in the carols

stza 3, l 3 *gryth* security, peace

32. Of the Nativity.

Music for two voices *Pr* Padelford, p. 108, with music, *EBM* 11, p 146, facs No lxxviii, Terry, p 4

33. Of the Nativity

Music for two and three voices *Pr* Padelford, p 112, with music, *EBM* 11, p 157, facs No lxxxvii

The Latin lines are better assimilated to the English context than those in many macaronic carols, particularly in the tail-rime stanza For sources, see table in Introduction, pp lxxvi-lxxvii

stza 4, l 2 *heuyrn riche* heaven's kingdom's

stza 5, l 2. *in cloos* in confinement

34. Of the Nativity

Music for two voices. *Pr* Padelford, p 112, with music, *EBM* 11, p 158, facs No lxxxviii

The music is headed 'Childe' in the MS If this is the composer's name he is otherwise unidentified

35. Of the Nativity

A *Pr EBM* 11, p 65, C & S, p 132

B *Pr* Dyboski, p 49, Flugel, *Fest*, p 82

A stza 1, l 2 *more* root Compare *Sir Beves*, ll 70, 71 (cited OED, *s v* 'More', *sb* 1)

A ffeyrer child was nevure none bore,

Sithe god spronge of Jesses more

'Thorn', the reading of B, is probably due to the necessity of a rime with the form 'born'

A stza 4 This appears as stza 5 of No 123 A (B. stza 11) and as stza. 6 of

No 124 A, where it is more appropriate. The sequence referred to is probably that for the Mass on Epiphany, of which ll 9, 10 run (*Sar Miss*, p 465)

Huic magi munera deferunt preclara aurum simul thus et myrram

Thure deum predicant auro regem magnum. hominem mortalem myrra

B. burden, l 2, and refrain. John 1 14

36. Of the Nativity.

a. *Pr Rel Ant* 1, p 203

b. *Pr Wright, P S* 1v, 'Christmas Carols', p 33.

c. *Previously unpublished*

burden, l 1. From the Office of the Mass for Christmas Day (*Sar Miss*, p 29)

'Puer natus est nobis et filius datus est nobis . '

l 2. This phrase is of frequent occurrence, but it had especial prominence as the refrain of a favourite *cantilena* of the eleventh century, 'In hoc anno circulo' In a translation of the song into a Southern French dialect the Latin phrase was retained (Thurau, G, *Der Refrain in der französischen Chanson*, Berlin, 1901, p 278)

stza. 2, l. 2. *fowde* child.

37. Of the Nativity

Pr Wright, P S xxiii, p 15.

The end of the stanza, with the short refrain-line 'With aye' and the couplet of one repeated and one varied line, shows influence of the 'bob-and-wheel' stanza of narrative verse.

stza 1, l 1. *ferly* 'strange, wonderful' *mene* tell.

stza 2, l 3. *weme* 'stain'

stza 3, l 6. See note on No. 72, stza. 4, ll 1-3

stza 4, l 2 *fode* 'child'

stza. 5, l. 6. Both myrrh and incense are here related to Christ's manhood. The latter is traditionally the sign of His Godhead. See note on No 47, stza 5, l. 3.

38. Of the Nativity.

Pr Wright, P S xxiii, p 17.

burden, l 2 John 1 14

stza 1, l 1. *lete* opposition.

stza 3, l 4 Mary's singing 'into the est' is an unusual detail of the Nativity scene. It may be in anticipation of the coming of the Magi, or because of the Star, or simply because of Mary's own association with that direction, as in her correspondence to the closed gate of Ezekiel's vision, which was the eastern gate.

39. Of the Nativity.

Pr Wright, P S xxiii, p 21.

burden, l 2 John 1. 14.

stza. 4, l. 3. *prophett* Isaiah is the one in mind

40. Of the Nativity.

Pr Wright, P.S xxiii, p. 39, C. & S., p 117

burden, l. 1 *lay*. religion, belief, from OF. *lei* in sense of 'religious law'.

stza. 1, l. 1 *gylt*. The context demands the sense of 'guilty person', but OED does not record this meaning of the word

41. Of the Nativity

Pr Wright, P.S xxiii, p 42, C. & S., p. 140

The burden also appears as the burden of No 183.

stzas 3-5 The author badly confuses the events of the Passion, the wounding with a spear being transferred from the Crucifixion to the mockery and flagellation.

42. Of the Nativity

a *Pr Wright, P S xxiii, p 83*

b *Repr facs, Reed, p 46*

stza 1, l 3 *reformer of our reste* improver of our spiritual peace

43. Of the Nativity

Pr C & S, p 133

burden, l. 1. Compare No 255, burden, l 1

stza 1, l 4 *repayse* reassure

stza 2, l. 4 *Jure* Jewry, Judea Bethlehem is meant, the line may have read originally 'of Jure'.

stza. 3, ll 1, 2 With this conception of the prophets as aware of and rejoicing in the Nativity compare No 28, stza 4, ll 3, 4, and note thereon.

44. Of the Nativity

Pr Wright, P S xxiii, p 82

The unusual stanza-form of this carol shows definite influence from the 'bob-and-wheel' stanza of narrative verse

stza 3, l 1 *Two sons togyther* This figure probably results from the combination in the writer's mind of the 'sol de stella' of the 'Laetabundus' prose and the favourite 'sun through glass' simile for Mary's conception of Jesus

stza 5, l 1 *noblay* nobility

45. Of the Nativity.

Pr Dyboski, p 3, Flugel, N L, p 117, Fest, p 55.

stza 2, ll 4, 5 The acknowledgement of Christ's majesty by the ox and the ass is told in the Pseudo-Gospel of Matthew, xiv

stza 3, l 2 *abone* above ll. 4, 5 1e the Virgin alone among women escaped the pangs of childbirth, as recorded in Pseudo-Matthew, xiii Other carols which mention this circumstance are Nos 25, 26, 37, 65, 67, 233, 246

46. Of the Nativity.

Pr Dyboski, p 8, Flugel, N L, p 116, Fest, p 63

burden, l. 2 See note on No 36, burden, l 1

stza. 2, l 2. *weme*. stain

stza 7 Compare No 90, stza 3 l 3 *hosyll*. housel, the Eucharist

47. Of the Nativity.

Pr. Dyboski, p. 29, Flugel, Fest, p. 74

stza. 4, l 3. *Caldey* Chaldea *felosafers* the Magi, more commonly called kings, as in stza 5

stza. 5, l 3 Priesthood is the less usual of the two meanings variously assigned to the gift of incense, the other being Christ's Godhead This interpretation is orthodox and recognized, however, compare the Response after the sixth Lectio in Matins for Epiphany (*Br Sar* 1, col cccxxiv)

In auro ut ostendatur regis potentia

in thure sacerdotem magnum considera

Et in mirra Dominicam sepulturam

The doctrine of Christ's priesthood concerns itself with the sacrificial aspect of

His life and death and would be a natural reference for a writer who wished to emphasize, as in this carol, the human qualities of the Saviour

Compare also *Cursor Mundi* (Trinity text), ll 11497-9

Melchior coom alper neest

And kud he was bope god & prest

Wip sense bifore him he felle,

and a late fifteenth-century *noel* by Jehan Tisserant (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS français 2368, f 45 v)

L'or demonstre qu'il est roy,

L'encens qu'il est le grant prestre.

48. Of the Nativity

Pr Dyboski, p 37, Flugel, *Fest*, p 77, C & S, p 139.

The fleur-de-lys or lily is a frequent symbol for Christ Compare 'Maiden Mary and her Fleur-de-Lys' from the Vernon MS (*pr* Brown, *RL 14C*, p 181), where the plant is likened to Mary, the blossom to Christ As here, each stanza ends with the word 'fleur-de-lys'

stza 3, l 3 *flom* river

49. Of the Nativity

Pr Dyboski, p 9, Flugel, *Fest*, p 64

burden See table in Introduction, pp lxvi-lxvii The same Latin couplet appears as the burden of a Latin Nativity song in Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS. 3653, f 9 v. (cent. xv, late)

stza 2, l 3 *cure* care.

stza 3, l 2 *knelyng in her closett* The Annunciation is variously represented in medieval art as taking place in a garden or within doors See note on No 172, stza 2, l 4 Albertus Magnus claimed to settle the matter in his *Liber de Laudibus Gloriosissime Dei Genitricis Marie*, &c (Basle, 1475), cap lxiii '*Si ostio clauso venit et si ad solam et in quo positione fuit*', &c '*Ad primum respondemus per beatum Bernardum qui dicit ingressus ad eam puto in secretarium pudici cubiculi ubi illa forsitan clauso super se ostio orabat precem suam in abscondito solent angeli astare orantibus*'. [Dicit Bernardus etiam.] Beatissimam autem virginem in aduentu eius inclinatis genibus et eleuatis puris manibus erectis in celum oculis deuotissimas preces cum lacrimis fudisse' The writer of this carol follows him

50. Of the Nativity

Pr Dyboski, p 38, Flugel, *Fest*, p 78

stza 3, l 1. *crach* crib

51. Of the Nativity.

Pr Dyboski, p. 45; Flugel, *Fest.*, p. 80

The use of 'wassail' in religious carols is so rare in comparison with its occurrence in traditional folk-song for Christmas that one suspects that its pagan associations were still felt strongly enough to cause disapproval But 'Yule', on the other hand, is freely used

52. Of the Nativity.

Pr Dyboski, p 49, Flugel, *Fest*, p 82

For the sources of the Latin lines see table in Introduction, pp. lxv-lxvii

53. Of the Christ Child.

Pr. Zupitza, p 210, notes, xciv, pp. 395-6

54. Of the Nativity.

Pr Zupitza, p 275, notes, xcvi, pp 167-8

The use of a repetitive formula at the beginning of the stanza is like that of No 25, on which see note

stza 6, l 3 *meane* intermediary, intercessor l 4 *quere* choir

55. Of the Nativity.

Pr Zupitza, p 292, notes, xcvi, pp 316-17

Stza 4 is Ryman's own paraphrase of the 'Gloria in Excelsis'.

56. The Mystery of the Incarnation

Pr Zupitza, p 293, notes, xcvi, pp 317-19

burden Compare the burdens of Nos 94, 176, 319.

stza 5, l 1 The statement that the glass is not only unharmed but 'more pure' is an unusual strengthening of the hackneyed figure 'And' is for 'than', according to OED 'an erroneous expansion of northern dial *an, en*'

57. Of the Nativity

Music for two and three voices *Pr* Fehr, p 272

The rime fails in stza 1, l 1 The whole line is possibly corrupt

burden, ll 1, 3 Compare No. 239, stza 1, l 1

58. Of the Nativity

Music for two and three voices, by Richard Smert. *Pr* Fehr, p 272

59. Of the Nativity

Music for two and three voices, by Richard Smert *Pr* Fehr, p 278

60. Of the Nativity

Repr Flugel, *Angha*, xii, p 588, *N.L.*, p 125, *fac*s Reed, p 15.

stza 3, l 3 *Hydder to me* The allusion may be to the same song as that of Chaucer's Pardoner (*General Prologue*, l 672) 'Com hider, love, to me' l. 4. *basse* kiss

stza 5, l 1 *collyng* caressing

61. Of the Nativity

Pr Zupitza, p. 212, notes, xciv, pp 397-9.

stza 3, l 3 *clausure* enclosure

stza 4, ll 1, 2 Compare No 163, stza 1

62. Of the Nativity.

Pr Zupitza, p 214, notes, xciv, pp 401-2.

63. Of the Nativity

Pr Zupitza, p 324, notes, xcvi, p 141

For the use of 'alone' compare Nos 154, 159, 160, 249, 281

stza 6, l 2. *Olde faders* the patriarchs awaiting their release from limbo

64. 'A Caroll of the Byrth of Chryst.'

Repr. Flugel, *Angha*, xii, p 588, *fac*s. Reed, p 10

The text is incomplete, as the page following in the preserved fragment contains part of another piece It is probable, however, that only two lines are lost, for what remains of stza 5 is in a conventional formula for final stanzas.

65. Of the Nativity

Pr Zupitza, p 186, notes, xciii, pp 390-3

The burden is that of a Latin song with music in Bodleian Library MSS. Ashmole 1393 and Arch Selden B. 26, *pr* *E B M* ii, pp 63, 154 See Introduction, p lxxxvii The first stanza of this carol is a paraphrase of the Latin

stza 2, 1 3 *valent* vigorous, flourishing OED gives this as the only citation

66. Of the Nativity

Pr Zupitza, p 185, notes, xciii, pp 383-90

The burden is the same as that of No 65, on which see note

stza 3 Isaiah vii 14

stza. 5 Matthew i 23

stza 9 Ryman here attributes the sun-glass commonplace to a Father who seems not to have used it. Compare Zupitza's notes. Ryman may be quoting from a wrongly attributed source, or, more probably, is simply seeking to give the impression of learning

67. Of the Nativity.

Pr Zupitza, p 272, notes, xcvi, pp 165-6

stza 3, 1 3 *lake* dungeon, underground prison.

* stza 5, ll 2, 4 See note on No 45, stza 3, 1 3

stza 6, 1 1. *destence* sense of rank, here = condescension

68. Of the Nativity

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p 7, Fehr, B., *Arch* cix, p 43.

stza 1, ll 2, 3. With 'man' for 'Adam' these lines appear as stza 3, ll 1, 2, of No 335

stza 2, 1 3. The patriarchs are particularly mentioned because of the teaching that they had to abide in hell or limbo until the coming of Christ

stza. 4, 1 1 Moses is properly enough called a prophet (Deuteronomy xxxiv 10-12), but did not expressly foretell the Nativity as here stated

stza 5, 1 1 *Isaac* an obvious blunder for *Isaiah*

stza 6, 1 1. Jeremiah began his prophetic career at an early age He was not, however, so explicitly a Messianic prophet as the carol states See *Jeremiah* xxxi. 15-22

stza 7, 1 2 Daniel is counted as a particular prophet of the Messiah by virtue of his 'prophecy of the seventy weeks' (Daniel ix. 24-7) 1 3 *spelle* speak.

69. Of the Nativity.

Music for two and three voices *Pr* Padelford, p 113, with music, *E B.M* ii, p 160, facs No lxxix

burden See table in Introduction, p. lxvii

stza. 3 This statement would, of course, be justified by many passages in the works of St Ambrose, or indeed of almost any other theological writer, but capp v-xiii of his *De Institutione Virginis Liber Unus* may be instanced (*Pat. Lat.* xvi, cols. 327-39).

stza 4, ll 1-3. Psalm lxxxiv 12. 'Veritas de terra orta est' 1 1 *spellynge*: speaking.

70. Of the Nativity

Pr Zupitza, p 203, notes, xciv, pp 200-2.

stza 1, 1 3 Isaiah vii. 14

stza 2, ll. 1, 2 Jeremiah x. 6.

stza. 3, 1 1. See notes on No 72.

stza. 4. Psalms cxxxvii. 4, cxlviii 11

stza 5 Daniel ii 34

71. Of the Nativity

Pr Zupitza, p 209, notes, xcv, pp 391-2

stza 3, l 2 Rymaŋ's reference is probably to John xiv

72. The Prophecies Fulfilled

Pr Zupitza, p 274, notes, xcvi, pp 166-7.

stza. 1, ll 1, 2 Daniel ii 34

stza 2, ll 1-3 Isaiah vii 14

stza 3, l 1 Jeremiah xxxi 22

stza 4, ll 1-3 On the interesting history of the supposed prophecy by Habbakuk that Christ should be born in the presence of an ox and an ass see Williams, John, in *N & Q*, 2nd Ser, vol x, p 456, in answer to a query on the opening lines of the Christmas song in British Museum MS Cotton Vespasian A xxv, f. 138 r (*pr* Wright, *P S* iv, 'Christmas Carols', p 36)

As said the prophet Abacuc,

Betwixt too bestes shulde lye our buk

It appears in a *Tractus* in the Good Friday service 'In medio duorum animalium innotesceris' It is based on a passage in Habbakuk iii 2 which rests on a mis-translation of the Hebrew text found only in the Septuagint and older Latin translations The Pseudo-Gospel of Matthew xiv applies it to the Nativity.

stza 5, ll 1-3 Psalms cxxxvii 4, cxlviii 11

73. Of the Nativity.

Music for two and three voices *Pr* Padelford, p 106, with music, *E B M* ii, p 140, facs Nos lxxiv, lxxv

stza 3, l 2 David is included among the prophets by virtue of the 'Messianic' Psalms On Jeremiah see note on No 68, stza 6, l 1 1 3 Isaiah vii 14

stzas 4, 5 The Presentation in the Temple, Luke ii. 22-38

stza 5, l 1 *lece* falsehood

stza 6, l 2. *grene branche* the Virgin The figure here is the same as in Hoccleve's poem 'A Lamentacioun of the Grene Tree Complaynyng of the Losyng of hire Appil' translated from the *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* (ed Furnivall, F J, *E E T S*, Ex Ser, No LXXII, London, 1897, p xxvii) Mary is the green tree, the cross the dry tree, Jesus the fruit of one hanged on the other The figure has obvious relations to the 'rose of ryse' and 'Aaron's rod'

74. Of the Nativity

Pr Zupitza, p 206, notes, xciv, pp 203-5

stza 1, ll 1, 2 These lines occur with slight variation in No 30, stza 1, ll 1, 2

75. Of the Shepherds.

Pr Zupitza, p 197, notes, xciv, pp 188-90

This is one of the most successful macaronic carols, continuous sense being kept in alternate English and Latin The Latin lines are not mere verbal borrowings from the Gospel, although Ryman follows closely the account in Luke ii 8-20. See Introduction, p lxi

76. Of the Shepherds

Pr Zupitza, p 199, notes, xciv, pp 190-3.

stza. 5, l 1 *stounde* hour, time

77. Of the Shepherds.

Pr Dyboski, p 48, Flugel, *Fest*, p 81.

This carol uses the *chanson d'aventure* opening and is one of the comparatively rare instances of the *ballade* stanza being adapted to the carol form by the addition of a burden

burden, l 2 Psalm lxxxiv 12, used as an Antiphon in Matins on Christmas Day (*Br. Sar* 1, col clxxvii)

stza 1, l 4 *fee* beasts, flock

stza 2, l 2. This appears as stza 1, l 8 of No 161 l. 7 Isaiah xl 1, in the second Lectio for Matins on Christmas Day (*Br. Sar* 1, col clxxiv) 'Consolamini, consolamini, popule meus, dicit Deus vester'

stza 3, l 1 *see* seat l 3 *medled* mingled l 5 *Miranda res* from the 'Laetabundus' prose, see Introduction, p lxxviii l 6 *gest* tale

78. Jolly Wat the Shepherd

Pr. Dyboski, p 16, Flugel, *N L*, p 117, *Fest*, p 70, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 243, C & S, p 127, &c

The carol of Wat is justly famous for its gaiety and realism. Its similarity in conception and tone to the shepherd scenes in the mystery plays is striking. The offering of homely gifts to the infant Jesus is paralleled as well in various French *noels*, e.g. de Smidt, J. R. H., *Les Noels et la tradition populaire* (Amsterdam, 1932), Nos 9 A, 10, 19 A. Acquaintance with mystery plays is probably responsible for the introduction of the incident in this carol and in a well-known *noel* by Jehan Tisserant in Bibliothèque Nationale MS français 2368, f 67 r (stza 7)

Je luy donnay vng vray don,
Nau, nau,
Mon billart *et* ma pellote,
Et Guillot mon compaignon,
Nau, nau,
Sa trude *et* sa marote

The wish to provide an analogy to the gifts of the Magi is doubtless the ultimate reason for the use of the incident

stza 1, l 3 *flagat* flageolet

stza 2, l 3 *broyd* brayd, short time

stza 4, l 1 Mall appears to be a favourite ewe (compare Chaucer, *Nun's Priest's Tale*, l 11), Will, the bell-wether

stza 5, l 4 *warroke* warroch (Sc), a stunted or puny child, here apparently applied by Wat to his helper. See Jamieson, John, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (Paisley, 1879-82), s v 'Warroch'

stza 8, l 2 The rime demands the transposition of 'scrype' and 'skyрте' instead of the MS reading

stza 9, l. 4 *cape* cope, cloak. This line has attracted some attention because of its bit of visual detail. It may be a reminiscence of the costume given Joseph in a mystery play, as suggested by W. J. Phillips (*Carols*, p 108), hardly, as Mr Esmé Wingfield-Stratford thinks, a reference to his 'round hat' or halo in a church window (*The History of British Civilization*, London, 1930, pp 350-1)

79. Of the Shepherds

A a *Pr. Wright*, *P.S.* xxiii, p 95

b *Pr. Dyboski*, p 11; Flugel, *N L.*, p 117, *Fest*, p. 66

B. Music for three voices. *Pr. Craig, Hardin*, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays* (E.E.T.S., Ex Ser No LXXXVII, London, 1902), p. 31, Sharp, Thomas, *A Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries* (Coventry, 1825), pp 113-14, with music, *ibid*, pp 115, 118.

The two stanzas used in the 'Taylors and Shearemens Pagant' are marked as different songs because of their use in different parts of the play. As there sung, with the burden once after the stanza, their character as parts of a carol is somewhat obscured. The date of B is given by the following note (Craig, loc. cit.): 'Tys matter / nevly correcte be Robart Croo / the xiiijth dey of marche / fenysschid in the yere of owre Lorde God / m ccccc & xxxiiijte / then beyng mayre mastur

Palmar / also mastris of the seyd fellyschipp Hev Corbett / Randull Pynkard
and / John Baggely'

A stza 1, l 1 *right* properly, in due order

A stza. 3, l 3. *long* adhere

A stza 4, l 3 *streme* beam of light

80. Of the Nativity

Pr Wright, *P S* iv, 'Christmas Carols', p 32, C & S, p 130, Sandys, p 2

stza 3, l 1 *kynde* 'mankind' rather than 'nature'.

stza 4, l 1. There is no more reason for restoring the first word as 'Then' than as 'Jhesu' or something else, but I follow Chambers and Sidgwick

81. Of the Shepherds.

A *Pr* Zupitza, p 204, notes, xciv, pp 202-3

B *Repr* Bliss, p 56, Sandys, p 20, *facts* Reed, p 43

See Introduction, pp cxxv-cxxvi

82. Of the Shepherds and the Kings

Pr Zupitza, p 200, notes, xciv, pp 193-4

stza 2, l 1 *stounde* hour, time l 4 Zupitza gives as source Daniel,
Thes Hym, vol 1, p 334

Hic iacet in praesepio

Qui regnat sine termino.

83. Of the Nativity and Passion

Pr James & Macaulay, p 69, Greene, R L, *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, vol vii, p 40.

Other carols which use letters in similar fashion are Nos 139, 180 The letters forming the theme of this carol are the same (except for E) as those in a fourteenth-century poem on the Passion which also uses the 'O and I' refrain-element found elsewhere in Middle English poetry. The poem, which appears with others at the end of a volume of Wyclif's sermons, may possibly be the actual source of this carol (Bodleian Library MS Don c 13, f 165 v, *pr* Brown, Beatrice D, *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, vol vii, p 2) Stza 2, ll 5, 6, and stza 4 are the parts of the poem which show the greatest likeness to the carol (text from MS)

With an O and an I. þis is of lettres foure,

X and M, I and C, þat we gon firste honoure

X for Crist, Goddis Son, was sett, þat duleful ded gon die,

M for Mary, þe chekes wett, when he hingkid sa hie,

I for Jon, þe teres lett for dole þat Crist gon die,

C for cros, þer þai mett, þir foure fandit to fle

With an O and an I M and I made mane

When X. was naild apon C betwix þaim twa alane

The E of the carol is almost certainly an error for C See Greene, loc. cit.

stza 1, l 4 *flyth* strife, attack

84. Of the Nativity

Pr Zupitza, p 297, notes, xciv, pp 205-6.

85. Of the Nativity

Music for two and three voices *Pr* Fehr, p 267.

This carol gives direct expression in stza 1 to the attitude implied in many others Rejoice, but be careful that your mirth is hallowed, or at least innocent Compare No 150 D, stza 6, ll 3, 4

86. Of the Nativity

A *Pr. Wright, Wart Club*, p 28, Fehr, B, *Arch* cix, p 49.

B *Previously unpublished*

C *Pr Wright, P S* xxiii, p. 18

The initial lines of the stanzas are from the hymn 'Salvator mundi, Domine'. See table in Introduction, pp lxx-lxxvii

The burdens and refrains of A and B are better suited to the matter of the carol than those of C, which are apparently due to a reviser with a more particular devotion to Mary. The occurrence of the 'De virgine Maria' refrain in stza 3 of A (compare the 'Que vocatur Maria' of stza 1) may mean that a version like C was already current at the time that A was written down.

87. To Christ

Pr Wright, Wart Club, p 12, *P S* iv, 'Christmas Carols', p 6.

stza 3, l 1 *segent* (?) throne, *OF sege*

88. To Christ on His Nativity.

Pr Zupitza, p 203, notes, xciv, pp 199-200

Ryman has here put into the carol-form his translation of the hymn 'Christe, redemptor omnium' (*Pr. Zupitza*, p. 194), omitting the first two stanzas and replacing the Latin lines from the hymn by English text. The translation is reasonably close. The hymn, for Christmas Day, is found in several versions, e.g. *Anal Hym* ii, p 36, l, p 49. The latter seems to have been Ryman's original.

89. Of the Nativity

Music for two and three voices, by Richard Smert. *Pr Fehr*, p 268.

stza 1, l 2 *hore* uncleanness

stza 2, l 1. *sompell* example. l 3 *clawte* clout, rag

90. Of Christ

Pr James & Macaulay, p. 69.

stza 2, l 1 *archutriclyn* Lat *archutriclinus*, the friend of the bridegroom and ruler of the marriage-feast (John ii 9)

stza 3. Compare No 46, stza 7. l 3 *Hosyll*. housel, the Eucharist

91. Of the Nativity.

A Music for two and three voices. *Pr Fehr*, p 271, Sandys, p. 15.

B Music for two and three voices, by Richard Smert. *Pr Fehr*, p 275

The two versions of this piece preserved with different musical settings in the same MS. provide a definite instance of a carol's being altered to suit the purpose of an artistic and individual writer and/or composer, with no question of change in oral tradition. See Introduction, pp lvii, cvi-cviii. Compare also No 103 A d and e

A. stza. 2, l 2 *fode*: child.

A. stza 3, l 1. *cracche*. crib. stza. 5, l 2 *hem* 1 e the patriarchs released by the Harrowing of Hell.

B stza 1, l 3 *mysse*. sin

92. To Christ on His Nativity.

Pr. Zupitza, p 325, notes, xcvi, pp. 141-2

93. Of the Nativity and Passion

Pr Wright, P S xxiii, p 69

The heading of the piece in the MS indicates that this is a carol written to the tune of a secular song, probably the lament of an abandoned girl

stzas 3-5 All the nine orders of angelic beings are specifically named, although not in traditional order of rank

stza 4, 1 3 *twynykes* (?) tunes 1 6 *Kery Kyrie elerson*

stza 8, 1 4 *flome* river

stza 9, 1 5 *herte rote* a term of endearment

stza 12, 1 3 *corpulence* bodily substance OED records this use only from 1625 1 4 *unwysse* unwise 1 6 *thyrtty golden pence* The substitution of

gold coins for the silver of the Biblical account is a feature of the legend which identifies the money taken by Judas with the coins for which Joseph was sold, which were later held by the Queen of Sheba, and which were given to Jesus by Melchior Mary lost the coins, according to the legend, and they were found by a shepherd, who placed them in the Temple See Horstmann, C, ed, *The Three Kings of Cologne* (E E T S, Or Ser, No 85, London, 1886), pp 94-100, 248-51

stza 16, 1 3 *Crucifige* Mark xv 13, 14, Luke xxiii 21, John xix 15

stza 17, 1 4 *Lunges* See notes on No 167, stzas 7, 8

stza 20, 1 6 *hys membres* 'by' is to be understood

94. Of the Incarnation

Previously unpublished

burden, 1. 1 Compare the burdens of Nos 56, 176, 319

stza 1, 1 2 Psalm lxxxiv 12 'Veritas de terra orta est' 1 3 *Ibid.* 11
' iustitia et pax osculatae sunt '

stza 2, 1 3 Wisdom ix 10 'Mitte illam [sapientiam] de caelis sanctis tuis' God is there addressed, of course, not Mary

stza 3, 1 1 *Celestyall cytezens* the saints

95. Of the Incarnation

a *Pr Wright, P S iv, 'Christmas Carols', p 41, Boddeker, K, Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Sprache und Literatur, N F, vol 11, p 98*

b *Pr Furnivall, F J, N & Q, 7th Ser, vol viii, p 484*

This carol is of the argumentative theological type like Nos 260, 333, and uses the longer line favoured for that sort of composition The a-version was written down about 1573, but is included in this collection as b shows the carol to have been composed not later than about 1530 It is probably not of much earlier date

Compare the long poem, intended for Easter, in Bodleian Library MS Digby 102, f 109 v. with the title 'God and man ben made atte on' and beginning 'Glade in God this solempne fest' (*pr Kail, J, Twenty-six Political and other Poems, E E T S, Or Ser, No 124, London, 1904, p. 46*), and the 'De arte lacrimandi', stza. 5, 1 8 (see note on No 161)

stza. 2, 1 6 *mocyon* motive.

stza 5, 1 1 *traverse* dispute, controversy

stza. 6, 1 5 *generacion.* child-bearing

stza. 7, 1 3 *and further the verse* Matthew v 3, 'Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum' The 'spiritu' is rather lost sight of in the present application

96. A Te Deum for the Nativity

Music for two voices *Pr Fehr, p 270*

The last phrase of the burden is marked 'Faburdon', i.e. *faux-bourdon*.

stza 2, 1 2 *luste* was pleased

97. Of St Stephen.

Pr. C & S, *MLR* v, p 483, Whiting, p 187

stzas. 2, 3 Acts vii 55-60

stza. 4, l 2 *apayd* pleased, satisfied.

98. Of St. Stephen.

Music for two voices *Pr.*, with music, Fuller Martland, p 23, Terry, p 54.

stza 1, l 1 *mende* mind, remembrance

stza. 3, l 3 Compare No 179, stza. 5, l 3, No 209, stza 8, l 1, and No 361, stza 1, l 2

99. Of St. Stephen.

Music for two and three voices *Pr.* Fehr, p 269

stza 3, l 1 *the tyrand* Actually Stephen was brought before the council of the synagogue (Acts vi 12) The author of the carol is referring to Pilate, see the apocryphal Revelation of Stephen (James, M. R., ed., *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924, pp 565-8)

stza. 4, l 1 *With synfull wrecchys* i.e. by the Jews

100. Of St Stephen

Pr. Dyboski, p 32, Flugel, *NL* p. 113, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 256

stza. 1, l 2 *lerne* teach. l 3. *clen* (?) clear in tone. The line probably had only 'clen' originally, 'clere' being added to make the meaning plain OED gives an example of 'clen' in this sense only from about 1100

stza. 3, ll 2, 3 The phrasing has probably been influenced by carols about St Thomas of Canterbury, compare No 114, stza 7.

stza 5, l 3. *the fendes fere*. fear of the fiend.

101. Of St Stephen.

A *Repr facs* Reed, p. 51.

B *Repr. facs* Reed, p 60.

Reed unaccountably fails to note that the two versions are essentially the same carol B is incomplete at the end and is followed in the present binding by a leaf with the incomplete No 370 c It was not originally in the same carol-book as A.

A stza 2, l. 4. *lay* religion. stza. 8, l 1 *boone* prayer.

102. Of St. John the Evangelist.

Pr. C. & S, *MLR* v, p 484, Whiting, p. 188

stza. 1 John xiii 23.

stza 5, ll. 3, 4 John xiii. 14-17.

103. Of St John the Evangelist.

A a Music for two voices *Pr.*, with music, Fuller Martland, p 25, Terry, p. 55

b *Pr.* Wright, *PS* xxiii, p. 60

c. *Pr.* Dyboski, p 11, Flugel, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 237.

d. Music for two and three voices. *Pr.* Fehr, p. 273

e. Music for two and three voices. Variants from d *pr.* Fehr, loc cit

B. *Previously unpublished.*

This carol is found in more different texts (as a carol) than any other B differs from the A-texts in being written in the third person as a narrative and not addressed directly to St John. The change from the more usual version has been thoroughly made, in the burden as well as in the stanzas.

burden, l 2. See table in Introduction, p lxxvii.

A stza. 2, l 2 *preuytes* secrets.

A. stza. 4, l 2 This is a commonplace found in most accounts of the life of St John Compare, for example, that found in the *South-English Legendary* (ed. Hoistmann, C, p 403), ll 34-6

And for þare nas non oþur of heom þat clene mayde was,

Clene mayde to wardi oþur. riht it was i-do—

Pare-fore in is swete warde ore louerd bi-tok hire so

104. To St John the Evangelist

Pr Wright, *P.S* xxiii, p 59

burden, l 1 This is perhaps altered from the form of No 103 to make it a topical plea Compare the prayers for peace in Nos 387, 435

stza. 1, l 3 *In cena Domini* from the Response to the third Lectio in Matins for St John's Day (*Br Sar.* i, col ccxviii) 'Iste est Johannes qui supra pectus Domini in cena recubuit'

stza. 3, ll 1, 2 John xix 26-7

105. To St. John the Evangelist

Pr. Dyboski, p 35, Flugel, *Angha*, xxvi p 258

The episode alluded to in stza. 3 frequently appears in hymns and antiphons to St John and is told in the third and fourth Lectiones in Matins for St John's Day (*Br Sar.* i, cols ccxvii, ccxix) The miracle is recorded in various apocryphal writings According to the version in the Acts of John, Aristodemus, the chief priest, challenges John to prove the truth of his God by drinking poison After two condemned men have drunk of the poison and have immediately succumbed, John, having prayed, drains the cup and is unharmed For the further conviction of Aristodemus he restores to life the two poisoned criminals The conversion of priest and people follows (James, M R, ed, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1924, pp 262-4) The episode told in stza. 4 is also from the Acts of John (*ibid*, pp 257-62) After the philosopher Craton had persuaded two wealthy brothers to invest their entire inheritances in two jewels and to break these in pieces as a sign of the contempt of riches, John rebuked him At Craton's challenge John prayed and caused the broken gems to be restored Craton and his followers were converted by the miracle, and the two brothers sold the gems for the relief of the poor Repenting of their bargain, they were miraculously given their wealth again, in the form of gold rods and pebbles, but, after hearing John tell the story of Lazarus and witnessing the restoration to life of the youth Stacteus, they were reconverted to poverty, and the treasure returned to wood and stone William O Wehrle (*The Macaronic Hymn Tradition in Medieval English Literature*, Washington, D.C., 1933, p. 81) overlooks this story and attempts to explain the stanza as referring metaphorically to the miracle of the poison

burden, l. 2, stza. 1, l 4. See table in Introduction, p lxxvii. The prose from which the line is taken is in honour of St John the Baptist

106. Of St John the Evangelist.

Repr facs Reed, p 53.

stza. 1, l 3 *preuyte* secret

stza. 2, l 2 *ioke* betook, entrusted

stza. 3, l 3 *yede* went.

107. The Good Name of John

Repr facs Reed, p 23

stza. 1, l 3 The 'meaning' of the name John is frequently mentioned in medieval hymns and theological writings, e.g. St Isidore, *Etymologiae*, lib vii,

cap 1x (*Pat Lat lxxxii*, col 288) '*Joannes quodam vaticinio ex merito nomen accepit, interpretatur enim in quo est gratia, vel Domini gratia* Amplius enim eum caeteris apostolis dilexit Jesus'

stza 2, ll 1, 2 I cannot fully identify this allusion, although the symbolism of innocence is plain It does not occur in orthodox writings on St John, it may have reference to some popular tradition Compare stza 116 of Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* (Cambridge University Library, MS Mm 6 5)

And in Falisio [Faleru], as hym liste to wrighte,
Is a welle that causith eke of newe
When thei drunken oxen to be whighte
And sodenly for to change her hewe
What merveile than thoue the welle trewe,
The welle of helth and of lif eterne,
The Lorde of al so as Y can discerne?

Faliscan white cattle were valued as sacrifices (Ovid, *Amores* III xiii 3, 4, 13, 14).

1. 4. *But*; unless *pyght*. set

stza 3, l 1 *baptyst* baptism.

stza 5 The reference is perhaps to someone representing the apostle at a celebration on St. John's Day, as ll 4, 5 suggest

108. Of the Innocents

Pr C & S, *M L R* v, p 485, Whiting, p 189, Fehr, p 269

stza 1, ll 1, 2 These lines appear in App, No 11, stza 4 Compare No 125 A, stza 16, ll 1, 2. 1. 3 *aga* gone, away 1. 4 *cowth hem fray*. did kill them

stza 2, l 1 The tradition was that Herod was called to Rome directly after his interview with the Magi and was a year on the road each way Hence, when he returned, he ordered the killing of all male children of two years and under Compare Myrc's *Festial* (Part I, ed Erbe, T, E E T S, Ex Ser, No XCVI, London, 1905, p 36)

stza 3, l 1 Audelay's figure of 140,000 as the number slain is not quite the customary one The number was generally put in the Middle Ages at 144,000, in defiance of all historical possibility, by identifying the Innocents with the white-clad host of Revelation xiv. 3 Compare the Towneley Play of 'Herod the Great', ll 487-9 (ed England, G, E E T S, Ex Ser, No LXXI, London, 1897, p 180)

A hundreth thowsand, I watt / and fourty ar slayn,
And four thowsand, ther-at / me aght to be fayn,
Sich a morder on a flat / shall neuer be agayn

1. 3. *eor* their

stza 4, l 1 *crisum* in their chrisom-cloths or baptismal robes, innocent children (usually applied to those a month old or less)

stza 5, l 3 *Hent* until

stza. 6, l 4 Revelation xiv. 3.

109. Of the Innocents.

Music for two and three voices *Pr* Fehr, p 265

The carol is addressed to Herod in the same manner as the hymn 'Hostis Herodes impie'

stza 2, l 1. Perhaps from a prose of the Innocents (*Sar. Miss*, p 464, strophe 14) 'Castra militum dux iniquus aggregat ferrum figit in membra tenera'.

stza. 3, l. 4 'Thy throne is put in sorrow and woe'

110. Of the Innocents.

Music for two and three voices. *Pr*. Fehr, p 269

111. Of the Innocents

Music for two and three voices *Pr* Fehr, p 269, Sandys, p 18

stza 1, 1 1 *wylde and wode* The tradition of Herod as a raging tyrant, reflected in such phrases as this, was fostered by its dramatic value for mystery plays

112. The Mothers of the Innocents.

Music for three voices *Pr* Craig, Hardin, *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays* (EETS, Ex Ser, No LXXXVII, London, 1902), p 32, Sharp, Thomas, *A Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries* (Coventry, 1825), p 114, with music, *ibid*, pp 116-17, *Oxford Book of Carols*, Music Edition, p 44

This carol, like No 79 B, on which see note, is one of the few which are known to have been sung in the performance of a mystery play Unlike the song of the shepherds, it may have been written expressly for use in the shearmen and tailors' play Its dramatic value is certainly greater The use of a lullaby burden in this particular context is curious The similarity of the stanza-form to that of other lullaby carols makes it seem likely that the piece was written to the tune and burden of an already existing lullaby carol

stza 3, 1 3 *may* The emendation from *say* was originally made by Professor G L Kittredge

113. Of St. Thomas of Canterbury

Pr C & S, *MLR* v, p 486, Whiting, p 190

The importance of Tuesdays in the life of St Thomas is dwelt on in both prose and poetical treatments of his life, e g Herbert de Boseham's *Vita Sancti Thomae* (ed Robertson, J C, Rolls Series, London, 1877), lib iv, cap 3, the life in the *South-English Legendary* (ed Horstmann, C, p 177), ll 2458-75, and most strikingly in a fifteenth-century English hymn beginning 'Gaude, lux Londoniensis' (*Anal Hym* xxix, p 89) Each of the seven stanzas of the hymn describes an important Tuesday in Thomas's life, his birth, his summons by the King, his exile, the revelation of his future martyrdom, his official recognition as a martyr Audelay seems to be alone in ascribing his being 'shorn priest' to a Tuesday as well He was actually ordained a priest on Saturday, 2 June 1162.

Audelay, as is natural for one so solicitous of the rights of the clerical orders, exaggerates somewhat the services of Thomas to the Church, and his exposition of the points at issue is hardly the historical one

Stza 3 reflects the major crux of the 'criminous clerks' in the controversy of Thomas with the King, Becket maintaining that clergy accused of robbery, murder, felony, &c, should be tried only in ecclesiastical courts, and only for a second offence be delivered to the King's justice Stza 4 seems to be a misinterpretation of the King's policy of appropriating the revenues of vacant ecclesiastical offices

stza 2, ll 3, 4 These are an interesting parallel to the better-known lines of the ballad of 'The Hunting of the Cheviot' (Child, No 162)

stza 4, 1 4 *dangere* power, jurisdiction, with a special application to a debt or obligation

stza 5, 1 2 See note on No 114, stza 9, 1 3 1 4 The sense of the line seems to be 'May the father and mother who got and bore him be honoured in heaven' Compare No 115, stza 2, ll 1, 2.

114. Of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

a *Pr* Wright, *Wart Club*, p 66

b *Previously unpublished*

c *Previously unpublished*

d *Pr* Dyboski, p 31, Flügel, *NL*, p. 113.

The account of Becket's murder given in this carol follows fairly closely the historical facts as recorded in the early prose lives of the saint

stza. 4, l 2 *paleys* the Archbishop's Palace at Canterbury whence Becket fled to the Cathedral Compare Herbert de Boseham, lib vi, cap 1

stza 5, ll 3, 4. The calling of the Archbishop 'traitor' by the knights is recorded in various lives, together with his denial of its justice

stza 6 Becket's characteristically unselfish thought for his household and servants is noted in several lives, e.g. Herbert de Boseham, lib vi, cap iv 'sub anathemate imperiose inhiuit ne quem suorum tangerent, ne quem laederent, reuera, ni fallor, verbi Domini sui in passione memor, "Si me," inquit, "quaeritis, sinite hos abire, . . ."

stza 7, l 1 *aunter*. The altar in the NW. transept of Canterbury Cathedral See Brown, Paul A., *The Development of the Legend of Thomas Becket* (Philadelphia, 1930), pp 117-20. ll 2, 3 These gruesome details are authentic

stza 9, l 3 *poynles* The references to 'points' in this and other carols of St Thomas (Nos 113, 115) have puzzled previous editors (e.g. Wright, and Whiting, notes) In c and in No 113 their number is fifty, in a and No 115 it is fifty-two. The Constitutions of Clarendon must be what is meant, but by no method of calculation can their sixteen items be subdivided to give either of these numbers The 'fyftene tokenus' of b probably represents the intermediate stage of the erroneous tradition The error would be easy in copying Roman numerals, as would the further error of fifty for fifteen in copying longhand or in oral memory. The only other reference to 'points' in accounts of the controversy which I know is in Garnier de Pont Sante Maxence's *La Vie de Saint Thomas le Martyr* (ed Hippeau, C., Paris, 1859), pp 83-4, which tells how Thomas conferred with the Pope, spreading before him the manuscript of the Constitutions To William of Pavia's objections to his arguments Thomas answered 'mot à mot . . . ad chescun point solu'. These disposed of, Thomas

Revenert à ses poinz, cum se fust Salemons,
Disert sa cause avant, od mult beles resons,
Bién ad duré entr'els demi-jor la tençons,
Car cil li ert par tot point à point as gernons

The number of Thomas's 'points' is not specified

William O Wehrle (*The Macaronic Hymn Tradition*, p 84) takes the fifty-two points of a to include, besides the sixteen sections of the Constitutions of Clarendon, the [twenty-two] provisions of the Assize of Clarendon and 'the demands of the Council of Northampton'. But only three separate charges were made against Becket by the Council, and most of the enactments of the Assize did not concern him

115. Of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Pr Wright, *PS* xxiii, p 51.

The defacing of this carol and of No 116 in the MSS. is interesting evidence of the lengths to which the dishonouring of St Thomas was carried at the Reformation In this case it was done to a MS about half a century old.

burden See table in Introduction, p lxxxiv.

stza 3, ll 3, 4 The reference is to the revenues from vacant benefices which King Henry wished to assume Compare No. 113, stza 4.

stza 4, l 1. See note on No. 114, stza. 9, l 3. The bishops referred to are those who assented in council to the Constitutions of Clarendon

116. Of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Music for two and three voices *Pr*. Fehr, p 275

The figure of the 'good gran' as it appears in this carol, while ultimately derived

from the parable of the sower, is definitely applied to St Thomas in a Response for Vespers on the eve of his day (*Br Sar* 1, col ccxlv)

Jacet granum oppressum palea,
justus caesus pravorum framea
Caelum domo commutans lutea

The 'vineyard' figure of the burden occurs in the Versicle which follows

Cadit custos vitis in vinea
dux in castris, cultor in area

burden See table in Introduction, p lxxvii

117. Of the Nativity and New Year

a *Pr C & S, M L R v*, p 487, Whiting, p 191

b Music for two voices *Pr.*, with music, Fuller Martland, p 21, Terry, p 52.

c Music for two voices *Pr* Padelford, p 90, with music, *E B.M* 11, p 125, facs Nos lxii, lxiii, Terry, p 8, *Oxford Book of Carols*, Music Edition, p 84

The possibilities of an effective dramatic use of this carol have been several times pointed out, e.g. in *The Oxford Book of Carols*, p 51. It would seem that the original conception of the author was that the entire stanza should be sung by a soloist, representing the messenger, and the burden with its query by a chorus in regular carol-fashion. The two settings preserved, however, are for two parts throughout, and in c the last four lines of the stanza are marked as a chorus.

The spirited rhythm is so much superior to Audelay's usual metres that his original authorship must be regarded as doubtful.

stza 1, l 3. *ceure* cure, spiritual care

stza 2, l 1 *semle selcouth* seemly wonder or marvel 1 2 *burd* maiden

stza. 4, l 4 *haylsyng* embracing, salutation *coynt* quaint (with connotation of daintiness or prettiness)

118. Of the Annunciation and New Year

Music for two and three voices *Pr* Fehr, p 267

The affixing of the New Year's burden and the marking of the carol as for the Feast of the Circumcision are quite arbitrary. Whatever 'occasional' quality it has is definitely more suitable to a time before the Nativity (stza 3). The piece provides a good warning against the notion that a medieval 'Christmas carol' can be distinguished by its subject-matter.

119. Of the Circumcision.

Repr. Bliss, p 54, facs. Reed, p 41

stza 1, l 1 *hall and boure* the two principal divisions of the medieval English dwelling, hence, as here, 'all through the house'. Compare Chaucer, *Nun's Priest's Tale*, l 12

stza 5, l. 1. The 'token of love' is the shedding of Christ's blood at His circumcision as the type and promise of that blood He was to shed later on the cross.

120. What Cheer?

Pr Dyboski, p 15, Flugel, *N L*, p 123, *Fest*, p 69

The last stanza suggests that the carol was designed for use by a singer welcoming a company on behalf of their host. Compare No 13, stza. 3. The 'What cheer?' refrain is admirably effective when conceived as sung by the soloist of the verses. It is at once the cue to the assembly to join in the burden and a challenge which is pointedly repeated and answered by them in the words of the hearty burden.

The failure of the rime in the last stanza is not unparalleled in the carols. Holthausen's suggestion of 'lere' (*Anglia*, vol xvii, p 444) is possible. Dyboski (p. 173) rightly rejects Flugel's note (*Anglia*, vol xxvi, p 242).

121. Of the New Year.

Previously unpublished Not listed in Brown, *Register*

This carol is obviously designed to be sung at a festal gathering but contrasts sharply in tone with the other New Year carols. The mutability theme is common enough in carols, e.g. Nos. 382, 385-6, 388, but the democratic spirit of the last stanza is something different from the ordinary pious depreciation of worldly greatness. Like No. 141 it implies without describing a background of social and political uncertainty.

stza 3, l 3 'Little dwells in their threat'

122. Of the Epiphany.

A *Pr* C & S, *MLR* vi, p. 70, Whiting, p. 198

B *Pr* Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 79, *PS* iv, 'Christmas Carols', p. 13, Dyboski, p. 171

C *Pr* Dyboski, p. 10, Flugel, *Fest*, p. 65

For the sources of the Latin lines see table in Introduction, pp. lxxv-lxxvii

A stza 9, l 2 *prest* See note on No. 47, stza 5, l 3

123. Of the Epiphany

A. *Pr* Dyboski, p. 12, Flugel, *Fest*, p. 67

B *Pr* Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 36, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p. 52

The lack of the burden in B is possibly accidental, as the MS has been disturbed at this point. A parchment leaf, the only one in the volume, now comes before f. 13r. The missing burden would hardly be that of A but almost certainly one ending in, or at least riming with, 'Marie'. But see Introduction, p. cxxxiv.

A. stza 1, l 1 The figure of the blossom from the thorn (carelessly reversed in B) is a slight variation of the 'Rod of Jesse' and 'Root of Jesse' symbolism. Compare *Cursor Mundi* (Fairfax text), ll. 9269-72.

Iesse he [Isaiah] saide of his roting
certainly a wande sulde spring
out of þat wande a flour suld brest
atte sulde bringe vs alle to rest

A stza 2, l 1 *well* See note on No. 306. The use of a well as a figure of Christ here is related to a legend told of the Nativity in Myrc's *Festial* (Part I, ed. Erbe, T, E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser., No. XCVI, London, 1905, p. 26).

'Yn tokenyng of pys pyng, þat same day Cryst was borne yn Bedeleem, a well yn Rome of watyr turned ynto oyle and ran soo all þat day, schewyng þat þe well of grace and of mercy was borne þat day þat schuld geue grace and mercy to all þat wold come to hym perfor.'

A. stza 3, l 1 *strake* flowed l. 2 Whatever the reason for the different readings, the symbolism is valid in both versions. In A the birth of Christ is connected with the previous long captivity of Israel in Egypt. In B the allusion is to Christ's descent from the ancient line of Israel.

A stza 5 (B. stza 11) This appears as stza 4 of No. 35, on which see note

A stzas 6-8 (B. stzas 8-10). See Introduction, pp. xcvi-xcvi.

B. stza 6, l 2 *Swythe* swiftly l. 3 *vnderfonge*. receive, accept.

124. Of the Epiphany

A *Pr* Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 40; Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p. 54

B *Previously unpublished*

A stza 2 (B stza 3), l 3. The 'sun through glass' of B is, of course, the familiar figure for the conception of Christ, here given another application. The 'gold within the glass' of A has no such obvious source. The author may have been thinking of the sheen of the gold and glass of a reliquary, pyx, or other piece of ecclesiastical jewellery. Compare No. 125 A, stza. 8.

A. stza. 6. Compare Nos 35, stza 4, 123 A, stza. 5 The absence of the stanza in B suggests that it has been borrowed from one of these other carols

B. stza 7, l 1 *gryll* angry

B stza 9, l 3 *wonny* remain l 4. *Yn tyme* until

125. Of the Epiphany

A *Pr* Wright, *Wart Club*, p 49, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p 56

B a *Pr*. James & Macaulay, p 77

b *Pr* Wright, *P S*, xxiii, p 46

C *Pr* Wright, *P S* iv, 'Christmas Carols', p 23, Edmond, J P, *N & Q*, 6th Ser, vol vi, p 506, from text in Lumley's *Bibliographical Advertiser* (1841); Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cvii, p 55

This long narrative of the Epiphany appears in only one of the four preserved texts as a true carol with a burden In that case the burden is not well adapted metrically to the stanza-form C, however, begins without a heading at the top of a page of MS, and, as the preceding page in the present binding is in a different hand and contains unrelated matter, it is possible that a page with a burden has been lost The probability is that the original form of the piece was that of a song without a burden, particularly as the 'bob-and-wheel' type of stanza is not frequently combined with a burden Compare No 123, and see Introduction, pp cxxxiv-cxxxv

A burden See table in Introduction, pp lxxv-lxxvii

A stza. 8 See No 124 A, stza 2, and note thereon

A stza 16, ll 1, 2 Compare App, No 11, stza 4, and No. 108, stza 1, ll 1, 2

C stza. 11 l 5. *Bydene-a* together

126. Of the Epiphany.

Pr Dyboski, p. 1, Flugel, *N L*, p 122, *Angha*, xxvi, p 176

burden, l 2 From a Versicle in Vespers for the Eve of Epiphany, &c (*Br Sar* 1, col cccxix)

stza 4, l 1 *leme* light l 3 *barn-teme* offspring.

stza 7, l 3 The myrrh is conventionally the sign of Christ's mortality, here it has apparently been transferred to His Godhead, as the incense is assigned to His priesthood and manhood

stza 8, l 1 The suggestion of an aristocratic audience is to be noted It is not necessarily to be taken literally, it may allude to a Twelfth Night assembly in its character of the court of a King or Lord of Misrule

127. Of the Epiphany.

Pr Zupitza, p 224, notes, xciv, pp 419-20

This is an accomplished macaronic piece on the same plan as No 75

128. Of the Epiphany

Pr Zupitza, p. 225, notes, xciv, p 420

129. Of the Epiphany

Pr Zupitza, p. 226, notes, xcv, pp 259-61.

stza. 11, ll 1-4 *Ysay* This is in error for Jeremiah The reference is to Matthew 11 18 and Jeremiah xxxi 15 'Vox in excelso audita est lamentationis, luctus, et fletus Rachel plorantis filios suos, et nolentis consolari super eis, quia non sunt.'

130. Of the Epiphany

Pr Zupitza, p 236, notes, xcv, p 272

This carol, like No 131, is based on the tradition which early grew up in the Church that the visit of the Magi, the baptism of Christ in Jordan, and the

miracle of Cana all took place on the same day of the year. It is so stated in Myrc's *Festial* (Part I, ed Erbe, T, p 48)

'The pretten day aftyr his burþe, he was schewet by offryng of þre kynges, and þat same day, ix and xx^{ti} wyntyr and xiii dayes aftyr, he was folowet yn þe watyr of flem Iordan And þat same day, twelmo[n]þe aftyr, he tuinet watyr ynto wyne at þe weddyng yn þe Cane of Galyle'

Compare the Antiphon to the Magnificat in the Second Vespers of Epiphany in the modern Roman Breviary

The miracle at Cana was probably so dated because of association of the water involved in it with the baptismal water of Jordan The baptism of Christ was even more dominant in early celebration of the Epiphany than the visit of the Magi, and in the first centuries of the Western Church baptisms were usually performed on that date

stza 3, l 2 *architriclyn*. See note on No. 90, stza 2, l 1

stza. 5 Matthew iii 17, Mark i 10, 11, Luke iii. 22

131. Of Christ's Baptism.

a Music for two and three voices, by John Tiouluffe and Richard Smert. *Pr Fehr*, p 274.

b *Pr*. Dyboski, p 4, Flugel, *Angla*, xxvi, p 196

a burden Luke iv 1 (used as Gospel in the Third Nocturne on Epiphany). 'Jesus autem plenus Spiritu Sancto regressus est a Jordane'

b burden The substitution of 'Egressus est de virgine' is probably the result of some one's wish to make the carol more appropriate to Christmas Day itself It may, however, represent a reminiscence of the venerable tradition that Christ's baptism took place on the anniversary of His birth rather than on that of the visit of the Magi

stza 1 Response 7 in the third Nocturne on Epiphany (*Br Sar* I, col cccxxvi) 'Hodie in Jordane baptizato Domino aperti sunt caeli et sicut columba super eum Spiritus mansit, et vox Patris intonuit, Hic est Filius meus dilectus in quo michi complacui'

132-5. The Boar's Head Carols

The number of extant carols on the boar's head theme may seem surprisingly small in view of the amount that has been written about the custom The picturesqueness of the observance, its survival at Queen's College, Oxford, and the excellence of the traditional tune of No 132 have combined to give the carols on the boar's head a prominence out of proportion to their number.

Nos 134 and 135 are merely convivial, Nos 132 and 133, particularly the latter, show the artificial Christianizing of the custom

The emphasis on the place of the boar's head as the first course of a meal and on mustard as its accompaniment reflects definite points of medieval etiquette. See the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century bills-of-fare in Austin, Thomas, ed, *Two Fifteenth Century Cookery-Books* (E.E.T.S., Or Ser., No. 91, London, 1888), pp. 67-9, and the directions for a 'dynere of flesche' in Furnivall, F. J., ed, *The Babees Book* (E.E.T.S., Or. Ser., No. 32, London, 1868), p 48. 'Furst set forthe mustard & brawne of boore þe wild swyne' See also pp. 156, 358 Compare the *al fresco* luncheon of the shepherds in the *Towneley Plays*, xii, ll. 211-14 (ed England, G., E.E.T.S., Ex Ser., No. LXXI, London, 1897, p. 107).

'lay furth of oure store,
lo here! blowne of a bore'
'Set mustard afore,
oure mete now begyns,'

and a boar's head song of 1607 (*pr* Wright, *P S*, iv, 'Christmas Carols', p 63)

Lett this boares-head and mustard
Stand for pigg, goose and custard,
And so you are welcome all

The loss of the first leaf of St John's College, Cambridge, MS S 54, has left only the last stanza of a boar's head piece which was probably a carol (App, No 111)

The song in Bodleian Library MS. Eng. poet. e 1 (*pr* Wright, T, *P S*, xxiii, p 25) which tells how the singer has killed an attacking boar recalls the traditional account of the origin of the Queen's College custom, although the weapon in the song is a sword and not a choking volume of Aristotle In stza 2 of the song the hearers are told 'Take yow bred and musterd therto'

132. A Carol Bringing in the Boar's Head

A *Pr* Dyboski, p 33, Flugel, *N.L.*, p 123, *Fest*, p 77, C & S, p 235, Furnivall, *The Babees Book*, p 388

This version is probably earlier than B and later than No. 135, on which see notes The last stanza marks the ceremonial serving of the boar's head as a custom confined to the Christmas season The 'byrdes syngynge' of stza 1, l 2, may mean an actual garnishing of the charger with captive live birds, a procedure not too elaborate for a Tudor feast.

B *Repr* Flugel, *Anglia*, xi, p 587, *N L*, p 123, Ritson, *Ancient Songs* (1829), vol 11, p 15, (1877), p 159, &c

The note in *The Oxford Book of Carols*, p 25, is erroneous There is no music with the carol as printed by Wynkyn de Worde.

Stza 3 of this version, which changes the metre and has hackneyed common-places for ll 1 and 3, may be patched up from an imperfect recollection of the stanza which appears as the third of C. If this is the case, the stanza had probably a Latin fourth line differing from that of C, which adapts it to Queen's College Hall

C *Pr*. with music, Magrath, J R, *The Queen's College* (Oxford, 1921), vol 11, pp 240-1, &c. On this, the Queen's College, Oxford, version, see Introduction, pp lviii, cvi

It is more likely that the college adopted a well-known carol from popular circulation than that a carol originating in the college gained currency of the kind indicated by No 135 and Hill's and Wynkyn de Worde's recordings

133. A Boar's Head Carol.

Music for two and three voices. *Pr* Wright, *P S* iv, 'Christmas Carols', p 50, Flugel, *N.L.*, p 124, Ritson, *Ancient Songs* (1790), p 127, (1829), vol 11, p. 16, (1877), p 161, Sandys, p 16

The boar's head as a symbol of Christ occurs only in this carol, as far as I am aware In the better known No. 132 it is said to be served in Christ's honour, but it is not explained symbolically, as here

134. A Boar's Head Carol.

Pr Wright, *P.S* xxiii, p 42

burden, l 2. 'I' or 'We' is to be understood at the beginning *brane* brawn, boar's flesh

stza. 3. It is implied that guests will be called on to sing after this, the first, course. Compare the carol reported as sung after the King's first course, Introduction, p xx

135. A Boar's Head Carol.

Pr. Rel Ant 11, p 30; Furnivall, F. J, *The Babees Book*, p 264, &c

All the stanzas are written in the MS as belonging to one piece The original

carol, however, plainly ended with stza 3, which records the departure of the boar's head after Twelfth Day. The stanzas in a different metre which follow, with their incidental mention of the boar's head, must have been taken from another piece, to a different tune. The first part has a common source with No 132 A, stzas 1 and 3 being substantially the same except for the refrain. As they appear in this carol, without Latin or religious allusion, they are probably nearer to the ultimate original than the more artistic version of No 132, which was written down about half a century later.

The second part is a mere versifying of a medieval bill-of-fare. Recipes for some of the dishes mentioned are referred to by Furnivall, *op cit*.

The note contributed by Chappell to Furnivall, *loc cit*, calling the burden an accompaniment or undersong and not a chorus between stanzas is not justified in view of the usual carol practice and the absence of music for this piece.

stza 4, l 2 *bytternis* bittrens l 3 *snyl* snipe

stza 5, l 1 *schow* Furnivall suggests *sewe*, stew l 3 *Blwet of allmaynn* 'brouet of almayne' or 'breuet de almond', a dish of crushed almonds done up with milk *romnay* a sweet Greek wine, much drunk in the fifteenth century

stza 7, l 1 *Furmante to potttage* frumenty as a pottage, a favourite dish made of wheat and milk l 2 *hombuls of the dow* umbles or numbles of the doe, i.e. certain of the entrails of the deer used as food. This is an earlier use of the form with the *h* than any recorded by OED.

stza 8, l 1 *roow* roe, deer

136. Holly Against Ivy

A *Pr* Ritson, J., *Ancient Songs* (1790), p. 74, (1829), vol 1, p 132, (1877), p. 114, Sandys, p 1, &c.

B *Pr* Dybowski, p 116, Flugel, *Fest*, p 83, C & S, p 239, &c.

On the background of folk-lore see Introduction, pp xcvi-cii. The highly imaginative commentary of E. Stredder in *N & Q*, 8th Ser., vol ix, p 4, has received no support.

A stza 2, l 2 *wryng* suffer.

A stza 3, l 1 *kybe* chilblain

A stza 6, l 2 *poppynguy* Rather than to the parrot, as usual, the reference here must be to an English bird, probably the green woodpecker, although OED first records such use from 1612.

B stza 2, l 2 *woode-cohuer* wood-pigeon. l 3. *cakkes*. drops excrement

B. stza 3, l 3 *meyny* herd

137. In Praise of Holly

Pr Wright, *P S* xxiii, p 84, C & S, p 238.

See Introduction, p cii.

stza 3, l 2. *lepe* basket. The reference is to a punishment or forfeit. Compare the New Year's custom of Cumberland and Westmorland reported in the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1791 (vol lxi, pt ii, p 1169): '... the *Faex Populi* assemble together, carrying *stangs* [poles] and baskets. Any inhabitant, stranger, or whoever joins not this rufian tribe in sacrificing to their favourite Saint-day, if unfortunate enough to be met by any of the band, is immediately mounted across the stang (if a woman, she is basketed), and carried, shoulder height, to the nearest public-house, where the payment of six pence immediately liberates the prisoner.'

The feminine form of the punishment is obviously the appropriate one for a detractor of Holly. C. & S. rather ruthlessly gloss 'lepe' as 'noose'.

138. In Praise of Ivy

Pr Wright, *P S* xxiii, p. 85; C & S, p 236

See Introduction, p cii.

burden, l 2. See note on No 262, burden, l 2

139. In Praise of Ivy

Pr. James & Macaulay, p 83.

See Introduction, p ciii, and compare the other carols on the virtues of letteis, Nos 83, 180

stza 1, l 1 *gais* journeys, courses

stza 2, l 3. *chene* shine, prosper

stza 4, l 1 *V* pronounced, of course, as 'U'

stza 6 Is the comely lady meant to be the Virgin herself? At any rate she conforms to the tradition of female sponsorship of Ivy, and the stanza makes of the carol a *chanson d'aventure*

stza 7, l 2. *tray* deceit ll 3, 4 Compare No 138, stza 2, l 1 James & Macaulay's reading of 'burdys' must have been due to a recollection of No 136

stza 8, l 4 *botte*. help

stza 9, l 3 *tent* heed

140. Of the Purification

Pr Wight, *PS* xxiii, p 56

This is a farewell to the Christmas season which emphasizes, not the festal aspect of Candlemas like No 141, but its religious application, in which the Virgin is, of course, the central figure. It is unusual in praying for 'purification' of the individual soul, through Mary's help, and in not confining itself to the historic incident of her own ritual appearance in the Temple (Luke 11 22-4).

burden See note on No 269

141. Farewell to Christmas

Pr. Dyboski, p 18, Flugel, *N L*, p 126, *Fest*, p 72

Like No 140 this carol puts 'the end of Christmas' at Candlemas rather than at Twelfth Day. See note on No 7. Less usual in popular tradition is the notion of stza 1, l. 2 that Christmas begins as early as 'Hallowtide', i.e. the first of November.

The personification of Christmas is parallel to that in Nos 5, 6, 7, 8, to which this piece forms an interesting complement. The refrain and burden are like an echo of No 5. The whole carol implies some sort of dramatic presentation with the impersonation of Christmas by a singer. An aristocratic or at least a well-to-do gathering is the audience to which it is expressly directed.

A closely similar conception of a farewell to Christmas is the basis of the delightful seventeenth-century song for Candlemas beginning

Christmas hath made an end,

Well-a-day, well-a-day

(Ault, N, ed., *Seventeenth Century Lyrics*, London, 1928, p 324) In this song Lent is also personified as in Nos 3, 4

stza 2, ll 1, 2 Compare No 350, stza 3, ll 1, 2

stza 4, l 2 *Merchall*. See note on No 11, stza. 1, l. 2 *panter* pantryman

142. Of the Nativity.

a *Pr* James & Macaulay, p 76

b *Pr.* Robinson, J. A., and James, M. R., *The Manuscripts of Westminster Abbey* (Cambridge, 1909), p 76

Although a is provided with a 'lullay' burden, this piece is not strictly a lullaby carol. b is probably the earlier of the two texts. If stza 1 of a is to be regarded as the burden of b (this is one of the few cases where the manner of writing leaves it doubtful) the texts show the same sort of adaptation as No 157.

Brown's *Register* does not associate the two texts. There a is No. 16, b No 9.

143. Of the Virgin and Child.

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p 94; Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cvii, p 49, C & S, p 131

The metre of this, the masterpiece of the lullaby carols, makes the same effective use of the 'rest' as does 'I sing of a maiden'. One is inclined to attribute it to the same unknown author

burden, l 1. *lykyng* beloved one

stza 2, l 1 *echē* same.

144. The Virgin's Lullaby.

Music for two voices *Pr*, with music, Ritson, *Ancient Songs* (1790), p xxxviii, (1829), p liv, (1877), p xlvii

There is no satisfactory reason for attributing the authorship of the carol to Friar John Brackley, the friend of the Pastons. See Bibliography

The burden is not marked for division into lines, and the arrangement here made is an arbitrary one. The carol is probably incomplete

stza 1, l 2 *birde* maiden l 3. *of mänge* among, meanwhile 'that mornig made and' is written in Cambridge University Library MS II 4 11 at the side of the text of No. 36 a and in the hand of that carol. It may indicate that the scribe of No. 36 a knew this piece

145. Of the Virgin and Child.

a. *Pr* Wright, *P S.* xxiii, p. 50

b *Pr* Wright, *Wart. Club*, p 48

stza 1, l 2 This is a slight variation from the usual *chanson d'aventure* opening in the carols in which the singer says definitely that he saw or heard the incident described. An earlier reading 'Me thought I saw', &c., may be conjectured.

146. Of the Virgin and Child.

A Music for three voices. *Pr*. Fehr, p. 60, Sandys, p 11, with music, *Madrigals by English Composers of the Close of the Fifteenth Century* (Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, London, 1893), No 5

B. *Previously unpublished*

The two preserved versions of this carol, while differing widely in details and sharing some features with others of the lullaby-dialogue group, are yet recognizable as deriving from a common original. The grouping into longer stanzas is probably the result of adapting words of a musically simpler carol to the longer melody of a more sophisticated setting

The poverty of the Holy Family and lack of clothing for the Infant Jesus are used picturesquely in various Middle English accounts of the Nativity which aim at arousing pity after the fashion of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi*. Compare the Nativity Legend from British Museum MS Egerton 1993, ll. 585-8 (*pr* Horstmann, C, *Altenglische Legenden*, Paderborn, 1875, p. 91)

Heo nedde whar inne oure lorde winde, þo he was ibore,
Bote in feble cloutes and olde. and somme to tore,
þer inne oure ledi him wond. and bond him wiþ aliste,
And leide him on awisp of hei, þer was aþore giste.

See also the poem in National Library of Scotland MS. Advocates 18. 7. 21 and British Museum MS Harley 7322 (*pr* Brown, *R.L.* 14 C., p. 91) on the Christ Child's sufferings from cold.

The language and spelling of B show that it was written down in the North. The simile of the refrain in B appears also in Lydgate's *Life of Our Lady* (Cam-

budge University Library, MS Mm 6 5, stza 54) and in 'A Song of Love to the Blessed Virgin' in the Vernon MS, ll 95, 96 (*pr* Brown, *R L 14 C.*, p 178)

Heo is of colour and beute

As fresch as is þe Rose In May

It is applied to the Virgin's tears of blood in the 'De arte lacrimandi', stza 71, ll 5, 6 (see note on No 161) Compare Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women*, l 613

A stza 1, l 15. *pay* liking

B stza 1, l 6 *powaret* poverty

B stza 2, l 3 *hap* wrap

B stza 4, l 5 *clas* clothes *yarn* yearn (for), desire l 6 *Bot wat* but *rowght* reached, obtained

B stza. 6, l 6. *dere* injure

B stza 7, ll 1-3 The meaning is somewhat obscure It may be 'It shall fall to the truest out of all the apostles (i.e. John) to dwell with you' ll 4-6 Adam will be rescued with the other patriarchs by Christ's harrowing of hell

B stza 9, ll 5, 6 Christ will rise on the third day after His betrayal The author apparently regards the betrayal as belonging to the same day as the Crucifixion

147. The Christ Child to His Mother.

Previously unpublished

The burden represents Mary as speaking, the stanzas Jesus The carol appears to be of Northern origin.

stza 3, l 4 *whake* quake

stza. 4, ll 1, 3 *besett* employed, expended

148. Of the Virgin and Child

A *Pr* Wright, *Wart Club*, p 46, *P S 1v*, 'Christmas Carols', p 8

B *Pr* James & Macaulay, p. 83

The changed rhythm in the stanzas beginning with 'Lullay' in both A and B suggests that the carol is made from two earlier pieces The burden as found in A is better as regards both language and sense than in B The burden of B has been made by incorporating a part of the first stanza with the initial line of the original burden Compare Nos 23, 142, 157

A stza 6, l 2 *schour* assault

A stza 9, l 1. This line appears as the burden of No 155, on which see notes.

149. Of the Virgin and Child.

a *Pr* Brown, *R.L. 14 C.*, p 70

b. *Pr*. James & Macaulay, p 72

c. *Pr* Sandison, p 103.

d *Pr* Mayer, sheet 1

The long Northern version a of this carol, which is in the earliest MS, is probably the original from which the other texts are abridged. The MSS of b and d give no indication that their scribes had any idea of writing more, but c was apparently not finished by its writer Miss Sandison's note (loc cit) describes the MS. accurately: 'Sufficient space is left at the foot of the page for at least one strophe, this part of the page is badly rubbed, as if a few more lines, including another *lull* in the margin, have been erased'

stza. 9, l 2 *wone* delay

stza 19, stza. 30, ll 1, 2. Luke 11. 34-5 '... Ecce positus est hic in ruinam, et in resurrectionem multorum in Israel, et in signum cui contradicetur, et tuam ipsius animam pertransibit gladius, ut revelentur ex multis cordibus cogitationes'

stza 21, l 2 *sterue* (?) die. Emendation to 'suerue' (as in Brown) improves the sense.

stza 24, l 2 *fawen* eager *fonde* tempt, prove.

stza 28, l. 3. *bales bete*. relieve miseries.

150. Of the Virgin and Child

- A *Pr. Rel Ant.* II, p 76
 B *Pr Wright, P S* xxiii, p 12, C. & S., p 121
 C *Pr Dyboski*, p 25, *Flugel, N L.*, p 120, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 250
 D Music for three voices *Pr. Flugel, Anglia*, xii, p 270, *N.L.*, p. 119, with music, Terry, p 60, *Oxford Book of Carols*, Music Edition, p 82 *Flugel* divides the stanzas wrongly, apparently misunderstanding the nature of the burden.
 A stza 3, l 3 *to pey* acceptably.
 A stza 4, l 6 *hape* wrap.
 A. stza 6, l 4. *dray* draw, go l. 5 *schwl* shalt.
 A. stza 7, l 4. *skylle* reason, judgement
 D stza. 2, l 1 *bayne* willing
 D stza 6, ll. 3, 4 See note on No 85

151. Of the Virgin and Child.

- A. *Pr Wright, P S* xxiii, p. 19.
 B Music for two and three voices *Pr* (in part) *Ritson, Ancient Songs* (1877), p xlviii
 C. *Pr Mayer*, sheet x
 A stza 6, l 4 *to-bete* beaten
 A stza 8, ll 4-6 *Matthew xxvii 46, Mark xv 34*
 A. stza 9, l 2 *aby* atone l 3. *blo* pale.
 B stza 5, l. 1 *Dolles to dreye*. pains to endure l 5 *bals to bethe* miseries to relieve
 B stza 6, l 2. *thrwll* pierce

152. A Dialogue of the Virgin and Child

- a *Pr Dyboski*, p. 21, *Flugel, Fest*, p 73, *Anglia*, xxvi, p. 247
 b *Pr MacCracken, H N*, *Modern Language Notes*, xxiv, p 225
 c *Previously unpublished*

The arrangement presented by c of alternate stanzas in one piece from a Latin hymn and an English carol is unparalleled elsewhere, as far as I know. No indication is given as to whether, or how, the resulting composition was meant to be sung.

153. Of the Virgin and Child.

- Pr. Dyboski*, p 23, *Flugel, N.L.*, p 119, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 249

There are two variations from the regular rime-scheme in this carol Stza. 2, l 4, which repeats the end-word of the preceding line, is probably due to a blunder in copying The last stanza has six lines, cross-rimed, with a final couplet. It may be borrowed wholly or in part from another piece on the same subject.

154. A Dialogue of the Virgin and Child.

- Pr. Zupitza*, p. 321, notes, xcvii, pp 139-40.

The use of 'alone' as a single refrain-word in each stanza of this carol is effective and well managed. Compare Nos 63, 159, 160, 249, 281.

155. A Lullaby for the Christ Child.

- a. *Pr. Brown, R.L 14 C*, p 80
 b *Pr Heuser, W.*, *Die Kuldare-Gedichte* (Bonner Beitrage zur Anglistik, vol xvi, 1904), p 211 Heuser prints the carol in a form that is not justified by the MS. and that obscures the true structure He takes the burden to be an integral part of each stanza and prints it as the first two lines of each. The bracketing of the stanzas in the MS. shows that the regular carol-form was intended by the writer

This carol is unique among the lullabies in being addressed to the infant Christ by the author as spokesman for sinful mankind. Its burden is taken from the melancholy lullaby found among the Kildare poems (British Museum MS Harley 913, f. 32r, *pr* Brown, *RL 14 C*, p. 35) of the earlier part of the same century, or from a common source. It also appears as stza 9, l. 1 of No. 148 A. See Introduction, pp. cxxiv-cxxv, and Budd, F. E., *A Book of Lullabies 1300-1900* (London, 1930) pp. 2, 3. The carol, although in the shorter line and tail-rime stanza, has much of the same fine austerity of spirit mingled with real tenderness.

stza. 3, l. 2 *res* rash or impulsive action

156. A Dialogue of the Virgin and Child

Pr Zupitza, p. 263, notes, xcv, pp. 403-5.

157. Of the Passion.

A *Repr. facs.* Reed, p. 49

B *Pr* Wright, *PS* xxiii, p. 38

C *Pr* Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 65, *PS* iv, 'Christmas Carols', p. 10

D *Pr* Brown, *RL 14 C*, p. 85

On the comparative structure of the different versions of this carol see Introduction, pp. cxxxv-cxxxvi

A, C stza. 1, l. 4 (B, l. 1, D l. 4). Compare ll. 310-11 of the Digby Play of 'The Burial of Christ' (ed. Furnivall, F. J., E. E. T. S., Ex. Ser., No. LXX, London, 1896, pp. 181-2)

From the Crowne of the hede vnto the too,

This blessit body was wrappit all in woo

A stza. 3, l. 3 *blo* pale

B stza. 1, l. 1 *wappyd* wrapped, but see OED, *s v* 'Wap', *v^t* 1. b.

B stza. 7, l. 3 *wake* (?) track, trace. 'Not found before the 16th c., but possibly much older,' OED

B stza. 8, l. 2 *wan we not mon* when we may not (help ourselves).

D l. 8 *blent* blinded.

D l. 24 *walle* boil (figurative)

D. l. 26 *me ne routh* I should not reckon.

D l. 29 *lake* 'dungeon'

158. The Sorrowing Mary.

Pr Dyboski, p. 13, Flugel, *NL*, p. 112, *Anglia*, xxvi, p. 240

The burden is almost identical with that of No. 157 B, and stza. 1 is a rearrangement of stza. 2 of No. 157 C

The carol is a dialogue between Mary and St. John the Evangelist, who speak alternate stanzas, although St. John is not named. See Thien, Hermann, *Über die englischen Marienklagen* (Kiel, 1906), p. 46.

159. The Sorrowing Mary.

Pr Zupitza, p. 277, notes, xcvi, pp. 169-70.

This is a conventional presentation of the *planctus Mariae* theme. It is not listed by Taylor, G. C., 'The English "Planctus Mariae"' in *Modern Philology*, vol. iv, pp. 605-37

For the use of the word 'alone' compare Nos. 63, 154, 160, 249, 281.

stza. 2, l. 1 *An* Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas, the High Priest, who was a former holder of that office and still retained influence

stza. 4, l. 3 *watre and blood* See note on No. 180 A, stza. 4, l. 4.

160. The Sorrowing Mary.

Pr. Zupitza, p 280, notes, xcvi, p 172.

Not listed by Taylor, op cit

For the use of the word 'alone' compare Nos. 63, 154, 159, 249, 281.

stza. 3, ll 1, 2 See note on No. 149, stzas 19, 30

stza 4, l. 1 See note on No 180 A, stza 4, l 4

161. Who Cannot Weep, Come Learn at Me

a. *Pr.* Brydges, Sir Egerton, *Censura Literaria* (London, 1805-9), x, p 186

b *Pr* Furnivall, F J, *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ* (E E T S., Or. Ser., No 24, London, 1867), p 126

The carol is a *planctus Mariae*, No xvii in the list of Taylor, op cit The refrain also appears as the refrain of some stanzas of the 'De arte lacrimandi' (Brown, *Register*, No 1437, *pr* from British Museum MS Harley 2274 by Garrett, R M, *Anglia*, vol xxxii, pp 270-94)

stza 1, l 2 *enchesone* occasion, cause l 6 *bobbid* buffeted

stza. 2, l 4 *ihwarted* opposed (in speech), retorted.

stza. 3, l 1 *rulye* pitifully

stza. 4, l. 8. *laye* strain, purport. OED first records from 1529

162. Of the Passion

Pr Dyboski, p 41, Flugel, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 263

The burden appears as the first stanza of a poem on the Hours of the Passion in Cambridge University Library MS Ee 1. 12, f 1 v. (preceding Ryman's works)

I hard a maydyn wepe

For here Sonny's passyon,

Yt enterd into my hart full deipe

Wyth grete contricion

At the foot of the page the stanza is again written with a crudely noted melody The last few words have been cut off by a binder The rest of the poem is not verbally related to this carol.

163. The Sorrowing Mary

a *Pr.* Dyboski, p 40, Flugel, *Anglia*, xxvi, p. 262, C & S, p. 142

b *Repr* Bliss, p 51, *fac*s Reed, p 32

See Thien, *Über die englischen Marienklagen*, p 20 The piece is No xviii in the list of Taylor, op cit.

The second line of the burden is one of the few phrases of the manuscript carols which are found in recognizable form in recorded traditional folk-song. In a Shropshire version of the folk-song 'The Seven Virgins' Mary says:

While I do see my own son die

When sons I have no more?

(*Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, vol. v, p 22, stza. 7)

stza 2, l. 1 *Shere Thursday* Maundy Thursday.

stza. 3, l 4 *Crucyfyge* Mark xv, 13, 14; Luke xxiii. 21; John xix 15

stza. 5, l. 2 Matthew xxvii 54. The 'how it was the erth quaked' of b is an easy mistake in written transmission, less likely in oral It is an indication that the Kele text was taken from a MS. copy rather than from oral tradition, unless it be a mere printer's error

164. Of Our Lady and her Son.

*Repr fac*s Reed, p 35

This carol is a true *planctus Mariae*, it has been published since the works of Thien and Taylor.

burden, l 1 Compare the burden and *chanson d'aventure* opening of the song in British Museum MS Addit 5465, f 49 r. (*pr* Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cvi, p 59)

Alone, alone, alone, alone,
Alone, alone, alone
Here sytt alone, alas, alone

As I me walkyd this endurs day, &c

As there set the song is not a carol, but the words could be set as one and may previously have been so.

165. Of the Passion.

Music for three voices by Gilbert Banastir *Pr* Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cvi, p 64

The burden presents a variation of the *chanson d'aventure* formula applied to a dream. It is well related to the stanzas by the last three lines of the carol. The words of the burden appear as those of a sixteenth-century canon or round for three voices in Sir John Hawkins's *A General History of Music* (London, 1776), vol 11, p 378. See notes on No 473.

Taylor ('The English Planctus Mariae' in *Modern Philology*, vol 14, p 611) discusses this carol as a *planctus*. His charge that it is 'very confused and obscure in design if read as a poem and not as a song adapted to singing by three persons' is misleading. The text is clear enough, and the words are not apportioned to the three voices in any dramatic manner. He adds that it has some kind of relation to 'Who cannot wepe com lerne of me' (No 161). The similarity between the two pieces is in fact one of theme and tone only, there are no verbal resemblances, and St John does not appear in the other poem. He apparently confuses No 161 with the 'De arte lacrimandi' (see notes on No 161).

Gilbert Banastir, the composer (c 1445-97), was a Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal. For an account of his life see Grattan Flood, W. H., *Early Tudor Composers* (London, 1925), pp 13-16, where this piece is strangely called a secular song.

stza 1, l 3 *shyfft*. (p ple) set, placed ll. 9, 10 An allusion to the prophecy of Simeon, Luke 11 35

stza 4, ll 2, 3 The augmenting of Christ's torture by the sudden dropping of the cross into its socket is dwelt on in a number of medieval accounts of the Crucifixion, e.g. the 'De arte lacrimandi', stza. 34, ll 9-11 (see note on No 161)

Into a mortesse withouten more
The cros and hym born vp they
They lat down dassh allas ther for

1 3 *to-raff* shattered

166. Christ's Account of His Passion.

Pr Dyboski, p 19; Flugel, *N L.*, p. 121, *Angha*, xxvi, p 246

The stanzas of this carol form a more or less conventional address of Christ to sinful man, but the burden is addressed to the Virgin and is cast in the future tense. It seems probable that the burden was borrowed from a piece of the 'cradle-prophecy' type like No. 151. Stza 8, l 4, which is similarly out of its proper context, may be an intrusion from the same source.

Stzas 11 and 12 use the repetitive device of folk-song.

167. Of the Passion.

Previously unpublished.

burden, l. 1. *mane* meinie, followers, i.e. Christians

stza 3, l. 1 'Judas wore (cloth) of Cyprus bold' Perhaps the last word should be 'gold', as 'Cyprus' was often applied to cloth of gold or to fine fabric with

which gold was used for ornament See OED, *s v* 'Cypress', 3. 1 2. *To honde*
Into the hands of

stza. 6, l 4 See note on No 180, stza 4, l 4.

stza 7, l 1 *Longis* Longinus, the legendary name of the Roman soldier who
pierced the side of Christ with his spear (John xix 34).

stza 8 The legend tells how Longinus was cured of a disease of the eyes by
a drop of the holy blood and was converted

168. Think on Christ's Passion.

Pr. Wright, *Wart Club*, p 61, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p 62.

stza 2, l 1 Compare No 357 for similar use of the imperative at the beginning
of stanzas

stza 7, l 3 *Hely* i.e. 'Eloi', Mark xv 34, Matthew xxvii 46 'Et hora nona
exclamavit Jesus voce magna, dicens, "Eloi, Eloi, lamma sabacthani?"'

169. Of the Passion.

Pr. Wright, *Wart Club*, p 81, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p 67

stza. 2, l 1 *skele* reason

stza. 4, l 1. *kerche* handkerchief

170. The Cold Wind

Previously unpublished. Not listed in Brown, *Register*

Compare No 171, in which the same image of a wind is introduced in the burden
of a carol on the Passion.

stza 4, l 1 *halyd* drawn

stza. 6, l 3 *smert* adj., stinging, aching

stza 9, l 3. The text of this line is certainly corrupt The emendation I have
made seems to offer the best solution.

171. Christ Tells of His Passion

Repr facs. Reed, p 12.

With the burden compare that of No 170, with l 4 the refrains of No 147.
The method of abbreviating the burden between stanzas is unusual.

stza 5, l 1 *splayed* spread

stza 6, l 4 *made an ende was al* John xix 30: 'Consummatum est'

172. Mary and Her Flower

a *Pr* C & S., *MLR* vi, p 74, Whiting, p 202, [Haberly, Loyd], *Alia*
Cantaleña de Sancta Maria (Long Crendon, Bucks, 1926)

b. *Pr* Dyboski, p 6, Flugel, *N.L.*, p. 115, *Fest*, p 60

Audelay's version is the better of the two and seems to be the earlier b substitutes
clichés in stza 6, ll. 5, 6, and stza. 7, ll 1, 2, where Audelay's final stanza
has a complete and pretty conception

burden, l 2 The likening of the lineage of the Virgin to a tree with Jesse for
root is familiar in ecclesiastical art, as in the 'Jesse windows'. The ultimate
source is Isaiah xi Compare No. 311, stza 5, l 3.

stza 1, ll 3, 4. Audelay uses these lines again in No 311, stza. 6.

stza 2, l 4 See note on No. 49, stza. 3, l 2 In spite of the 'ingressus'
of Luke 1 28, medieval pictorial art often shows the Annunciation as taking
place out of doors or in a garden (in allusion to the 'hortus clausus' of Canticles
iv 12.

stza. 3, l 5. *Hent* until.

stza 4, l. 2 *bede* form a bead or bud 1 3 *lede* nation.

stza 6, l 1 *of ryse* on branch, or bush 1. 2. Compare *Meditations on the*

Life and Passion of Christ (ed D'Evelyn, C, E E T S, Or Ser, No 158, London, 1921), ll 95-8

Thow, clene mayde wipoute viole,
 Art likned to þe premerole
 Whan floures weron welked and al y-gone,
 Lyk prymerole þou sprang alone

l 5 *hele* health, healing virtue

173. Mary the Rose

Music for two voices *Pr.*, with music, Fuller Martland, p 27, Terry, p 56

See Introduction, p lxxxii

In its frequent use of the rose as a symbol for the Virgin, the Church applied to her the words of Ecclesiasticus xxiv 18 'Quasi palma exaltata sum in Cades, et quasi plantatio rosae in Jericho'

174. Mary, the Rose.

Pr Zupitza, p 187, notes, xciii, pp 393-5

stza 3, l 2 The use of the lily as the symbol of Christ may be influenced by the frequent inclusion of that flower in pictorial representations of the Annunciation, where it is primarily the sign of Mary's purity For the fleur-de-lys as symbol of Christ see also No 48 and note thereon

stza. 5, l 2 *foode* spiritual food

175. Mary, the Rose

A *Pr* Wright, *P S* xxiii, p 21

B *Pr* Dyboski, p 7, Flugel, *N L*, p 116, *Fest*, p. 62, *Anglia*, xxvi, p. 232

C. *Pr* Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 16, C & S, p 103

The five 'branches' represent the Five Joys of the Virgin A is plainly the nearest to the original of the three texts C has lost two stanzas, and the symbolism is consequently less clear B, on the other hand, adds a sixth 'branch' in its last stanza as the sign of all the Joys collectively

A stza 4, l 3. *lemeghd* gleamed

A. stza 5, l 2 *to* the

A stza 7, l 3 *ball* bale, sorrow. *bott* boot, help

B stza 7, l 2. *tope* (C stza 6 *crop*) and *vote* entirely, completely 1. 4. *in preestes hondes* 1 e as the Host, when it is shown by the priest in the Mass

176. Mary, the Rose.

Music for two voices *Pr* Padelford, p 90, with music, *E B M* II, p 108, facs. No 1, Terry, p 10

burden, l 2 Compare burdens of Nos 56, 94, 319.

stza 1, l 1 *railed on a rys* set or arrayed on a bush.

stza 4, l 2 *shoure* attack

177. To the Virgin.

Pr. C. & S, *M L R* vi, p 75, Whiting, p 205

stza. 1, l 1 *berd so bryght* a stock epithet for Mary, borrowed from secular romance.

stza 5, l 2 See note on No 306 1 4 *hal*. The emendation seems to be necessary, 'hall' for heaven is frequent in ME Whiting retains 'bal' and glosses 'world, sphere', a sense not recorded by OED as applied to heaven.

178. To the Virgin

Pr Dyboski, p 2; Flugel, *N L*, p 111, *Fest.*, p 53, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 189

The Latin burden appears in partial translation as the last stanza of Audelay's

carol to St. Anne, No 311 1 1 of the burden appears in burden, 1 2, and refrain Ryman's No 195.

The salutations 'Fayre maydyn,' and 'Sir,' and the dramatic dialogue form show imitation of the *pastourelle* type of secular poetry with its encounter and dialogue between knight or clerk and maiden

179. To the Virgin.

Music for two voices *Pr* Padelford, p 95, with music, *E B M* 11, p 121, facs. No. lx; Terry, p 26.

stza 1, 1 1 *birth* the one born, child

stza 5, 1 3 *Justyse* Compare No 98, stza 3, 1 3, No 209, stza 8, 1 1, and No 361, stza. 1, 1 2.

stza. 6, 1 3 *berde of ble* maiden of (fair) visage

180. Of Mary and the Letters of her Name.

A *Pr* Wright, *P S.* xxiii, p 31

B *Pr* Wright, *Wart Chub*, p 69, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p 64

For the use of initial letters in carols compare Nos 83, 139. The use of two pairs of letters in 1. 2 of each stanza as an internal refrain is essentially the same device as appears in the rather puzzling 'O and I' refrain-formulas of other ME. lyrics. See notes on No 83, and No. 357, stza. 1, and, for comment and other texts, Heuser, W, *Anglia*, vol xxvii, pp 283-319 A similar device appears also in Latin lyrics of the same period, e.g. Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, vol. 1, No 327, stza 5

O et A et A et O
cum cantibus in choro,
Cum canticis et organo
benedicamus domino.

In Nos 328, 329, *ibid*, the corresponding line is 'O et 1 et e et o' See also Raby, F. J. E, *A History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1934), vol 11, pp. 329-30

stza 1, 1 1. The reading of B is obviously the result of misunderstanding, probably oral 'Purposy' is not elsewhere recorded by OED. It is possible that the writer is using it with the sense of 'purport, importance'.

A stza 2, 1 1 *wem* stain

A stza 4, 1 4 *terys of blod* Mary's weeping of blood is a detail which frequently occurs in ME. accounts of the Passion, e.g. in Nos 159, 160, and in *The Northern Passion* (ed Foster, Frances A, E E T.S., Or. Ser., No. 145, London, 1913, vol. 1, p. 204, Additional text), ll 1747-50

Oure lady herde thies wordis swete
and teris of blode scho gane downe lete
all was hir face by rowne with blode
whene scho by helde Ihesu one the rode

The Harleian text has (l 1750) 'Pat water and blude both scho gret' The tradition is probably due to a wish to provide a parallel to the water and blood which flowed from the side of Christ (John xix. 34).

181. Of Christ and His Mother.

Previously unpublished

stza. 1, 1. 3. *beldyt* took his abode. *bygly*. habitable, pleasant

stza. 2, 1. 3. *mwolde* enveloped.

stza 3, 1. 2. *conclaue* inner chamber. 1. 4. *bedene* together.

stza. 4, 1 4 *sele* prosperity, good fortune

182. Of the Virgin.

Music for two voices *Pr* Padelford, p 108, with music, *E.B.M.* 11, p 147, facs. No lxxix

This, like some of Ryman's carols of the Virgin, is a mere catalogue of the familiar 'types'.

stza. 1, l. 4. *lay* teaching.

stza 2, l 4 *Adonay* The Old Testament Hebrew name for the Deity which is substituted in reading for the Ineffable Name, Yahve Compare Exodus vi 3, Judith xvi. 16, where it appears in the Vulgate.

183. Of the Virgin.

Pr Dyboski, p 2, Flugel, *N L*, p 126, *Fest.*, p 54, *Angha*, xxvi, p 190.

The burden also appears as that of No 41

The refrain of the stanzas has the air of having been taken over from an amorous lyric Stza 3, l. 1 has the same ring

stza 1, ll 1, 2 Compare 'A Song of Love to the Blessed Virgin' from the Vernon MS (*pr* Brown, *R L 14 C*, p 178), ll 9, 10

So hertly I haue I-set my þouȝt

Vppon þat buyrde of buyrdes best

184. Of the Virgin.

Pr Wright, *P S.* xxiii, p 49

burden, l 1 *asay* try, i.e. apply yourself to seek help from Mary Compare the burden of No 359

stza. 1, l. 3. *colowre* reason.

stza. 2, l 3 *strowne in every schowr* strewn (i.e. present) in every distress

stza 3, l 1 *cundas* kind, gentle

185. To the Virgin.

A *Pr* Wright, *Wart. Club*, p 71, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p 64, Padelford, p 92

B. Music for two voices *Pr* Padelford, p 91, with music, *E.B.M.* 11, p. 110, facs. No lu

A stza 2 (B stza 3), l 1 *brytgh of ble* fair of countenance l 3 *A chosyn*, *B cosyn* A gives the better reading, but B is acceptable, 'cousin' meaning merely 'next of kin' See OED, *s.v.* 'Cousin', 1b.

A. stza 4, l 2 *buxsum* submissive

186. To the Virgin

Music for two and three voices. *Pr* Fehr, p 265, with music, *Mus. Ant.*, p 21, Padelford, p 92.

stza. 2, l 1. *se* throne

187. To the Virgin

A *Previously unpublished*

B *Pr* Dyboski, p 49, Flugel, *Angha*, xxvi, p 274

B appears to be a later abridgement of A The substitution of the refrain 'Gloria tibi, Domine' for the Latin fourth lines destroys the rime with the burden and generally weakens the effectiveness of the piece.

A. stza. 3, l. 2 *crache* crib

A. stza 5, l. 1. *wemme* stain.

188. Of the Virgin.

Pr Wright, *Wart. Club*, p 23, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p 48, C & S, p 108

stza 3, l 2 *bote* goodness l 3 *bote* help

189. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p 172, notes, xciii, pp. 299-307.

stza. 2, l. 1. The explicit use of Ahasuerus as a type of Christ is much less frequent than that of Esther as a type of the Virgin

190. To the Virgin.

Music for two voices *Pr* Padelford, p 109, with music, *E B.M* ii, p 151, facs. No lxxxii

stza 3, l 4 *buron* burgeon.

stza 4, l 1 *orient lyght* Compare No. 279, stza 1, where Ryman applies this figure to Christ

191. To the Virgin.

A *Pr. E B M* ii, p 65, facs. No xxviii

B a *Previously unpublished* (Collated with B b, C & S, p 346.)

b *Pr.* Morris, R, *An Old English Miscellany* (E.E.T.S., Or Ser, No 49, London, 1872), p. 194, C & S, p 92, Patterson, p 96, &c

The process of turning an already existing poem in another form into a carol, seen here as in No. 157, is probably responsible for a number of the other carols of which the older originals have not been preserved For another poem to Mary in the same stanza-form as B, see C & S, p 89, Patterson, p 66

A burden See table in Introduction, p lxvi

B stza 3, l 1. *consell* counsellor.

B stza. 4, l 6 *Thuster* dark.

B stza 5, l. 3 *werne* deny *bone* request l. 8 *put* pit

192. To the Virgin.

Pr Zupitza, p 173, notes, xciii, pp 307-13

stza 1, l 1 *Ezekiel* xlv 1-3 l. 2 *Daniel* ii 34-5

stza 2, l 1 *III Kings* x 18-20 l. 2 *Judges* vi 37-40

stza. 3, ll 1, 2 *Exodus* iii 2

stza 4, l 1. *Numbers* xvii

193. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 174, notes, xciii, pp. 313-17.

stza. 2, l 3 *florent* blossoming Not recorded before 1542 in OED.

stza. 3, l 1 *leasure* Zupitza notes 'leasure, das durch Vermittelung des Französischen vom lat *laesura* [hurting, injuring] kommen muss, finde ich weder in englischen noch in französischen Wörterbüchern' It is possibly Ryman's coinage for 'leasing', lying, the phrase being the familiar one for emphasis

stza 5, l 2 *Decapitate*. Not recorded before 1610 in OED Zupitza notes. 'bei Skeat erst aus Cotgrave belegt.'

194. To the Virgin.

Pr Zupitza, p 175, notes, xciii, pp 317-26.

stza. 6, l 3 *lowte* bow down

stza 7, l. 2 *serpentes*. i.e. of Holofernes as the type of Satan.

195. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p 176, notes, xciii, pp 326-8.

burden, l 2 See note on No 178, burden

196. To the Virgin

Pr. Zupitza, p 177, notes, xciii, pp. 328-30.

197. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p 178, notes, xciii, pp 330-3.

stza 3, l 1 *skulle* sense of the proper or fitting

stza 4, l 1 *coost* region, part of the world

198. To the Virgin

Pr. Zupitza, p 179, notes, xciii, pp 334-8

burden. Zupitza notes Daniel, *Thes Hym*, vol II, p 319

Vale, o valde decora,

Et pro nobis Christum exora

199. To the Virgin

Pr. Zupitza, p 180, notes, xciii, pp 369-74

stza 7, l 1 *flos campi* Canticles II 1 'Ego flos campi et lilium convallium'

stza 9, l 3 *trichlyne* Lat *trichnium*, a couch for reclining at meals OED gives this as the only citation for figurative use in English

200. To the Virgin

Pr. Zupitza, p 181, notes, xciii, pp 374-7

burden, l 1 From the Office of the Mass of the Virgin from the Purification to Septuagesima (*Sar. Miss*, p. 389).

201. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p 182, notes, xciii, pp 378-9.

202. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p 183, notes, xciii, pp 379-80

203. Of the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p 188, notes, xciii, pp 395-8

stza 2, ll 1, 2 Esther I 12 l. 3 *pruat* deprived. ll 4-6 Esther v 2.

stza 4, ll 1, 2 The first plague of Egypt, Exodus vii 20 ll 3-6 See note on No. 180 A, stza 4, l 4.

204. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p 280, notes, xcvi, p. 173

The next poem after this in Ryman's MS, 'O emperesse, the emperoure' (*pr.* Zupitza, p 282), uses the same stanza-form and the same refrain but has no burden

205. To the Virgin

Pr. Zupitza, p 283, notes, xcvi, pp 175-7

This carol is followed in the MS. by the colophon which names Ryman as the author (f 80 r.)

'Explicit liber ymptorum et canticorum quem composuit Frater Iacobus Ryman ordinis Minorum ad laudem omnipotentis dei et sanctissime matris eius marie omniumque sanctorum anno domini millesimo cccc^{mo} LXXXXII^o'
The first C and the L in the date have been erased.

206. To the Virgin.

Pr Wright, *P S.* xxiii, p 32

burden See table in Introduction, p lxxxv.

stza 4, l. 1. *whyght* wight, creature l 3. *in ech degre* in each station of life.

207. To the Virgin

Pr Zupitza, p 278, notes, xcvi, pp 170-2

stza. 6, l 2. *subsidie* help.

208. To the Virgin.

Pr Zupitza, p 295, notes, xcvi, pp. 320-1

stza 1, l 1 *florigerat* flower-bearing Not in OED l 3 *desiderat* desired. OED does not record as adjective before 1640

stza 7, l. 1 *ierarchies*: the three hierarchies comprising the nine orders of angels according to the formulation commonly attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite

209. To the Virgin.

Pr Zupitza, p. 297, notes, xcvi, pp 321-2.

stza 8, l. 1 *that hugh Justyse* Compare No 98, stza 3, l 3, No 179, stza 5, l 3, and No 361, stza 1, l 2

210. To the Virgin

Pr Zupitza, p 298, notes, xcvi, pp 322-3

stza 3, l 1. *Holofernes*. Judith xiii 8-10.

stza 4, l. 1 *Aman*. Esther vii. 10

211. To the Virgin.

Pr Zupitza, p. 299, notes, xcvi, pp 323-4.

212. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 312, notes, xcvi, p 134

213. To the Virgin

Repr facs Reed, p 62.

The carol is incomplete at the end It is a free paraphrase of the antiphon 'Salve regina, mater misericordiae'. See p. lxxxv, and Reed's note, p 89. It does not, however, resemble the antiphon in form The burden is made from the first two lines of the antiphon.

stza. 1, l. 3 *kynd* nature *grop*. take, assume, with the further connotation of understanding.

stza. 4, l 3. *floure on felde* the 'flos campi' of Canticles ii. 1.

214. To the Virgin.

Pr Zupitza, p. 335, notes, xcvi, pp. 149-50.

215. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 311, notes, xcvi, pp. 132-3

216. To the Virgin.

Pr Zupitza, p 312, notes, xcvi, p 133.

217. To the Virgin

Pr. Zupitza, p. 320, notes, xcvii, pp. 138-9

This carol is composed of verses which appear in Nos. 208, 209, with the refrain-lines replaced by lines of English text

stza. 1, l. 1 *florigerat*, l. 3 *desiderat* see notes on No. 208

218. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 319, notes, xcvii, pp. 137-8

For the sources of the Latin lines see table in Introduction, p. lxxxv.

219. To the Virgin

Pr. Zupitza, p. 323, notes, xcvii, p. 140.

stza. 2, l. 2 *bone* request

stza. 3, l. 1 *mace* sceptre.

220. To the Virgin

Pr. Zupitza, p. 327, notes, xcvii, pp. 143-4

The internal rimes of this and the two following carols are unusual in this stanza-form and show Ryman's interest in metrical experiment.

221. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 328, notes, xcvii, p. 144

222. To the Virgin

Pr. Zupitza, p. 328, notes, xcvii, p. 144

223. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 328, notes, xcvii, p. 144.

224. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 329, notes, xcvii, p. 145.

stza. 1, l. 1 See note on No. 199, stza. 9, l. 3

225. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 330, notes, xcvii, pp. 145-6

226. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 331, notes, xcvii, pp. 146-7

227. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 331, notes, xcvii, p. 147.

228. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 332, notes, xcvii, pp. 147-8.

229. To the Virgin.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 334, notes, xcvii, p. 149

230. Of the Five Joys of Mary

a *Pr* Dyboski, p 65, Flugel, *Fest*, p. 56, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 226

b *Pr* C & S, *M.L.R.* vi, p 74, Whiting, p 203.

The carol is based on a hymn of the Five Joys, 'Gaude virgo, Mater Christi' (*Horae Eboracenses, Publications of the Surtees Society*, vol cxxxii, Durham, 1920, p 63) It is not a translation, however.

Audelay's original authorship must be regarded as doubtful. It is noticeable that this is the only carol in his MS. to use this verse-form

a stza. 1, 1 5 *withowt blyn* without fail b *wene* doubt

a stza. 2, 1 1. *yglent* made radiant.

b stza 1, 1 2 *emne* Whiting (p 254) glosses as 'equal', adding, 'The reading is not very satisfactory from the point of view either of meaning or of rhyme' Chambers & Sidgwick (*M L R* vi, p 83) had suggested 'ene', lamb The later MS of a, which gives the better reading 'of the I mene', doubtless represents the correct version. The 'thynemne' of Audelay's MS. is probably a scribal blunder which escaped the corrector's eye

231. Of the Five Joys of Mary

Pr Wright, *Wart. Club*, p 26, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p 48, Sandys, p 54

stza. 3, 1 2 *ryf* famous, renowned

stza 5, 1. 1 *dene* disdain, reproach.

232. Of the Five Joys of Mary.

A *Pr* James & Macaulay, p. 70.

B *Pr* Wright, *P S* xxiii, p 68.

C *Pr* Dyboski, p 15, Flugel, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 242

stza 3, 1 4 See table in Introduction, p. lxvi.

A stza 4, 1 2 *dyth* (B. *pyght*, C. *dyght*) fastened.

233. Of the Five Joys of Mary

Pr Dyboski, p. 33, Flugel, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 257

234. Of the Virgin.

A. Music for two voices *Pr*. Padelford, p. 95, with music, Fuller Martland, p. 7, Terry, p 44

B. Music for two and three voices. *Pr* Padelford, p. 93, with music, *E B M.* ii, p 119, facs. No lviii

C *Pr* Wright, *Wart. Club*, p. 88, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p 68, Padelford, p. 94.

D. *Pr* Dyboski, p 12, Flugel, *Anglia*, xxvi, p. 238; Padelford, p. 93

An unusual feature of this carol is the use of the same rime throughout Compare Nos. 10, 22 C. stzas. 4 and 5, which do not conform, are probably borrowed from another piece.

burden See Introduction, pp. lxxxv, cxxxvii

A stza 1, 11 1, 2 Compare the opening of No 149.

A. stza. 4, 1. 1 *pyth* (B. *ypyght*, D *dyght*) fastened.

C stza 4, 11. 1, 2 Compare No 21 A, stza. 4, 11. 1, 2.

235. To the Virgin

a. Music for two and three voices. *Pr*. Padelford, p 107, with music, *E.B.M.* ii, p 144, facs. No lxxvii, Terry, p. 22.

b. Music for two and three voices. *Pr.*, with music, Fuller Martland, p 3; Terry, p 40

c *Repr facs* Reed, p 61

stza 2, l 4 None of the three variants is quite satisfactory. The original reading may have been 'Trinite'

stza 3, l 1 John 1 14, x 30

stza 4. There is nothing in the book of Jeremiah to justify such a definite statement. The author is relying on Jeremiah's general reputation as a prophet

a stza 5, l 2 *yplauinte* planted l 3 *faunte* infant

236. Of the Annunciation.

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p 83, *P S* iv, 'Christmas Carols', p 15.

The occurrence of the 'Listen' formula in stza 2, l 1, and the words of stza 1 suggest that the latter may once have formed the burden and that the 'Nowel, el' burden is a later addition

stza 3, l 1 *snel* quickly.

stza 5, l 1 *stylle as ony ston* an expression characteristic of folk-song and probably borrowed therefrom l 3 *manys mon* carnal intercourse Compare Trevisa's *Higden*, vi 29 (quoted by OED s v 'Mone' sb¹) 'He was 1-bore of þe mayde Marie by vertu of God wipoute mannys mone (L[at] *non humano semine*)'

237. Of the Annunciation

A *Pr* Wright, *P S* xxiii, p 33

B *Pr* Dyboski, p 10, Flugel, *Fest*, p 65

burden See table in Introduction, p lxxxv

238. Of the Annunciation

A *Pr* Dyboski, p 5, Flugel, *Fest*, p 58, *Anglia*, xxvi, p. 229

B. *Pr* Wright, *P S* xxiii, p 36

burden, l 2 This is one of the plays on words most beloved of mediæval theologians. It occurs in many hymns and prose writings. See Introduction, p lxix

A stza. 8, l 1 *a-hye* aloud

B stza 4, l 1 *of all ble* in all her countenance

B stza. 5, l 1 *that free* that noble one

B stza. 7, l 1 *fere* companion (Gabriel)

239. Of the Annunciation

a Music for one voice *Pr* Wright, *P S* xxiii, p 79, with music, Terry, p 30, *Oxford Book of Carols*, Music Edition, p 76

b *Pr* Toulmin Smith, Lucy, ed., *A Common-place Book of the Fifteenth Century* (London, privately printed, 1886), p 122

c *Pr* Dyboski, p 39, Flugel, *Fest*, p 78, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 261

d Music for one voice *Pr.*, with music, Wright, *P S* xxiii p 62.

stza 7, ll 3, 4 Expanded and partially transposed from the words of Luke 1. 38

240. Of the Annunciation.

Pr Dyboski, p 4, Flugel, *N L*, p 114, *Fest.*, p 57, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 228

Except for the last line, the Latin tags of this carol are taken from the narrative in Luke i with minor adaptations

burden, l 2. Luke 1 26

stza 2, l 1 *sest* ceased

241. Of the Annunciation.

Pr Dyboski, p 44, Flugel, *Fest*, p 79, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 264

The three-line stanza without *cauda* is unusual. The introduction of 'Te Deum laudamus' in place of the abbreviated burden after the last stanza may indicate that another phrase, omitted in writing, was used with the other stanzas

242. Of the Annunciation and Other Joys of Mary.

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p 29, *P S.* iv, 'Christmas Carols', p 7, Sandys, p. 7.

For the source of the Latin lines see note on No. 230.
burden, l 1 Compare No 236, burden.

243. Of the Annunciation

a *Pr* Zupitza, p 167, notes, xciii, pp 281-94.

b *Pr* Zupitza, p 286, notes, xcvi, p 311

The two almost identical versions of this carol are not variants in the usual sense, they represent two workings of the same material by the same author. Both are close to No 244.

stza 6, l 1 *see* throne

244. Of the Annunciation.

Pr Zupitza, p. 169, notes, xciii, pp 294-6

stza 5, l 1. *see* throne.

245. Of the Annunciation

Pr Zupitza, p 170, notes, xciii, pp 297-9

stza 4, l 3. *see* throne.

246. Of the Annunciation.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 208, notes, xciv, pp 389-91

247. Of the Annunciation.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 258, notes, xcv, pp 396-8

The form of this carol and of No 248 is less popular and more literary than those most used by Ryman The lines are four-stress, but the rime-scheme is that of rime royal

stza 4, l 3. *see* throne.

248. Of the Annunciation

Pr. Zupitza, p 260, notes, xcv, pp 398-9

stza 1, l 6. This agrees verbally with the Englished *Ave Maria* of Myrc's *Instructions to Parish Priests* (ed. Peacock, E, E.E.T.S., Or Ser., No 31, London, 1868), ll. 422-3

Hayl be þow, mary fulle of gracc,
God ys wyþ þe in euery place.

249. Of the Annunciation.

Pr Zupitza, p 277, notes, xcvi, p 169

On the use of 'alone' in this carol compare Nos 63, 154, 159, 160, 281

250. Of the Annunciation.

Pr. Zupitza, p 288, notes, xcvi, pp. 311-13.

251. Of the Annunciation.

Pr Zupitza, p 289, notes, xcvi, pp. 313-14.

252. Of the Annunciation.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 291, notes, xcvi, pp. 314-15.

253. Of the Annunciation

Pr Zupitza, p 292, notes, xcvi, p 316.

254. Of the Annunciation.

Pr Zupitza, p 294, notes, xcvi, pp 319-20

stza 6, l 3. *bondage* Zupitza's suggestion of 'Wochenbett' will hardly do. Either 'subjection to the will of a man' or 'bondage of sin' may be Ryman's meaning.

255. Of the Annunciation

Pr. Zupitza, p 336, notes, xcvi, p 151.

buiden, l 1 Compare the burden of No 43

256. Of the Annunciation

Repr Bliss, p. 57, Sandys, p 20, *facts* Reed, p 44

Although it is headed by its printer 'A new caroll of our lady', the style of this piece points to a date of composition nearer 1500 than 1550 or thereabouts, the time of its appearance in print

stza 1, l 1 *bydene* together

stza. 6 The apparent deviation from the usual cross-rime here may be due to an accidental transposition of ll 2, 3

257. The Magnificat

Pr Zupitza, p 189, notes, xciv, pp 161-6

The carol is a paraphrase of the Magnificat of Mary, Luke 1 46-55.

258. The Trouble of Joseph

Pr. Zupitza, p 260, notes, xcv, pp. 399-401

This carol gives an unusual interpretation of Joseph's resolution to flee from Mary, one more to his credit than the customary one, based on Matthew 1 18-23 and the Book of James xiii-xvi, which is implied in No 259, stza 3

259. The Trouble of Joseph.

Music for two and three voices *Pr* Fehr, p 266, Wright, *P S* iv, 'Christmas Carols', p. 52, Sandys, p. 13; with music, *Mus. Ant*, p 24

The carol is cast in the form of a dialogue between Joseph and the informing angel. Stza 3 alludes to his previous resolution to desert Mary, presumably on the grounds of her guilt

burden. Compare No. 260, burden

stza 1 Compare Myrc's *Festial*, 'De Anunciacione Dominica' (Part I, ed Erbe, T, E.E.T.S., Ex Ser, No XCVI, London, 1905, p 107) 'But when Ioseph se hur gret wyth chyld, he merueylt gretly how þat myght be.'

stza. 2, l 1 *disstens* condescension.

260. Mary's Virginity Explained

Previously unpublished

Although this carol exists only in a nineteenth-century transcript by the antiquary Joseph Hunter, it is obviously genuine and of about 1500 or a little earlier. The pedantic play on the word 'reason' resembles Audelay's reiteration of 'love' in No. 272. There may be an echo of the controversy which grew up around Bishop Reginald Pecock, who was called to account by the Council of Westminster in 1457 for having given too much importance to the element of reason in his well-intended *Repressor* of about 1449. Pecock recanted, and to him are ascribed

the lines 'Witt hath wunder that reson ne tell can,' &c, on the same theme as this carol See Brown, *Register*, No 2672

In spite of the burden and refrain addressed to Joseph the carol is not primarily on the story of his incredulity or 'trouble' like Nos 258, 259, but is a theological argument addressed to doubting man

stza 5, l 3 *resyled* withdrawn from consideration.

261. Of the Virgin's Motherhood.

Pr Wright, *P S.* xxiii, p 73.

This interesting carol presents a clear case of religious imitation of secular lyric The prototype is a song of the *genre* in which a betrayed maiden laments her pregnancy, a theme represented in Nos 452-7, and common in medieval French lyrics as well The blessed state of the Virgin and her rejoicing would have the effect of a striking contrast to hearers familiar with the type of song parodied The first stanza may have come without much change from such a piece

The heading in the MS names the air for which the carol is designed It is not otherwise known

stza 5, l 4 *foð* child

262. To the Virgin.

Pr Zupitza, p 184, notes, xciii, pp 380-3.

The entire carol is based on Canticles iv and vii The Virgin is identified with the loved one of the Song of Songs in accordance with frequent medieval practice Compare Furnivall, F. J., ed, *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ* (E.E.T.S., Or Ser., No 24, London, 1867), p 17 and carol No 138

burden, l 2 Canticles iv 8

stza 2, l 1 *myelde dove* Canticles ii 10, v 2.

stza 4. Canticles iv 7, 8 'Tota pulchra es, *amica* mea, et macula non est in te Veni de Libano,' &c

stza 5 Canticles vii 7 'Statura tua assimilata est p ~~l~~ *rae* et ubera tua botris.'

263. Our Lord's Exhortation

Music for four voices by Sheryngam.

a. *Pr* Fehr, p 63

b. *Pr* MacCracken, Part I, p. 252

c, d, e, f, g, h, i j, k, l. Collated with b, *ibid.*

g *Pr* Furnivall, F. J., *Political, Religious, and Love Poems* (E.E.T.S., Or S_r, No 15, London, 1866), p 141

m, n *Previously unpublished*

The burden which makes a carol of Lydgate's well-known poem of Christ's appeal to man was doubtless added to the stanzas at the instance of the composer of the music of a Little is known of Sheryngam, not even his Christian name. He is also the composer of 'My wofull hart' in the same MS (f 9 v.) The note of Ertner (*Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten*, Leipzig, 1903, vol. ix, p 157) is not very helpful.

stza 2, l 1 *raikyn* gushing l. 6. *tretable* reasonable. l. 7. *comuencion* agreement, covenant

stza 3, ll 3, 4 John xx 27. l. 3 *crudehte*: cruelty. l. 7 *triacle* syrup, medicine.

stza 4, l 6 *table*: tablet, i.e. as an amulet.

stza 5, l 4 *fusion* pouring out.

264. The Call of Christ.

Music for three voices *Pr* Fehr, B., *Archiv*, cvi, p. 70.

This carol, the last item in its MS., is possibly incomplete Its brevity is un-

usual in the type of religious lyric to which it belongs, the direct appeal of Christ in the name of His sufferings

The opening *chanson d'aventure* formula is here put into the burden, as in No 150

265. Christ to Sinful Man.

Repr Bliss, p 48; Dyce, A., ed, *The Poetical Works of John Skelton* (London, 1843), vol 1, p 144, &c, *facs* Reed, p 20.

See Reed's note (p 71) which properly denies the long-standing attribution of this carol to Skelton. Reed also points out the source of stzas 2, 3, 5, 7-10 in a poem of about 1500 in the Makculloch MS (*pr*, as two pieces, Stevenson, George, *Pieces from the Makculloch and the Gray MSS together with The Chepman and Myllar Prints*, S T S, No 65, Edinburgh, 1918, pp 33-6). Reed prints the stanzas used in the carol (op cit, pp 72-3).

See also Introduction, pp lxx-lxx. George C Taylor ('The Relation of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric' in *Modern Philology*, vol v, pp 26-7) cites parallels between this carol and the Towneley Play of the Resurrection (ll 314 ff.).

stza 1, l 1 *playd* displayed

stza 2, l 2 *thees* thighs

stza 3, l 1 *donge* beat

stza 4 This is hardly to be understood as meaning '405,060 on head, foot and hand, 57 on body', as Dyce's punctuation suggests. The early medieval tradition set the number of Christ's wounds at 5,466. A practice arose in the fourteenth century of reciting fifteen Paternosters each day in memory of the Sacred Wounds, the total for a year thus being 5,475. This figure is found in some verses in British Museum MS Addit 37049, f 24 r (cent xv).

The nowmer of Jhesu Cristes wowndes

Ar fyve thowsande foure hondreth sixty and fyftene,

The whilk in his body war felt and sene

This points to the 'fyfty' of the present stanza as a corruption of 'fyftene' and the 'vii' as an intruder. Compare note on No 114, stza 9, l 3. As it here reads the stanza gives the total of 5,517, for which I know of no precedent.

266 Christ's Intercession for Sinners

Pr. James & Macaulay, p 79

Stza 4 shows that the carol was definitely intended for use at Christmas

burden, l 2 See note on No 267, burden, l. 2

stza 3, l 1 *slent* sly dealing

267. Christ to Sinful Man.

Pr. Zupitza, p 217, notes, xciv, p 406

burden, l 2 Ezekiel xxxiii. 11. 'Dic ad eos Vivo ego, dicit Dominus Deus nolo mortem impii, sed ut convertatur impius a via sua, et vivat.' Compare the burdens of Nos 266, 268

268. Christ to Sinful Man

Pr Zupitza, p 217, notes, xciv, p 407.

The burden of this piece is a free translation of that of No 267

stza 2, l 3 *spille*. be lost

stza 3, l 2 *dispence* deal mercifully.

269. Christ to Sinful Man

Pr Zupitza, p 218, notes, xciv, pp 407-10

The source of the burden is given by Zupitza as Isaiah xlv 22 '... revertere

ad me, quoniam redemi te.' The 'revertere' burden of No 140, on the other hand, because of its connexion with Mary, seems more probably to have been suggested by Canticles vi 12 'Revertere, revertere, Sulamitis, revertere, revertere, ut intueamur te' Compare the burden of *Carmena Burana* (ed Schmeller, Johann A., Breslau, 1894), No 142

Revertere, revertere
iam, ut 'intuear' te

Compare also the fifteenth-century *chanson d'aventure* on the text 'Revertere', which ends all stanzas except the first with that word (*pr* Furnivall, F J, *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, E.E.T.S., Or Ser, No 24, London, 1867, p 91)

stza. 7, l 2 *to wedde* as a pledge.

270. Christ's Call to Mankind.

Previously unpublished. Not listed in Brown, *Register*

This is a significant example of the use of a secular and amorous burden with stanzas written for a religious purpose It was undoubtedly designed to be sung to some well-known secular tune It is a parallel to the better-known cases of the religious imitation of the popular sixteenth-century song 'Come o'er the burn, Bessie' (*Madrigals by English Composers of the Close of the Fifteenth Century*, Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, London, 1890, No 2) and of the likewise popular 'The hunt is up' (Collier, J P., ed, *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company*, London, 1848, vol. 1, pp 129-30) Compare also the 'New Notborune Mayd vpon the Passion of Cryste' (Rimbault, E F, *P. S.* vi, 'Poetical Tracts', London, 1842, p 33)

stza 6, ll 3, 4 The 'idols' are probably the images displayed at shrines where contributions are made The use of the word here in such a sense is earlier than any instance recorded by OED. The author of the carol evidently had Wychfite or Lollard leanings.

271. To Christ.

Pr Brown, *R.L.* 14 C, p 87

The curious burden of this piece is addressed to the tear shed by Christ over man's waywardness The stanzas are addressed to Christ

stza. 3, l. 3 *yerle* cried out Brown's suggested emendation

stza 4. This appears as stza 4 of 'Christ's Gift to Man' in Hunterian Museum MS. V 8. 15, *pr.* Brown, *op cit*, p 113, but belongs originally to this carol, as Brown points out (p 267)

l 4. 'The weather is changed' The Hunterian MS reading gives better sense. 'Wrong is went'

272. Of the Love of God

Pr C. & S., *M.L.R.* vi, p 79, Whiting, p 210.

Audelay plays on the word 'love' in this carol to the extent of using it (or a derivative) at least once in every line except the refrain lines Compare No. 444.

stza 3, l 3. *blyn* cease

stza. 4, l. 2 *altherbest*. best of all

273. To Christ.

Pr. Dyboski, p 14, Flugel, *Fest.*, p 68, *Anglia*, xxvi, p. 241

For the sources of the Latin lines see table in Introduction, pp. lxxv-lxxvii.

274. To Christ

Pr James and Macaulay, p 81

stza 2, l 3. *fendes fowndyng*. confounding by the fiend

stza 3, l 1 *wende*. go.

275. To Christ.

Pr Zupitza, p 333, notes, xcvi, pp 148-9.

276. To Christ

Pr Zupitza, p 216, notes, xciv, pp 404-6.

stza 4, ll 1, 2 Psalm 119 'cor contritum et humiliatum, Deus, non despicias' 1 2 *meked lowe* made meek

277. To Christ.

Music for two and three voices *Pr* Fehr, p 272, Patterson, p 71

Patterson points out the likeness of this piece to No VII of 'The xv. oos in englysshe' 'O Blessyd Jesu, well of endless pyte', &c (Maskell, Wm, *Monumenta Rituala Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, London, 1846, vol II, p. 258)

burden. See note on No 278, burden, 1 2

stza. 1 Matthew xv 22-8 1 2 *man* obviously a corrupt reading, defective in both metre and sense The original reading may have been 'mercy'

stza. 2, l 1 *fe* property, estate. Patterson, reading 'se', glosses as 'sea'. I see no reason for his assumption (p 170) that these lines are supposed to be spoken by the woman rather than by the poet in his own person.

278. To Christ.

Repr facs Reed, p 65

burden, 1. 1 This is made from two phrases of the Canon of the Mass, 'Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei vivi', the prayer before the Host (*Br. Sar* II, col 497), and the 'miserere nobis', of the Agnus Compare the burden of No 277

stza 4, l 2 *medled* mingled

279. To Christ.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 202, notes, xciv, pp 196-9

The internal rimes are like those in Nos 220-3, also by Ryman The phrases of the burden appear as well in two short scraps of verse by Ryman (*pr* Zupitza, p 338).

stza 1, l. 1 Compare No 190, stza. 4, l. 1, where the figure is applied to the Virgin.

stza. 4, l 2 *ryende* rind, bark

stza. 6, l. 1. *cornere* stone Matthew xxi 42, Luke xx 17, where it is quoted by Christ from Psalm cxvii 22 'Lapidem quem reprobaverunt aedificantes hic factus est in caput anguli'

280. Of Christ

Pr. Zupitza, p. 210, notes, xciv, pp 392-4

stza 1, l. 1. Compare Audelay's carol No 272

281. Of Christ.

Pr Zupitza, p 211, notes, xciv, pp 396-8

For the use of 'alone' compare Nos 63, 154, 159, 160, 249

282. The Knot of the Trinity.

Pr Wright, *P S* xxiii, p 45, Breul, K, *Englische Studien*, xiv, p 404.

Compare the use of the same figure in Gabriel's Annunciation speech in the

Shearmen and Tailors' Pageant, ll 92-5 (ed. Craig, H., *Two Coventry Corpus-Christi Plays*, EETS, Ex Ser, No. LXXXVII, London, 1902, p 4)

Now blessed be the tyme sett
That thou wast borne in thy degie,
For now ys the knott surely knytt
And God conseyvde in Tienete.

stza. 1, l 2 *A greth* he giceted
stza. 2, l. 1 *fayyrlly fod* fair child, Christ
stza 3, l 1 *Johan* The account of the Resurrection in John xx 1 2 *He*
Christ. 1 3 *marbyl ston* the stone which was rolled away from the sepulchre
stza. 4, l 3 *wyll* An obvious corruption. The rime-word was probably
'seven'
stza 5, l 2 *knottes*. Here the knots stand for the five wounds which Christ
will show at the Judgement. *spray* splay, display

283. To the Trinity.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 213, notes, xciv, pp 399-401.
stza. 5, l 1 *pight*, lodged

284. To the Trinity

Pr. Zupitza, p 222, notes, xciv, pp 415-17
This carol shows Ryman at his most characteristic as a mannered and repetitious versifier Stza 3, l. 2 gives one clue to the mystic meaning of this carol, as does the refrain-line with its allusion to the infinity of God, of which the circle, O, is the symbol The O's of the Advent Antiphons may have been in the author's mind as well
stza 6, l 2. *supplanter* overthrower

285. To the Trinity

Pr. Zupitza, p. 240, notes, xcv, pp 276-7
This carol is a free paraphrase of the *Te Deum*, ll. 2-9.

286. To the Trinity.

Pr. Zupitza, p 241, notes, xcv, pp 277-80
Stzas 3-12 of this carol form a free paraphrase of the *Te Deum*, ll 3-14
stza. 2, l 2 *commutte* consign, as to prison, confine.
stza 4, l 2 *empere* empyrean, the highest and fiery heaven

287. To the Trinity

Pr. Zupitza, p 243, notes, xcv, pp. 280-81
This carol paraphrases part of the *Te Deum* as follows Stza. 2 is based on l. 18,
stza. 5 on ll 3, 4, stza. 6 on l. 24

288. To the Trinity

Pr. Zupitza, p. 244, notes, xcv, pp. 281-2.

289. To the Trinity.

Pr. Zupitza, p 245, notes, xcv, pp. 282-4.
Part of this carol is based on the *Te Deum* as follows stza. 2 on l. 16, stza. 4
on ll. 4, 7-9, stza. 5 on l. 3, stza 6 on l 10

290. To the Trinity.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 246, notes, xcv, pp. 284-5.

291. To the Trinity

Pr Zupitza, p 299, notes, xcvi, p 324

292. To the Trinity

Pr Zupitza, p 300, notes, xcvi, pp 324-5

293. To the Trinity

Pr Zupitza, p 301, notes, xcvi, p 325

Stza 2 is based on the *Te Deum*, ll 3, 5

stza 2, l 1 See note on No 208, stza. 7, l. 1

294. To the Trinity

Pr Zupitza, p 301, notes, xcvi, pp 325-6

stza 4, l 3 *lyght* action, behaviour Not recorded after 1330 in OED.

295. Of Christ

Pr Zupitza, p 302, notes, xcvi, p 326

Stza 5 is based on the *Te Deum*, l 10

stza 3, l 1 See note on No 208, stza 7, l 1

296. To the Trinity.

Pr Zupitza, p 303, notes, xcvi, pp. 326-7

Part of this carol is a paraphrase of the *Te Deum* as follows stzas 3, 4 of ll 4, 6, stzas 5, 6, 7 of ll 7, 8, 9

stza 2, l 2 *potestates* powers

297. To Christ.

Pr Zupitza, p 304, notes, xcvi, pp 327-8

This carol is a paraphrase of ll 14-29 of the *Te Deum*

298. To the Trinity.

Pr Zupitza, p 305, notes, xcvi, pp 328-9

299. Of Christ.

Pr Zupitza, p 306, notes, xcvi, p 329

300. Of Christ.

Pr Zupitza, p 306, notes, xcvi, pp 329-30

stza. 3, l 2 *Troms*, *potestates* thrones and powers, the names of two of the orders of angels.

301. Of Christ.

Pr Zupitza, p 307, notes, xcvi, pp. 129-30

This carol is based on the *Te Deum* as follows. stza. 3 on l 7, stza 4 on l. 3, stza 5 on l 4, stza 6 on l 8, stza 7 on l 9

302. Of Christ.

Pr Zupitza, p 307, notes, xcvi, p 330

Stzas. 2, 3 of this carol are based on the *Te Deum*, ll. 16, 17.

303. To the Trinity.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 308, notes, xcvi, pp 130-1

This carol is a free paraphrase of the *Te Deum*, ll. 1-13.

304. To the Trinity

Pr. Zupitza, p. 310, notes, xcvi, pp 131-2

Zupitza mistakenly prints with this piece the first line of the *Te Deum* and the first line of No 297, which were written at the bottom of f 95 r, apparently in error, and abandoned as a false start

Stza 2 is based on the *Te Deum*, ll 3-5

305. To the Trinity.

Pr. Zupitza, p. 333, notes, xcvi, p 148

306. The Well of Mercy.

Music for two and three voices *Pr.* Flugel, *N.L.*, p 113.

The figure of a well as the type of the Divine mercy is a frequent one in Middle English religious poetry, as in British Museum MS Sloane 2593, f 32 v, where 'lauacra puri gurgitis selestis angnus attigit peccata' is translated (Wright, *Wart. Club*, p 96)

The welle hagt waschyn vs fro wo,

The lomb of heuene is comyn vs to.

It appears in 'The Castle of Love' in the Vernon MS (ed. Horstmann, C., EETS, Or Ser, No. 98, London, 1892, pp 373, 376) It is sometimes applied directly to Christ, as in a hymn from the Thornton MS (*pr.* Patterson, p. 131), but oftener to the Virgin, as in Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale*, l 204 Compare Nos. 123, 199, 207, 395 It was one of the metaphors most likely to appeal to the mind of the people, coinciding as it did with the widespread interest and belief in holy wells and their virtues Compare 'Do mercy to fore thu judgement', ll. 41-2 (*pr.* Patterson, p 85)

Let neuer the deuelle with sorow depraue

That waschen was in holy welle.

stza. 2, 1 2 *fele* many

307. A Prayer for the Dead.

Music for two and three voices. *Pr.* Fehr, p 278.

burden, l 2, stzas 1-3, ll. 4, 5. From the Office for the Mass for the Dead (*Sar. Miss.*, p 431, also in Ordinary of the Mass, *ibid.*, p 219)

308. Of Purgatory.

Pr. Brydges, [Sir] Egerton, *Censura Literaria* (London, 1805-9), viii, p. 401

The cumulative pattern of short lines at the ends of the stanzas was probably imitated from folk-song, in which it still survives The same musical phrase was probably meant to be used for each of the added short lines when the carol was sung. The style of the whole carol is somewhat elliptical

stza. 1, l 2. *ryng* a prize l 5. *aby* atone, make amends.

stza 3, l. 1 *compasse* consider, ponder. *delle*. bit l 3. *hee* cool.

stza 4, l 1 *welle*. well, the common figure of Mary as the well of grace.

stza 5, l 1 *thorough* certain l 5 *guy* guide

stza 6, l. 3 *auowries* patron saints.

309. A Litany.

a *Pr* Wright, *P.S.* xxiii, p. 76, Patterson, p. 68

b, c, d, e, f, g, h, 1 *Previously unpublished*

j *Pr* Bateman, W., *Bullyng's Five Wounds of Christ* (Manchester, 1814)

Patterson points out (p. 169) that the carol is based on the Litany of the York Use

The first stanza is adapted from the rimed prayer to the Holy Name of Jesus widely current in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The resulting piece is the only one of its sort, and the content seems at first glance rather unsuitable for a carol. Actually the repetitive nature of the carol-form with its burden would make the words quite effective in performance, especially if a soloist sang the stanzas and an assembly the burden.

310. To St Francis of Assisi.

Pr C & S, *M L R* vi, p. 81, Whiting, p. 212

See Introduction, pp. cxxi-cxxii, cxxviii

stza. 1 St Francis had a particular devotion to the Passion of Christ, as recorded in the *Vita Prima S. Francisci Confessoris, Auctore Thoma de Celano*, lib. 1, cap. x (*Acta Sanctorum*, Oct., tom. 11, Paris, 1866, p. 706) 'Recordabatur assidua meditatione verborum eius [Christi] et sagacissima consideratione ipsius opera recolere. praecipue incarnationis humilitas et caritas passionis ita eius memoriam occupabant, ut vix valeret aliud cogitare'

stza. 3, ll. 1, 2 Actually St Francis received the stigmata only two years before his death.

stza. 4 Apparently Audelay means that St. Francis divided his food in five parts in memory of Christ's five wounds. I have not seen this elsewhere recorded of the saint. The *Appendix Inedita ad Vitam Primam Auctoribus Tribus ipsius Sancti Sociis* (*Acta Sanctorum*, Oct., tom. 11, p. 727) says 'non solum autem affligebat se in lacrymis, sed etiam abstinentia cibi et potus ob memoriam Dominae passionis'

stza. 6 St Francis set out in 1212 on a mission to the heathen in Palestine, but his ship was wrecked, and he was forced to return. In 1219 he actually went to the Near East and attempted the conversion of some Mohammedans, but soon returned to Italy.

l. 1 *thongis* thankedst *sonde* gift l. 3 *wond* shrink

stza. 7, l. 2 *talent* purpose l. 3 *testament* the Testament of St Francis containing his last instructions to his brethren, dictated by him shortly before his death.

stza. 9 The first Rule was given out by St Francis and orally approved by Pope Innocent III in 1210, not, as the carol implies, later than the Testament. The latter enjoins obedience to the Rule as it had been revised in the saint's lifetime.

311. To St Anne

Pr C & S, *M L R* vi, p. 71, Whiting, p. 200

It is possible that this carol was intended for use at a feast of St Anne (26 July) as well as at Christmas. See Parker, Roscoe E., *The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of Saint Anne* (EETS, Or Ser., No. 174, London, 1928), pp. x, xxv. The fashion of devotion to St Anne and the formation of guilds in her honour was growing rapidly in England at the time this carol was written down, her day having been made a feast of obligation in 1382. The diocese of Hereford, which included southern Shropshire, though not Haghmond itself, was particularly zealous in this devotion. See Ronan, M. V., *S. Anne, her Cult and her Shrines* (London, 1927), pp. 78, 84.

Audelay's account of the saint's life follows the accepted narrative as it appears

in the Book of James or Protevangelium, and in the first part of the Pseudo-Gospel of Matthew based thereon

stza. 6, ll 1, 3 These lines are also used by Audelay as stza 1, ll 3, 4 of No 172 a 1 2 *at my wettyng*: to my knowledge.

stza 7 This appears with slight variation as ll 33-6 of an Annunciation song, 'Ecce ancilla Domini', found in two fifteenth-century MSS (*pr* Bicul, K, *Englische Studien*, vol. xiv, p 401, &c)

stza 9 This stanza is a partial translation of the Latin lines which form the burden of No 178 1 2 *outlere*: exile

312. Of St. Edmund.

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p 73, Ritson, J, *Ancient Songs* (1790), p. 84, (1829), vol 1, p 143, (1877), p 123

burden, l 2 See table in Introduction, p. lxxxiv

The choice of the patron saint of Bury St Edmunds as one of the few saints to be celebrated is at least a slight bit of evidence tending to place the MS. as coming from East Anglia The carol mentions the most picturesque part of his legend He was captured by the Danes at Hoxne in Suffolk in 870 and offered terms which his religious convictions would not allow him to accept After his refusal the Danes beat him with cudgels and tied him to a tree for further scourging He was then shot at until covered with arrows and finally beheaded The head, thrown into the undergrowth of Heglesdunc Forest, was discovered in the keeping of a wolf I do not find the 'blind man' elsewhere recorded, some accounts giving the credit to a watchful native Christian, others to a miraculous pillar of light The wolf, according to the legend, followed the head to the grave See Mackinlay, J. B., O.S.B., *Saint Edmund, King and Martyr* (London and Leamington, 1893), pp 131, 141-4.

stza 2, l 2 *lete*: stop.

stza 4, l 4 *fray*: attack

313. Of St. Catherine of Alexandria.

Pr James and Macaulay, p 71

stza 2 Catherine, martyred about 313, was famous for her learning and wisdom as well as for her Christian devotion The 'doctors' who 'queried' her were fifty learned heathen philosophers set by the emperor Maximinus to dispute with, and, if possible, convert her The maiden converted the doctors instead, as well as another fifty who took their places.

stza 3. This stanza is obviously corrupt l. 3 seems to belong to some such carol as No. 395. Compare stza. 3 of that piece

stza. 4, l 2 *twyl* dwell

stza. 5. There appears to be confusion here between Catherine's fate and that of the doctors whom she converted The latter were burnt by the emperor, but their bodies were found with not a hair consumed. Catherine herself, according to the legend, was first put on the spiked wheel, and, after this had been miraculously destroyed, was beheaded and her body borne by angels to Mount Sinai, where it yet remains.

314. Of St. Winifred.

Pr Whiting, p 171.

The occurrence of this piece before the verse 'I pray yow, syrus,' &c., as well as its unusual length, has led to its being omitted from previous discussions of Audelay's group of carols, in spite of its final stanza. G. H. Gerould (*Saints' Legends*, Boston, 1916, p. 256) calls it '*St Wenefred*, which the author curiously termed a "carol"'. The use of 'Redis' instead of 'Singis' in the last stanza might be taken to show recognition by Audelay that he was in this case writing a literary narrative instead of a lyric to be sung. But the word is similarly used in No 310.

and the riming of the fourth line of each stanza with the burden leaves no doubt that the piece is intended as a true carol. Compare the piece of forty stanzas to St. Catherine by William Forrest, A.D. 1561 (*pr.* Kapp, Rudolf, *Heilige und Heiligenlegenden in England Studien zum 16 und 17 Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, Halle, 1934, pp. 294-6). The fact that the burden was added by a different hand and in red has probably led readers of the MS to regard it as a title. Audelay's other poem in honour of St. Winifred, which is not a carol, follows this piece in the MS. (*pr.* Whiting, p. 175)

Audelay's life of St. Winifred is probably based on tradition local to Shrewsbury rather than on a particular written source. It does not follow either of the two principal medieval accounts of the saint, that in British Museum MSS Cotton Claudius A. v, and Lansdowne 436, and that by Robert, Prior of Shrewsbury (both *pr.* *Acta Sanctorum*, Nov., tom. 1, pp. 702 ff). Details in Audelay's narrative which are lacking in both are the miracles of the boy on the mill-wheel, the dropped groat, the wine in the chapel, and the stone as a sign of St. Beuno's death. In the account of the stone's acting as ferry to Winifred's gift of a vestment Audelay agrees with the Cotton MS life rather than with that of Robert, in which the vestment floats in a wrapping of cloth miraculously kept dry.

That the mill-wheel incident was a local tradition is rendered more probable by the fact that it was reported with slight change and circumstantial detail as happening in the seventeenth century. 'On the fourth of April, One thousand six hundred and sixty six, about five of Clock in the Afternoon,' one Hugh Williams, a boy of eight, fell into the mill-wheel at Holywell and was carried around by it, but was unharmed by St. Winifred's grace, although the clearance was only two inches and he of full size for his age. (Fleetwood, William, *The Life and Miracles of St. Wenefride*, London, 1713, p. 104.)

Miss Whiting's note (p. 247) properly points out that Myrc's account is unrelated, but she ignores the Cotton MS life and says, 'No manuscript of Robert of Shrewsbury has been found'.

stza 2, l 3 *Cradoc* or Caradoc, the king's son who attempted an attack on Winifred's chastity while her parents were at church, pursued her from the house, and finally beheaded her.

stza 3, l 4 *dry valay* Compare the life by Robert, Bodleian Library MS Laud misc. 114, f. 145 r. 'Locus uero ubi sanguis illius effusus est primitus sicca uallis dicebatur'.

stza 4, l 1 *Bewnou* St. Beuno, who was preaching in the church where Winifred's parents were at the time.

stza. 7, l 3 *sparpiled* scattered

stza. 8, l 1 *mesis* mosses

stza 10, l 3 *ladhs* the float-boards or paddles of the mill-wheel

stza. 14, l 1 *afyne* finally

stza 16, l. 3. *phumys* pumps *bere* noise

stzas 17, 18 Mark xi 15-17.

stza 25, l 1 'Son after' is not to be taken with l 2. The translation to Shrewsbury occurred in 1138, five hundred years after the saint's death.

stza 26, l 2 A particular instance is given in the Cotton MS life of a man in chains for many years, from whose hands they fell after he had washed in the well, but Audelay speaks of it as happening at Shrewsbury.

stza 27, ll 1, 2 There may be a reference here to the natural gratification of Shrewsbury people at the order of 1391 for the feast of St. Winifred to be observed throughout the province of Canterbury.

stza 29, l. 4 *fyndis pray* This phrase is common enough in religious poetry to render unnecessary Whiting's emendation to 'fray'. Compare No. 117a, stza. 1, l 7.

315. Of St. Nicholas

Pr. Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 4.

The burden alludes to St. Nicholas's special character as patron saint of

maidens The story which follows, that of the three daughters of a decayed gentleman of Patara, is one of the most frequently told of the saint's life. The spirited speeches of the daughters were doubtless put into the carol for the sake of their moral effect on the hearers. The last two lines hastily summarize the solution of the difficulty. Nicholas filled three bags with gold on three successive nights and slipped them through the window of the maidens' house, thus providing them with the needed dowries.

stza 1, l 1. *poste* power Compare the Life of St. Nicholas in *The South-English Legendary* (ed Horstmann, C, E.E.T.S., Or. Ser., No 87, London, 1887, p 245), l 173 'For-to wurthschipien þane guode man þat is of so gret pouste.'

316. Of St. Nicholas

Pr Wright, Wart. Club, p 99

stza. 1, l 1. *Patras*. Patara in Lycia

stza 2 The legend of St Nicholas and the three young clerks or children rescued from the brine-vat is familiar from medieval art. Cahier suggests (*Caractéristiques des saints dans l'art populaire*, Paris, 1867, vol 1, p 304) that it may be a popular corruption through misinterpretation of pictures or carvings of the more authentic story of the three officers condemned to death by Constantine and saved by Nicholas's intervention. The small tower in which these three were represented could easily be mistaken for a tub.

stza 3 See note on No 315.

stza 4. The saving of a pig-stealer is plainly related to the character of St. Nicholas as the unofficial patron saint of thieves, but I have not met with the incident in any written life of the bishop

317. Of the Eucharist.

Pr Wright, Wart. Club, p 60, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p 62

burden, l 2 The phrasing is after that of the vernacular prayers at the elevation of the Host, e.g. Myrc's *Instructions to Parish Priests* (ed Peacock, E., E.E.T.S., Or. Ser., No 31, London, 1868), ll 290-1

Ihesu, lord, welcome þow be

In forme of bred as I þe se.

Compare also 'A preyer at þe leuacion' in the Vernon MS. (ed Horstmann, C., *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, Part I, E.E.T.S., Or. Ser., No 98, London, 1892, p. 24), ll 1-3.

Welcome, Lord In fourme of Bred!

In þe is þoþe lyf and Ded,

Ihesus is þu nome

stza. 1, l. 1. John vi. 58 'Hic est panis qui de caelo descendit'

stza 2. As elsewhere in the carols, the person is changed without express indication. l. 2 I Corinthians xi. 29 'Qui enim manducat et bibit indigne, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit...' l 3 *lete* abandon, leave

stza. 4, l 1 *Messe* i.e. the Last Supper.

318. Of the Eucharist.

Pr Zupitza, p. 221, notes, xciv, pp 413-15

burden, l. 2 John vi 50: 'Hic est panis de caelo descendens, ut si quis ex ipso manducaverit, non moriatur.' Compare John vi 58.

stza 2, l. 1 Compare No. 319, stza. 2, l. 1.

319. Of the Eucharist.

Pr Dyboski, p. 14.

burden, l 2. Compare the burdens of Nos. 56, 94, 176

stza. 1, l. 2. *dure* dere, offence, hurt

stza 2, l. 1. Compare No. 318, stza. 2, l. 1.

320. In Praise of Wheat.

Pr. Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 38

Wheat is here praised as the material of the Host. Compare Nos. 317-19, 321, also *The Southern Passion* (ed. Brown, Beatrice D., E. E. T. S., Or. Ser., No. 169, London, 1927), ll. 189-90

ffor oure lord him likneþ to whete and to oþer corn non
Perffore we makeþ his swete body of þe whete-corn al-on

There is a touch of folk-song in the enumeration of the 'verses'

stza. 1, l. 2 *bote* (the best) remedy.

stza. 3, l. 3 *Godes face* perhaps an allusion to the design imprinted on the wafer of the Host

stza. 6, l. 3 This line appears to carry a reminiscence of the 'dear years' of 1345-7, which are mentioned in No. 357 from the same MS.

321. Christ, the Ear of Wheat

Pr. Dyboski, p. 34, Flugel, *N L*, p. 112, *Anglia*, xxvi, p. 258

A longer treatment of the allegory of this carol is found in the Vernon *Proprium Sanctorum* as a homily on John xii. 24-6 '... nisi granum frumenti cadens in terram mortuum fuerit, ipsum solum manet,' &c (ed. Horstmann, C., *Archiv*, vol. lxxxii, p. 83). The same symbolism is also applied to St. Thomas of Canterbury (ibid., p. 102), compare No. 116, stza. 1.

burden, l. 1 *byrd* youth.

stza. 3, l. 4. *Mawndy* the new commandment (mandatum novum) which Jesus gave His disciples at the Last Supper, John xiii. 14

322. The Corpus Christi Carol.

A *Pr.* Dyboski, p. 103, Flugel, *N L*, p. 142, *Anglia*, xxvi, p. 175, C & S., p. 148, &c

B *Pr.* $\epsilon\tau\kappa$, N. & Q., 3rd Ser., vol. 11, p. 103, with music, *Oxford Book of Carols*, Music Edition, p. 402

C *Pr.* *Oxford Book of Carols*, p. 81, with music, idem, Music Edition, p. 126, Williams, R. Vaughan, *Eight Traditional English Carols* (London [1919]), p. 14

D *Pr.* Hogg, James, *The Mountain Bard and Forest Minstrel* (Glasgow, 1840), p. 14, n

See Introduction, pp. liv-lvi, xciv

For a long discussion of this carol by several writers see the *Journal of the Folk-Song Society*, vol. 1v, pp. 52-66, from which the following notes are condensed. Texts of A and of B and C with music are also there printed. Although Miss Annie G. Gilchrist's explanation of the carol is condemned by Miss Edith C. Batho ('The Life of Christ in the Ballads', in *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, vol. 1x, Oxford, 1924, p. 93), it seems to me more acceptable than Miss Batho's alternative suggestion of a poem on the Entombment and the Wounded Knight

A. burden This is probably taken from older secular folk-song. Miss Gilchrist's suggestion that it may be symbolic of the recession of the Grail seems somewhat far-fetched. The MS. gives no warrant for regarding it, as Miss Batho does (loc. cit.), as an internal refrain of the ballad type, like the refrains of B and C

l. 2 *mak' mate*

A stza. 1 Joseph of Arimathea bears the Grail to Avalon (isle of apples) According to the medieval identification of Avalon with Glastonbury this carol is to be connected with the Abbey there

stza. 2. The hall symbolizes the Castle of the Grail

stza. 3. The bed represents the couch of the Wounded Keeper of the Grail, in the Mass the altar on which Christ's Body is consecrated. The red, applied to hangings in B and C, is the proper liturgical colour 'Gold so red,' in A, is a folk-song cliché, probably the 'gold' is an intruder, as 'hanged' suggests

stza. 4 The knight is the wounded Keeper of the Grail, or Maimed King of Grail legend. He is also the type of the daily sacrifice of Christ in the Mass.

stza. 5. The 'may' is probably the damsel who serves the Grail only by weeping. In B and C the weeping Virgin Mary is substituted. This is easily explained by the frequency with which the image of the Virgin weeping for her Son was presented to the people. [Compare the 'planctus' carols.] The 'may' has no direct symbolic reference to the Mass except as that sacrifice relates to the Crucifixion, with which she is, of course, involved.

stza. 6 The stone in A refers to the paten of the Eucharist, which is a symbol of the stone sealing the sepulchre of Christ. In B and C the stone has lost this significance, and this stanza has become amalgamated with the preceding one. The inscription 'Corpus Christi' connects the carol with the high festival so designated, the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, observed in England from about 1320, or it may simply be a poetical way of asserting the reality of Christ's Body as present in the Eucharist. [The latter seems more probable.]

B stza. 6 The hound is less certainly to be identified. If it be regarded as having once been in the 'Corpus Christi' version but merely omitted from the particular MS. of A, it could be called the hound of Perceval's sister in Grail legend. If a later addition [as is more probable], it may stand for Joseph of Arimathea, who collected Christ's blood in a basin. It would also signify the priest, Joseph's successor, who daily celebrates Mass.

stza. 7, C stza. 5 The thorn here is undoubtedly that famous tree of which an offshoot still blooms in winter near the ruins of Glastonbury Abbey. The tradition (apparently local and not part of the Grail legend) is that Joseph thrust his staff in the ground upon his arrival, and that it took root, to blossom each year on Christmas Day. [This story was probably inspired by the prominence of Aaron's budding rod in medieval symbolism.]

C stza. 6 This has the appearance of a comparatively late addition, designed to give the song a special appropriateness for Christmas. The moon shining bright is a circumstance often mentioned in folk-songs of the Nativity but not in medieval carols, where the more orthodox star rules the heavens.

In general I agree with Miss Gilchrist's view of versions B [and C] as being little later than A and as referring to Glastonbury for the purpose of glorifying the Abbey and its relics. I also agree that, like so many other carols, the piece is probably the work of a religious who followed a true folk-song, possibly a game-song, the Grail symbolism, pious adapter. Version D was first pointed out by Miss [?], [?]'s note (to 'Sir David Graeme'), it came to him, not as a song, but without music. He says (loc. cit.): 'I borrowed the above line ["The dow flew east, the dow flew west,"] from a beautiful old rhyme which I have often heard my mother repeat, but of which she knew no tradition.' It is obviously genuine folk-poetry and may possibly be directly descended from the folk-original of the carol. The parallel of ll. 1, 2 with A stza. 1 is striking. The last six lines, which could have come from purely secular popular story, would yet suggest to a religious writer the possibility of adapting the folk-song to the Grail allegory.

The suggestion that version A may have come from Glastonbury is given some further support by the fact that another of the carols in Richard Hill's MS., No. 331, also on the Mass, is found only there and in a very similar commonplace book (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. O. 9. 38) which was written at Glastonbury Abbey. See Bibliography.

323. Of the Mass

Pr. Sandison, p. 102.

See Introduction, pp. xciv-xcv.

stza. 1, 1 2. *wyhte*. wight, strong, mighty. 1. 3. *Jhon*: the Evangelist

stza. 2, l 2. *Collas*. Sandison, following Madan, conjectures 'Nicholas'. This seems as probable as any other

stza. 3, l 3. *mowlde* top of the head.

stza 4, l 1. *knyghte*. Misread by Sandison as 'bryghte'. Compare No. 309 a, stza 6, l. 3, and Lydgate's(?) *Kalendare*, l 113 (*pr.* MacCracken, Part II, p 367) 'O sacred Seynt George, oure lady knyght.'

324. Of the Ten Commandments

Pr. C. & S., M L R v, p. 479, Whiting, p 181.

Audelay takes some liberties with the Commandments as they were prescribed to be taught by the Synod of Lambeth (1281) In stza 1, l 2 he introduces Christ's injunction from Matthew xix. 19 'Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum.' Compare stza 3, ll. 1, 2 of 'Keep Well Christ's Commandments' (*pr.* Brown, *R L 14 C*, p 148)

And let þi neizhebor, frend and fo,
Riht frely of þi frendschupe fele.

He also omits the Ninth and Tenth Commandments against covetousness and adds one of his own against backbiting

burden, l. 2 A proverbial exhortation Compare Chaucer, *Physician's Tale*, l. 286, *Parson's Tale*, l 19

stza. 4, l 1. Compare No. 356, stza 1, ll 1, 2. l 3. *tult tult*, throw.

325. Of the Seven Deadly Sins.

Pr. C & S, M L R, v, p 480, Whiting, p 182.

burden, l. 1. A frequently quoted medieval proverb It is made the text, in the form 'Man, be warre er the be woo,' of a long poem in Bodleian Library MS Digby, 102, f. 113 r (*pr* Kail, J, *Twenty-six Political and other Poems*, E E T S, Or Ser., No 124, London, 1904, p. 60), which has as refrain 'Eche man be war er hym be wo' Compare 'Great Cato', Bk. IV, l 565 (*pr.* Furnivall, F J., *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, Part II, E E T S, Or. Ser., No. 117, London, 1901, p. 602) 'In þi weolpe þou thenk of wo,' and No 338, stza 3, l 2

stza. 3 Audelay's prescription of definite remedies for the Sins is in the manner of systematic medieval treatments of the subject, of which Chaucer's *Parson's Tale* is the best known l. 1. *buxumnes* obedience l 3 *largenes* generosity

326. Of the Seven Works of Mercy.

Pr. C. & S., M.L.R., v, p. 480, Whiting, p. 183.

Audelay is again somewhat original in his tabulation of the Seven Works, and deviates slightly from the list formulated by the Synod of Lambeth He seems to have in mind the seven 'corporal' works, but of these he omits to mention the ransoming of the captive and the visiting of the sick. The injunction to 'teach the unwise' he takes over from the list of 'spiritual' works In the long poem of his own which seems to have served him as a quarry of carol-material (Whiting, No. 1, ll 173-8) his list is the same. The carol is evidently a recasting and expansion of this passage

Two poems on the subject from MS Lambeth 491, f. 295 r and v (*pr* Bulbring, K. D., *Archiv*, vol. lxxxvi, pp. 388-90) follow the orthodox lists of corporal and spiritual works respectively.

stzas 3-5. Audelay has taken these stanzas with some changes from another of his own longer poems (Whiting, No. 17, ll 197-200, 213-20) The reference is to Matthew xxv. 31-46.

327. Of the Seven Gifts of the Holy Ghost

Pr C & S., *M.L.R.* v, p 482, Whiting, p 185

Audelay's formulation of the Seven Gifts differs from that of other literature on the subject. The traditional gifts are those enumerated in Isaiah xi 2, 3 'Et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiae et pietatis, et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini.' These appear in a Vernon MS lyric (*pr* Horstmann, C, *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, Part I, E.E.T.S., Or Ser, No 98, London, 1892, p 34). Audelay's 'mind' can be identified with 'intellectus' and 'resun' with 'consilium', but the others he has taken from the Cardinal Virtues.

burden. Compare ll. 1-3 of the Vernon MS lyric.

God þat art of mihtes most,
þe seven ȝiftus of þe holigost
I preye þat þou ȝiue me

stzas. 4-6 These are based on St Paul's teaching in I Corinthians xiii. Audelay may have been led to include these virtues by the fact that 'faith' and 'charity' are reckoned among the gifts of the so-called 'second class' or *charismata*, which have the authority of this and other passages of St Paul's writings. He has certainly confused his theology.

328. Of the Five Wits.

Pr C & S., *M.L.R.* v, p 481, Whiting, p 184

Audelay's carol is cast in the imperative like the poem on the 'fyve Inwyttys' from MS. Lambeth 491, f 295 r. (*pr*. Bulbring, K D, *Archiv*, vol lxxxvi, p 388), but there is no further resemblance. Compare also the 'orysoun for sauynge of þe fyue wyttys' from the Vernon MS (*pr*. Horstmann, C, op. cit., p. 35).

stza 5, l 3 *luste* pleasure l. 4. This line is a popular proverb. Compare Draxe's *Treasure of Ancient Adages* (1616, *repr* Forster, M, *Anglia*, vol xlii, p 395) 'Measure is a merrie meane.'

329. A Call to Righteous Living

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 10, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p 44, C. & S., p 180.

The obvious incongruity between the two lines of the burden is probably due to the borrowing of the first line from some secular song. Compare the burden of No 363. The syllable 'gay' (sometimes spelled *gué*) is common in the refrains of French songs, e.g.

Gay, gay, gay, la rira dondaine,
Gay, gay, gay, la rira dondê.

(Thureau, G, *Der Refrain in der französischen Chanson Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, xxiii, Berlin, 1901, p 27)

stza. 2, l 1, stza. 3, l. 1. Compare No. 357, stzas 1-3.

stza 4, l 1. *non thing stere* burn or offer incense to nothing. The allusion is to the commandment. This is a later use of 'stere' than any recorded by OED.

330. My Hope is in God.

Music for two and three voices. *Pr*. Fehr, p. 271.

The words of this piece are notable for their extensive use of alliteration. They are probably older than the MS. and the musical setting, as is the case with some of the other carols in the volume.

stza 2, l. 3. *plyght* folded, enclosed.

stza. 3, l. 1. *grucche*: complain. l. 2. *fawte* am in want.

331. Against Swearing by the Mass

a *Previously unpublished.*

b. *Pr* Dybowski, p 42; Flugel, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 263

stza 1, l 2. *comprysyd.* compared, brought together in one category For 'comprehended' in this sense, as in b, OED gives only a modern citation

stza 2, l 1. *werachy* the hierarchy of the nine orders of angels

332. Be Thankful and Patient

Pr Wright, *P S* xxiii, p 37.

stza. 5, l 3 *Buxsumlych* obediently

333. A Remonstrance with Man

Previously unpublished

This carol, like No. 260, suffers from its argumentative tone and pedestrian versification. With it compare the long poem, on the same theme and with l 2 of the burden as its refrain, in Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C 86, f 65 r (*pr* Sandison, p 110, also found in part in the printed Douce fragments f 48, f 2 r., *repr. facs* Reed, p 11)

burden, l. 1. Compare National Library of Scotland MS Advocates 18 7 21, f 125 r. (*pr* Brown, *RL 14 C.*, p. 88)

Mi folk nou ansuere me
an sey wat is my gilth,
wat miht i mor ha don for þe
pat i ne haue fulfith ?

See also Boddeker, K., ed., *Altenglische Dichtungen* (Berlin, 1878), p 231, ll 9, 10.
stza. 2, l 3 Compare ll 49-50 of the Rawlinson C 86 lyric

I made þe sonne with sterres of heven,
The mone also with bryght shynyng

334. Of the Power of God's Word

Pr. Wright, *P.S.* xxiii, p 30.

The burden and first stanza of this carol appear as well in No. 335, which, however, lacks the long refrain attached to each stanza

stza. 1, l 5. *frayn* ask

stza. 2, l 1 *Fiat* Genesis 1. 3

stzas 3, 4. This is the unique reference to astrology in the carols The author is careful to make explicit the subordination of the planets' influence to God's power over them

stza 3, l 3. *rowll* roll, move

stza. 5 This refers to one of two miracles recorded in the *Venerabilis Bedae Vita Anonymo Auctore* (*Pat Lat.*, xc, cols 53-4) 'Primo, quia cum ex nimia senectute oculis caligasset, et discipulo duce ad lapidum congeriem pervenisset, discipulus ei suadere coepit quod magnus esset ibi populus congregatus qui summa affectione et silentio ipsius praedicationem expectabant Cumque sanctus ferventi spiritu elegantissimum sermonem fecisset, et conclusisset *Per omnia saecula saeculorum*, lapides responderunt *Amen, Venerabilis Presbyter*'

335. Of the Power of God's Word

Previously unpublished. Not listed in Brown, *Register*.

The burden and first stanza of this carol are the same as those of No 334, except for the added second line of the burden and the omission of the long refrain from the stanza There are no other parallels between the two beyond the similarity of general theme.

stza. 3, ll. 1, 2. With 'Adam' for 'man' these lines appear as stza. 1, ll. 2, 3 of No. 68.

stza. 4, l. 3 *Nasson*: Naasson, the son of Aminadab, Luke iii 32-3.

stza. 8, l. 1 *infaynyt* the sense requires rather the opposite, 'finite'. 1 3
se. so.

336. Of Adam's Sin

Pr Wright, Wart Club, p. 2.

On the burden see Introduction, p cxliv Among other occurrences of the proverb in one form or another may be noted the beginning of a lyric in Cambridge University Library MS Dd 5 64 III, f. 35 v. (*pr Brown, R L 14 C.*, p 96)

When adam delf & eue span, spir, if pou wil spede,

Whare was þan þe pride of man þat now merres his mede?

and the fourteenth-century Latin couplet in British Museum MS. Harley 3362, f. 7 r:

Cum vanga quadam tellurem foderit Adam,
Et Eva nens fuerat, quis generosus erat?

This is called the 'parent phrase' by G. F. Northall (*English Folk-Rhymes*, London, 1892, p. 100) it is rather a rendering of the popular proverb with which it also appears in the collection of proverbs in Balliol College, Oxford, MS. 354 (*pr. Dyboski*, p. 131). It had a currency in Germany as well, see *N. & Q.*, 4th Ser., vols. v, p 610, ix, p 415

stza 1, l 1 *vale of Abraham* the vale of Hebron, the second home of Abraham. Owing to a mistranslation in the Vulgate it was regarded as the burial-place of Adam and hence as the Garden of Eden See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s v 'Hebron', and compare *Cursor Mundi* (Trinity text), ll 1415-16 (ed Morris, R., E.E.T.S., Or. Ser., No 57, &c, London, 1874, 1893, p. 89).

Grauen he was bi Seth þon
In þe vale of Ebron

stza 7, l. 4. The author makes the eating of the apple the cause of Adam's nakedness rather than of his being aproned! The omission of Eve's part in the temptation is striking

stza. 8, l 4 1 e he knew no trade by which to make a living.

337. Amend Me and Pair Me Not.

a. Music for two voices. *Pr. Padelford*, p 86, with music, *E.B.M.* II, p. 87, facs No. xli.

b. *Pr. Wright, P S.* xxiii, p. 29

c. Music for two and three voices. *Pr. Fehr*, p. 271.

burden, l 2 *peyre*: impair, make worse.

stza. 2, ll. 2, 3. Luke xvii. 3. '... si peccaverit in te frater tuus, increpa illum ...'

l. 3 *vpname*. uphold.

stza 4, l. 2. *bord*. jest.

338. Against Haste

a. Music for one, two, and three voices *Pr.*, with music, Fuller Maitland, p 19

b. Music for one, two, and three voices. *Pr. Padelford*, p. 114; with music, *E B M.* II, p 161, facs. No. xc

burden, l 4. A popular proverb. 'Hasti man lakkith newer woo' is No. 41 of the 'Diwers good prowerbis' of Balliol College, Oxford, MS. 354, f. 191 v. (*pr Dyboski*, p 129) In the form 'The hasty man failith neuer woo', it is l. 9 of Lydgate's 'A Ditty upon Haste', *pr. MacCracken*, Part II, p 759. Compare Chaucer, *Troilus*, Bk iv, l. 1568

stza. 3, l 1 *feste* confirm or seal a bargain 1 2 See note on No 325, burden, l. 1

stza 4 This is one of the *Proverbs of Hendyng*: 'Under boske shal men weder abide' (*Rel Ant*, vol. 1, p. 113).

stza. 5, l 1 *ie* if a hasty decision miscarries.

339. Against Evil Speech

Pr Wright, Wart. Club, p. 18, *Rel Ant* 11, p 165

stza. 2, l. 1. Compare No. 341, stza 4, ll. 1, 2, and note thereon.

340. Against Wicked Tongues

Pr Wright, P S xxiii, p 41

burden, l 2 'He need not fear wherever he goes'

stzas 3, 4. Compare No 349

stza 4, l. 4 *stake*. a dull, slow fellow. Compare the proverbial uses listed by OED, s v 'Stake', e g Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, Bk VI, ll 190-2.

I fro hire go

Ne mai, bot as it were a stake,

l stonde avisement to take.

EDD lists it as having the meaning 'a silly person' in Cumberland and in Westmorland in 1778

341. Against a Wicked Tongue.

Pr Wright, Wart Club, p. 87, *Rel. Ant* 11, p 167, C & S, p 191

stza. 1, l 2 *Satenas* The Satin-flower, also called Penny-flower. See *Leaves from Gerard's Herball*, ed. Woodward, Marcus (Boston, 1931), p 256, *peny-round* the ground pennywort Ibid, p 120 'Navelwoort, or Penniwoort of the Wall'. There is a kinde of Navelwoort that groweth in watery places, which is called of the husbandman Sheeps bane, because it killeth sheepe that do eat thereof it is not much unlike the precedent [the non-poisonous variety of the wall] but the round edges of the leaves are not so even as the other, and this creepeth upon the ground, and the other upon the stone walls'

stza 2, l. 4. *blo*: lvid

stza 3, l 1. *stauns* dissension

stza. 4, ll. 1, 2 An ancient and widespread proverb of ultimately Biblical origin (Proverbs xxv. 15, or Ecclesiasticus xxviii 21 See Taylor, Archer, *The Proverb*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931, p. 58) It occurs among the *Proverbs of Alfred*, ll. 460-1 (ed South, Helen P., New York, 1931, p 121) and among the proverbs in Balliol College, Oxford, MS 354 (*pr*. Dyboski, p 132) For a long list of its occurrences see Forster, Max, 'Kleinere mittenglische Texte', in *Anglia*, vol. xli, p 200, n 7 and 'Fruhmittelenglische Sprichwörter', in *Englische Studien*, vol. xxxi, p 6 It forms the refrain of Lydgate's 'Say the Best, and Never Repent' (*pr* MacCracken, Part II, p 795)

stza 5, l. 1 Note the suggestion of the varying degrees of the audience.

342. The Mischief of the Tongue.

Pr Wright, P S xxiii, p 78

The last line of each stanza forms a kind of link between the sense of the stanza and that of the burden, which is to be repeated at that point

stza 3, ll 3, 4 These lines mark the author as a religious person annoyed by the circulation of slanders against his order.

stza. 5, l. 1. Compare Psalm cxxxix 4 'Acuerunt linguas suas sicut serpentes . . .'

343. Of Discreet Behaviour.

Pr. Rel. Ant 1, p. 252

stza. 2, l. 1. *byrdes* ladies

stza. 3, l. 1. *nale. ale* The first three lines of this stanza occur also as stza. 6, ll. 1-3 of No. 344

344. Against Blowing One's Own Horn.

Pr. Wright, P S xxiii, p. 23

burden, l. 2. Apperson (*English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, London, 1929, p. 310) cites this as the earliest instance of the familiar metaphor for boasting

stza. 1, l. 2. *grame* harm.

stza. 2, l. 1. *shyll*. shrill

stza. 3, l. 2. Compare No. 345, stza. 2, l. 3, and note thereon

stza. 5, l. 3. See note on No. 411, burden, l. 2

stza. 6. The first three lines also occur as ll. 1-3 of No. 343, stza. 3

345. Suffer and Be Merry.

Pr. Dyboski, p. 46, Flügel, *N.L.*, p. 141, *Angha*, xxvi, p. 265, Furnivall, F. J., *The Babees Book* (E.E.T.S., Or Ser., No. 32, London, 1868), p. 361

There is an unpublished fifteenth-century poem on this same theme in National Library of Wales MS. Peniarth 395, f. 345r., with the refrain 'thenke on this word "suffren I mot." ' It begins:

Who so kon suffre and hold hym styll,
I trow he shall fynde hit for the best.

burden, l. 1. *so most I goo*. so may I (be able to) walk

stza. 1, l. 1. Adapted from *The Proverbs of Wysdom* (ed. Zupitza, *Archiv*, vol. xc, pp. 243-8), l. 105 'Be pou mery, pou pou be hard betid.'

stza. 2, l. 3. Compare No. 344, stza. 3, l. 2. The line is an adaptation of one of *The Proverbs of Wysdom* (Zupitza, op. cit.), l. 99 'Hyre and se, and be styll'. In the version from Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 9 it is 'Here, and se, and sey not'. As 'Hyre, and se, and sey not all!' it forms the refrain of a *chanson d'aventure* in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS. O. 9. 38, f. 26v. (*pr. Sandison*, p. 121).

stza. 4, l. 2. *The Wise Man*. the author of *The Proverbs of Wysdom* or *The Wise Man's Proverbs*.

stza. 5, l. 4. *lappe*. flap of the gown

346. Against Changing Servants.

Pr. Dyboski, p. 47, Flügel, *Angha*, xxvi, p. 266.

This carol is built around the proverb which forms part of the burden. Several other proverbs are quoted in support of it. The piece is elliptic and allusive, and looks as if it might have been produced for some particular occasion. It may be an address by minstrels in danger of being supplanted. stza. 2, ll. 1, 2, would be appropriate to a minstrel speaking of his calling.

burden, l. 2. A proverb (compare Lean, V. S., *Collectanea* (Bristol, 1907), vol. iii, p. 439 'Change not thy old friend for a new.')

stza. 1, l. 1. A proverb. It appears in Chaucer's *Troilus*, Bk. I, l. 809, and is called 'old' in 'The Reply of Friar Daw Topias' A.D. 1401 (*pr. Wright, T., Political Poems and Songs*, Rolls Series, London, 1861, vol. ii, p. 59).

On old Englis it is said,
unkissid is unknowun.

l. 4. *new*: probably an error for 'true', in view of stza. 2, l. 4. The proverb is not 'new', it occurs in *Cursor Mundi* (Trinity text), l. 2848, in the form 'Suche

as þei brew þo þei drunke' This and other occurrences are cited by Lean, op cit , vol. iii, p. 423

stza. 3, l. 2 'Two faces in one hood' is a proverbial expression for hypocrisy. It is among the proverbs in Balliol College, Oxford, MS. 354, f. 200 r (*pr* Dyboski, p. 130) The 'fair castle' here seems to stand for the worldly rewards won by hypocrisy

347. Of the Estates of Men

Pr. C. & S., M.L.R. vi, p. 68, Whiting, p. 195

This carol is a striking expression of Audelay's faith in the propriety of the existing order of society Compare his attitude in No. 411, stzas 6, 7. The verses on the 'four estates' are in the same spirit as those in stza 7 of 'I wyte my silf myne owne Woo' (*pr* Furnivall, F. J., *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, E.E.T.S., Or. Ser., No. 24, London, 1867, p. 35). Here the 'three points of mischief' are poor men proud, a rich man a thief, an old man a lecher, only the last of which Audelay includes The three estates of the poem are the usual ones of the priest, the knight, and the labourer Audelay's introduction of the friars as an estate is less surprising than his seeming to regard old men as constituting one by themselves He may have had in his mind some current formula like that of the five evil things mentioned in a thirteenth-century rime (British Museum MS Cotton Cleopatra C vi, f. 22 r, *pr Rel. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 15)

King conseilles
Bissop loreles
Wumman schameles
Hold-man lechur
Jong-man trichur
Off alle mine live
Ne sau I worse five

Audelay's division of society into four estates seems to be of his own devising Ruth Mohl (*The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature*, New York, 1933, pp. 47, 80, 204-5, 220-1, 318) records several instances of classifications into four estates, but none of these agree with Audelay's, which she does not mention

stza. 1, l. 5 *allgate* at any rate.
stza. 2, l. 3. *Leud or lered.* ignorant or learned.
stza. 3, l. 1 *obisions* abuses.
stza. 8, l. 4. *chomys* shames.

348. Of the Mean Estate

Music for two and three voices *Pr Fehr*, p. 267

burden, l. 2. A proverb, recorded by Draxe, T., *Bibliotheca Scholastica* (London, 1633), p. 124, and *Treasurie of Ancient Adages* (ed. Forster, M., *Anglia*, vol. xlii, p. 395).

stza. 1, l. 1. A proverb, recorded in *Bibliotheca Scholastica*, p. 7 'The higher I climbe the greater is my fall' l. 3 *donder-sownys* thunder-sounds This line and stza. 2, l. 1 suggest that the author may have known Horace's lines on the same theme (*Odes*, II x 9-12).

saepius ventis agitur ingens
pinus et celsae graviore casu
decidunt turre feruntque summos
fulgura montes

stza. 3, ll. 2, 3 Another proverb, appearing among those in Balliol College, Oxford, MS. 354, f. 200 v. (*pr* Dyboski, p. 132) 'He that heweth to hye, þe chippis will fall in his eye' It is also in Draxe's *Treasurie* J. A. Ray (*A Collection*

of *English Proverbs*, Cambridge, 1678, p. 154) gives it as 'Looke not too hie lest a chip fall into thine eye', and adds that 'Hew' is the Scottish version. Apperson (*English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, p. 300) records it from as early as 1300. Compare No. 349, stanza 5.

349. Of Discreet Conduct.

Pr Mayer, sheet b

The quandary forming the subject of this piece is also stated in No. 340, stanzas 3, 4

stanza 1, l. 1. *asyse*: mode or fashion

stanza 3, l. 2. *hondes*: hounds

stanza 4, l. 1. An abbreviated version of the proverb 'Take heed of an ox before, of a horse (or ass) behind, of a monk (or knave) on all sides' (Apperson, *op. cit.*, p. 479)

stanza 5, l. 4 *spones*: chips. See note on No. 348, stanza 3, ll. 2, 3

350. Against Greed and Covetousness.

Pr Dyboski, p. 26, Flugel, *N L*, p. 141, *Anglia*, xxvi, p. 252

burden, l. 2. See Introduction, p. cxlv. Compare the lines on the wise man in British Museum MS. Harley 116, f. 170 v (for three shorter versions see Brown, *Register*, No. 700)

He ys wyse that can be waic er he be wo,

He ys wyse that can do well and say also,

He ys wyse that can ber yeue betwene frend and foo;

He ys wyse that hath inoghth and can say 'Hoo',

He ys wyse that [hath] on wyffe and wol no moo

stanza 3, ll. 1, 2. Compare No. 141, stanza 2, ll. 1, 2

351. Against Pride.

Pr Dyboski, p. 3; Flugel, *Anglia*, xxvi, p. 195

burden. Taken verbatim from Psalm lxxii. 10

stanza 2, l. 3. *apprese*: oppress, attack

352. Against Love of Riches.

Pr Zupitza, p. 219, notes, xciv, pp. 410-12.

stanza 1, ll. 1, 2. Ecclesiastes iii. 20: 'Et omnia pergunt ad unum locum de terra facta sunt et in terram pariter revertuntur' 1 3 *The Wyse Man*.

Solomon, the reputed author of Ecclesiastes.

stanza 4, l. 1. Job vii. 7. 'Memento quia ventus est vita mea,' &c

353. Of the Vanity of Riches.

Pr Zupitza, p. 220, notes, xciv, pp. 412-13

burden, l. 2. Job vii. 21: '... ecce nunc in pulvere dormiam...' Skelton uses 'Nunc in pulvere dormio' as the refrain of his poem 'Of the Death of the Noble Prince, Kynge Edwarde the Forth' (*Works*, ed. Dyce, A., London, 1843, vol. 1, p. 1).

stanza 2, l. 3. *bille*: weapon, halberd.

354. Do Well, and Dread No Man.

Music for two and three voices. *Pr*. Fehr, p. 272

The burden is made from a proverb. Compare 'Do weil & dout no man', from a seventeenth-century proverb collection in Beveridge, Erskine, ed., *Fergusson's Scottish Proverbs* (S.T.S., New Ser., No. 15, Edinburgh, 1924), p. 29, and No. 387, burden.

stza 2, l 4 *thres too* the two commandments given by Christ, Matthew xxii 37-40.

355. Against Pride.

a *Pr* Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 24, *Rel. Ant* II, p 166, C & S, p 183

b *Pr* Dyboski, p 50, Flugel, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 274

burden, l 2 See note on No 350, burden, l 2

stza 1, l 3 *blynn* stop

stza 5, l 2 *grile*. severe, bitter.

356. Make Amends.

a *Pr* Wright, *Wart Club*, p 15, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p 45, C & S, p 186

b *Pr* Wright, *P S* xxiii, p 44

Compare the *chanson d'aventure* with the refrain 'amendes make' in the Vernon MS, f 411 v (*pr* Brown, *R L* 14 C, p 196), especially ll 57-60

31f pou be kyng and croune bere,

And al þis world be at þi wil,

31t schaltou be pore as pou was ere,

And þat pou knowest bi pure skil

stza 1, ll 1-3 Compare No 324, stza 4, l 1, No 371, stza 2, ll 1, 2

stza. 2, l 3 *abeye*. atone for

stza 4 This occurs as stza 1 of No 382 l 1 *sleder* slippery

357. Of the Tokens of God's Displeasure

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p 73.

The 'dear years', the 'two pestilences', and the 'wind's blast' referred to in this carol set the date of its composition as not long after 1362, when these events would have been fresh enough in people's minds to make the allusions effective. The two plagues would be the great epidemics of 1348-9 and 1361-2, during the latter of which occurred the violent windstorm of 15 January 1362, mentioned by various chroniclers and in *Piers Plowman*. See Skeat's note on C Passus VI, ll 115, 117 (*The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman*, Oxford, 1886)

The special reference to damage by lightning at Lynn makes it fairly certain that the carol was written by some one in East Anglia and possibly in Lynn itself. I have been able to find no record of this particular destruction of the tolbooth and the Carmelite friary either in published histories of the town or by inquiry of local antiquarians. The later history of the Carmelite steeple implies that it had been built a hundred years before 1362. Its fall on a calm day, 9 April 1631, is well attested, and Charles Parkin (*An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk*, London, 1808, vol viii, p 523) says that at that time it had 'continued upwards of 360 years'.

The tone of stza 7, ll 3, 4, does not suggest that the author was himself one of the afflicted community. He might have belonged to one of the several rival orders with houses in Lynn and one is tempted to suggest the Franciscans, whose steeple not only 'stood fast' in the tempest of 1362 but rises over King's Lynn to the present day.

With this carol compare the verses on the later visitations of 1382 (*pr* Brown, *R L* 14 C., p 186) especially ll 57-62

þe Rysing of þe comuynes in londe,

þe Pestilens and þe eorpe-quake—

þeose þreo þinges, I vnderstonde,

Beo-tokenes þe grete vengeance & wrake

þat schulde falle for synnes sake,

As þis Clerkes conne de-clare

stza. 1 Compare the first stanza of an unpublished fifteenth-century poem

with 'O and I' refrain in Cambridge University Library MS Gg 1. 32, f. 3 r. (Brown, *Register*, No 2265)

Thynk, man, qwareoff thou art wrought, that art so wlonk in wele,
Thynk hou thou art hedyr brought, and of thyn end take hede,
Thynk hou dere God has the bought, with blysfyl blode to blede,
Thynk, for his gyle was it noght, bot, man, for thi mysdede.

Compare also No 329, stzas 2, 3.

358 Of Religious Duties

Pr Wright, *P S.* xxiii, p. 40

burden, l 2 'Parce mihi, Domine' occurs as the refrain of the widely current 'Bird with Four Feathers' (Brown, *Register*, Nos 366, 2396, one version *pr.* Kail, J., *Twenty-six Political and other Poems*, E E T S., Or Ser, No 124, London, 1904, p 143), and in an unpublished prayer to the Trinity in Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 189, f 105 v Its source is Job vii 16, whence it is incorporated in the Matins of the Office of the Dead, Lectio 1 (*Br Sar* 11, col 273)

stza 5, l 3 'To heaven God teach us the way.'

359. Of Divine Mercy.

A a. *Pr* Dyboski, p 8, Flugel, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 233

b. Music for two voices. *Pr* Padelford, p 87, with music, *E.B M* 11, p. 106, facs No. xlv1, Terry, p 38

B Music for two and three voices. *Pr* Fehr, p 275, Dyboski, p 171.

burden, l. 1 *asay* 'try, i e apply yourself to seek mercy. Compare the burden of No. 184

A. stza 3, l 2. (B stza 2, l 3) *spyll*. be lost.

A. stza 6, l 2 *stownd* time.

360. Let Us Amend

Pr Zupitza, p 215, notes, xciv, pp 402-4

stza 1, l 1 *Seint Augustyne* Zupitza suggests several passages from Augustine's works which Ryman may have had in mind (*Pat. Lat* xxxvi, cols 284, 357, xxxviii, cols 131, 150). A more likely source is the *Enarratio in Psalmum C, vers. 1* (*Pat. Lat.* xxxvi, col. 1282) 'forte invenimus modo tempus esse misericordiae, futurum autem tempus iudicii Quomodo est primo tempus misericordiae? . . . Misericordiae tempus est, nondum iudicii.' Ryman's 'for why' may be a reminiscence of the 'Quomodo'.

361. Of Doomsday.

Pr Dyboski, p. 9; Flugel, *Anglia*, xxvi, p. 234

stza. 1, ll. 1-3 occur as stza. 8, ll. 1-3 of No. 365

stza 1, l 2 *hygh Justyce* Christ. Compare No 98, stza 3, l. 3, No. 179, stza. 5, l. 3, and No. 209, stza. 8, l. 1.

stza. 4, l. 1 *rede* advise

stza. 5. This points to the use of the carol at Christmas gatherings.

362. Of Doomsday.

Pr. Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, III, Appendix, p 316.

stza. 3, l 4 *toyenst to fay* hostile to the faith.

stza. 4, l 4. *reherse here pay*. reckon up their reward.

363. Of the Last Judgement.

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 21; Fehr, B., *Archiv*, cix, p. 47.

The whole carol is based on Matthew xxv 31-6, 41-4. The burden is probably an adaptation of one from a secular song. Compare the burden of No 329 and note thereon.

364. Of the Last Judgement.

Repr facs. Reed, pp 66, 63-4

This carol, like No. 363, is based on Matthew xxv

Reed (p xlv) thinks that the burden is an 'explanatory refrain' to a woodcut marking the end of a volume and that the burden of this piece was on a lost leaf preceding p [45] It seems more probable that pp. [45-6] and [47-8] are folded the wrong way in the present binding See my review of Reed, *Modern Language Notes*, vol xlviii, p 133

stza 1, l. 1. *shyll* shrill

stza 8, l 2 *abye* atone

365. Of the Vanity of the World

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p 5, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p. 42, C & S, p 181

This carol appears to have been assembled from verses on two different but related subjects Stzas 1-3 and 8, 9 deal with man's accountability for his actions, whereas stzas 4-7 are on the familiar theme of the mutability of worldly fortune The fact that one stanza also appears in another carol points to the piece's being a composite one

stza. 1, ll 1-3 The author has Matthew xiii 24-30 in mind, but he has confused the simile as found there The world is to be likened to the farm and man in general to the husbandman

stza 2 Matthew xii 36 'Dico autem vobis, quoniam omne verbum otiosum quod locuti fuerint homines, reddent rationem de eo in die iudicii.' l 1 *spylle* waste l 3 *grylle* severe, exact

stza 4, l 1 *farye* tumult, scene of disorder The earliest citation in OED is from 1500 l 2 *neysche* nesh, soft, i e muddy

stza. 6, l 3 *wrynge* suffer.

stza 8, ll 1-3 These occur as stza 1, ll. 1-3 of No. 361 l 4 *pay* payment, accounting

stza. 9, l 3 *monewere* moneyer, i e the treasurer of grace, continuing the figure of the preceding stanza

366. Of the Vanity of the World

Pr James & Macaulay, p 82.

stza. 1, ll. 2, 3 James 1. 10, 11 '... sicut flos foeni transibit Exortus est enim sol cum ardore, et arefecit foenum, et flos eius decidit, et decor vultus eius deperit.'

stza 4, l. 2. *wyth cuce sowersette*. put off with excuses Executors have a bad name in medieval literature, compare the burden and stza 2 of No. 382 The frequent interest of the religious orders in obtaining legacies and the resulting conflicts and litigations may have had something to do with the prejudice Audelay mentions the unreliability of executors, see Whiting, No 2, l 89, No. 11, ll 99, 345-7

stza 6, l 2. Compare the abuse of executors and the tales of their falsity in *Handlyng Synne*, ll 6293-508 and 6257-62, especially ll 6293-9 (ed Furnivall, F. J., E E T S., Or Ser, No 119, London, 1901):

3e ryche men, before 3ow se,
 3e whyles 3e are yn 3oure pouste,
 On 3oure soules, y rede 3ow penke;
 y warne 3ow of 3oure eyres blenke,
 Ne haueþ no trust of 3oure sokoure,
 Nat of 3oure owne executoure,
 3yueþ 3eself with 3oure hondys.

367. Of the Vanity of the World

Music for two and four voices. *Pr.* Fehr, p 277.

burden, l 2. For source see table in Introduction, p lxvi. A lyric in the Vernon MS. uses the same phrase as refrain (*pr.* Furnivall, F. J., *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, Part II, E.E.T.S., Or Ser., No. 117, London, 1901, p 733)
 stza. 1, l 1 This also occurs as stza 5, l 2 of No. 370

368. Of the Fear of Death

Pr. Wright, *Wart. Club*, p 20, Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cix, p. 46, C. & S., p 184
 burden, l 1 *drukke* dioop, cower *dare* tremble with fear
 stza. 1, l 1 Job 1. 21 ' . . nudus egressus sum de utero matris meae, et nudus reuertar illuc ' Compare the hymn 'De Miseria Hominis,' stza 2 (*Anal Hym*, vol xxi, p 93)

Nudus ingrederis
 Nudus egrederis
 Egressus cum pavore

369-72. The 'Timor Mortis' Carols.

The phrase which forms the text for these carols is from the Response to the seventh *Lectio* in the third Nocturne of Matins in the *Officium Mortuorum* (*Br Sar.* ii, col 278) 'Peccantem me quotidie et non poenitentem timor mortis conturbat me Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio miserere mei Deus et salva me.' See Patterson, pp 180-3, and Greene, R. L., *M.L.R.*, vol xxviii, pp. 235-8.

Compare with these carols Lydgate's 'Timor Mortis Conturbat Me' (*pr* MacCracken, Part II, p. 828).

369. Of the Fear of Death.

Pr. C. & S., *M.L.R.* vi, p 80, Whiting, p 211.

This is one of the most personal of all the carols, and its sincerity and directness, as well as its tale of personal affliction, set it apart from the more conventional laments of the 'Timor mortis' type

stza 1, l 3 *nyth*: is hostile to l. 4 This line is taken from the rimed prayer 'Anima Christi sanctifica me' (Daniel, *Thes Hym*, vol. 1, p 345), as noted by Whiting. This was not, strictly speaking, a hymn in Audelay's time Audelay uses it as well in his poem on the Psalter of the Passion (Whiting, No 6, l. 9)

stza. 8, ll 1, 3 Audelay uses these lines in his poetical 'colophon', ll 482, 484 (Whiting, No 18)

stza 9, l 2 Luke xxiii. 46 'Et clamans voce magna Jesus ait Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum'

stza. 11, l 2 An old and widely current proverb, equivalent to 'darkest before dawn', recorded by Draxe, *Bibliotheca Scholastica* (London, 1633, p. 91). 'When bale is highest, boot is next.' It appears in *The Owl and the Nightingale*, ll. 687-8, see note in the edition of J. W. H. Atkins (Cambridge, 1922), p. 59 l. 3. *nyd*. annoyed, troubled.

370. Of the Fear of Death.

a. *Pr.* Wright, *P S.* xxiii, p. 57, Flugel, *Anglia*, xxvi, p 191, Patterson, p 102.

b. *Pr.* Dyboski, p. 3; Flugel, loc. cit.; C. & S., p 150.

c. *Repr. facs* Reed, p 59.

Compare No. 378, which is also a *chanson d'aventure* making use of the 'talking bird' convention

burden This couplet appears to have been a commonplace at the time of the carol At Witney the tomb of Richard Waynman and his wives, who died about 1500, bore the inscription (Brabant, F. G., *Oxfordshire*, London, 1919, p 257)

Man in what state that ever thou be
 Timor Mortis should trouble thee,
 For when thou least wenyst,
 Veniet te Mors superare,

stza 2, l 2. *musket* a small sparrow-hawk It is interesting to note that medieval hawking etiquette designated the musket as the bird appropriate to the use of a 'holy-water clerk'

stza 3. Compare the poem on the 'Timor mortis' theme in MS Longleat 29, f 145 v, stza. 7, ll 1-4 (*pr* Greene, R L, *MLR*, vol xxviii, p 236)

þer is no þyng þat euer God made

More certeyn to vs þan oure deþe is,

But more vncerteyne þyng none is yhadd

þan þe oure off deþe to vs, ywysse

stza 4, ll. 3, 4 These words are not recorded in the canonical Scriptures as said by Jesus.

stza 5, l 2. This appears as stza 1, l 1 of No 367 It is, of course, a commonplace 1. 3 *necessyte* hardship

371. Of the Fear of Death

Pr Wright, *P.S* xxiii, p 74, Flugel, *Angha*, xxvi, p 193, Patterson, p 100

The substance of this carol is very similar to that of No 370, but the use of a man instead of a bird as the speaker makes this piece the more effective.

stza. 2 Compare No 356, stza 1.

stza 6, l 2 *chery-fare* the fair held in the cherry-orchards, often a gay and frivolous occasion 'Formerly a frequent symbol of the shortness of life and the fleeting nature of its pleasures', OED Compare Audelay's long didactic poem beginning 'God haþ grauntyd grace', ll. 280-1 (Whiting, No 2)

Fore al þe worchyp of þis word hit wyl wype sone away,

Hit falls and fadys forþ, so doþ a chere fayre

372. Of the Fear of Death

Pr Dyboski, p 36, Flugel, *Angha*, xxvi, p 259, Patterson, p 103, C & S, p. 149

Patterson's note (p 181) that this is a partial translation, part of the line being left in the Latin and the other part put into English, lacks supporting evidence, especially in view of the procedures followed in other macaronic carols. He refers to Chambers (C & S, p 286) 'the tags of Latin which indicate a habit of translating the couplets of a caudated poem, while leaving the *caudae* themselves in the original' But see Introduction, pp lxi-lxiv An attempt to make a rimed 'partial translation' of a Latin piece in units of half-lines, as here, will prove illuminating

stza 3, l. 2 *roule* roll, list of sinners For a picturesque instance of a demon with a roll see Audelay's 'De meritis misse', ll 291-305 (Whiting, No 9).

stza 4. See note on No 370, stza 4, ll 3, 4

373. Of Death.

Pr Dyboski, p 92, Flugel, *Angha*, xxvi, p 223

I believe that previous editors have been mistaken in their interpretation of the relation of this piece and No 374, which directly follows it in the MS See notes on that carol. There were probably more stanzas than one in this carol originally.

374. Of Death and the Ages of Man

Pr Dyboski, p 93, Flugel, *Angha*, xxvi, p 223

stza 1, l 4. A proverb, occurring with others in the MS containing the carol, f 191 v. (*pr* Dyboski, p 129) It also appears in Draxe's *Treasure of Ancient Adages* (*repr* Forster, M., *Angha*, vol xli, p 397) and as the title of a pamphlet in 1644 *To-day a man, To-morrow none, or Sir Walter Rawleighs Farewell to his Lady, &c.* (*repr* Ashbee, E. W., 1872)

stza 3, l. 2. *bynke*. bench

Dyboski appears uncertain whether this carol and No 373 are to be regarded as one piece or two. He prints both under one number but with a supplied title before stza 1 of this piece. The marking of the burden in the MS with a cross, which, together with 'so dy', is repeated in the margin opposite each stanza, makes it fairly plain that the division here made is the one intended by the scribe.

375. Of Repentance in Age

Music for two and three voices. *Pr.* Fehr, p 277, Patterson, p 100

burden, l. 2. See note on Nos 369-72.

stza 2, l. 4. See note on No 358, burden, l. 2

stza 3, l. 4. From the Versicle following the 'Timor mortis' Response (*Br Sar.* 11, col 278) 'Deus in nomine tuo saluum me fac Domine, et in veritate tua libera me'

376. We All Must Die.

Repr. facs Reed, p 25

burden, l. 2. *rede* advise l. 3. *lyche*: alike.

stza 1, l. 3. *blyn'* hesitate.

stza. 2, l. 5. *mylt* spleen

stza 3, l. 1. *mys*: sin l. 5. *vought* cared.

stza. 4, l. 2. *sonde* gift l. 5. Compare No. 366, stza. 6, l. 2, and note thereon.

stza 5, l. 5. *bales*. woes. *bete* help

stza. 6, ll 1, 2. See note on No 370, stza. 3. l. 4. *red the lere* advise thee to learn.

377. Put No Trust in Earthly Friends

Previously unpublished

burden, l. 1. *red* advise.

stza. 2, l. 4. *hethyng* scoffing, derision

stza 3, l. 1. *bedene* together. l. 3. *tray*. affliction.

378. All Flesh Is Grass.

Previously unpublished.

Nos. 370, 389 are other carols in the form of *chansons d'aventure* which make use of the 'talking bird' convention

burden, l. 2. Isaiah xl. 6. Compare 1 Peter 1. 24

The scribe seems to have been uncertain of the cases of 'caro'

379. An Exhortation to God's Service.

Previously unpublished. Not listed in Brown, *Register*

stza 1, l. 2. *Trustyth'* (imperative)

stza 9, l. 2. *aste*. haste. l. 4. *awe* held in awe.

stza. 10, l. 1. *proollyng* prowling, cheating l. 2. *pollyng*: extortion.

l. 3. *enrolllyng*. i.e. in the court records l. 4. *cobbes*. important men.

comptrolllyng calling to account

stza. 11, l. 2. *carderes* card-players. OED records first from c 1530

380. Follow Christ's Word

Previously unpublished. Not listed in Brown, *Register*.

381. Service is No Heritage

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 22, Fehr, B., *Archiv*, cix, p. 47, C & S, p. 185

The second line of the burden of this carol is one of the commonest and longest-lived of medieval proverbs. On its origin see *N & Q*, 1st Ser., vol. viii, pp. 586-7, in connexion with its occurrence in Scott's novels. Swift quotes it in 'Mrs Frances Harris's Petition', l. 44, and 'Directions to Servants', chap. x. It is the refrain of a *chanson d'aventure* in Bodleian Library MS. Rawlinson poet. 36, f. 2r (*pr* Sandison, p. 119), and it is used by Hoccleve in *The Regiment of Princes*, l. 841. It appears reversed in the 'Consail and Teiching at the Vys Man Garf his Sone', ll. 371-2 (*pr* Lumby, J. R., *Rahs Raving*, EETS, Or Ser., No. 43, London, 1870, p. 100).

Be weill wyllt in thin office,
For heritage is na seruice

stza 1, l. 1 *prys* worth

stza 2, ll. 1, 2. Another proverb, recorded by John Ray (*A Collection of English Proverbs*, Cambridge, 1678, p. 60). 'Winter-weather and women's thoughts change oft'

stza 3, l. 2 *baly* jurisdiction, authority.

382. Little Joy is Soon Done

Pr Wright, *P. S.* xxiii, p. 4

burden. See note on No. 366, stza. 4, l. 2

stza 1. This occurs as stza. 4 of No. 356. l. 1 *sleder* slippery

stza 3, l. 1 *holy bok*. The nearest analogue to this sentiment in Scripture is Psalm xxx. 13. 'Oblivioni datus sum, tanquam mortuus a corde'. The carol-writer probably uses the phrase merely for emphasis. l. 3 *seken*. try, test.

stza 4. This implies a custom of singing in turn like that shown in Nos. 10, 11.

383. Of Covetous Guile.

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 13, Fehr, B., *Archiv*, cvii, p. 49.

burden, stza. 5, l. 1. Compare the following lines in British Museum MS. Royal 17. B. xvii (*pr* Horstmann, C., *Yorkshire Writers*, London, 1896, vol. II, p. 65).

Now gos gyle in euer-ilk flok,
And treuthe is sperrid vndre a lok

stza 2, l. 2. *plete*. plead, go to law.

stza 3, l. 1 *lent* lighted, arrived

stza 4, l. 1. *gre*. favour, good will

384. Of Seeming.

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 86, *Rel. Ant.* II, p. 166, C. & S., p. 190

stza 4, l. 1. *hynde* at hand, near

stza 5, l. 2 *bewreke* avenged

stza 6, l. 2 *sythin* afterwards.

385. Of Truth's Banishment.

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p. 19, *Rel. Ant.* II, p. 165, C. & S., p. 187

stza 2, l. 4. *heye mene* fine company.

stza 3, l. 3. *rewly*. sorry.

stza 4, l. 2 *flytte* shift, pass on

stza 5, l. 3 *rynde* rend, tear

stza 6, l. 2. *esylye* calmly, quietly.

386. Of the Flourishing of Vice.

- a. *Pr* Wright, *P S* xxiii, p. 96
 b. *Pr* Dyboski, p. 27; Flugel, *Angha*, xxvi, p. 252
 a stza 2, l 2 *melady* melody, apparently in the sense of concord or harmony,
 in spite of the mixed figure which results
 a. stza 3, l 2 *bate* debate, discord
 a. stza. 5, l 2 *distauce* dissension
 b. stza. 4, l 2 *eme Cristyn* 'even-Christians', fellow-Christians

387. Do Well and Dread No Man

Music for two and three voices *Pr* Fehr, p. 277
 burden, l 1. *rede*: counsel *can* know. l 2. A proverb. Compare
 No 354, burden, and note thereon
 stza 2, l 3 *bolsteris*: padded shoulders, one of the fashions to which moralists
 took exception. Compare the speech of a demon in the *Towneley Plays*, xxx,
 ll 287-90 (ed England, G, & Pollard, A W, E E T S, Ex. Ser., No LXXI,
 London, 1897, p. 376)

yit a poynte of the new gett / to tell will I not blyn,
 Of pranked gownes & shulders vp set / mos & flokkys sewyd wyth in,
 To vse sich gise thai will not let / thai say it is no syn
 Bot on sich pilus I me set / and clap thaym cheke and chyn

peked shon. perhaps the most notorious of extreme fashions in medieval men's
 costume Compare Myrc's *Instructions to Parish Priests*, ll. 41 ff. and 1031-3
 (ed Peacock, E., E E T S, Or Ser, No. 31 (revised), London, 1902):

[questions to be asked in confession]
 Hast þou ben prowde of any gyse
 Of any pynge þat þou dedust vse
 Of party hosen, of pykede schone?

These long toes were finally forbidden by statute under Edward IV in 1465 See
 Stow, John, *Survey of London* (London, 1912), p. 314 The carol must therefore
 have been written at about that time, some fifty years before the date of the MS.
 in which it is found.

stza. 3, l 2 *refrayne* restraint OED records only from 1560.

388. Trusty Friends are Rare.

- Pr* Wright, *P S* xxiii, p. 10
 stza 6, l 2. *after-tayll* the reckoning or accounting that follows.
 stza. 8, l. 1. *comonte* community

389. Try Your Friend before You Need Him.

- a. *Pr* Wright, *P.S.* xxiii, p. 28.
 b. *Pr* Dyboski, p. 47; Flugel, *Angha*, xxvi, p. 267.
 For the convention of the talking bird in a *chanson d'aventure* carol compare
 Nos 370, 378.
 burden, l 2. One of the *Wise Man's Proverbs* (l 14, *pr* Furnivall, F J.,
Englsche Studien, vol. xxiii, p. 442). It is among those in Balliol College, Oxford,
 MS. 354, f. 200 v. (*pr* Dyboski, p. 132) In Draxe's *Bibhotheeca Scholastica*
 (London, 1633, p. 74) it appears as 'Trie thy friend before that thou hast need
 of him.'

stza 2, l 1. *houed* waited. l. 3. *shyll* shrill.

390. Gramercy Mine Own Purse.

- Pr* Wright, *Wart. Club*, p. 14.
 burden, l. 2. This occurs as l. 2 of the burden of No 391. Compare also the

poem with the refrain 'Ever, Gramercy, myn owne purse', in Wynkyn de Worde's edition of *The Boke of St Albans*, repr Ritson, *Ancient Songs* (1790), p 89, (1829), vol 11, p 6, (1877), p 151

stza. 3, l 3, stza 4, l 3 Jack has had to give up the husbandman's life and become a vagabond musician

391. Gramercy Mine Own Purse

Pr James & Macaulay, p 72

burden, l 2 See note on No 390, burden, l 2

stza 5, l 3 *vowyn* affirm, declare

392. Sir Penny

Pr Wright, *Wart. Club*, p. 75, *Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes* (London, 1841), p 226, Ritson, *Ancient Songs* (1790), p 76, (1829), vol 1, p 134, (1877), p 116.

The personification of 'Penny' is met with in a number of medieval vernacular and Latin compositions. Compare especially the Latin 'Gospel of Money' (*pr* Lehmann, Paul, *Parodistische Texte*, Munich, 1923, pp. 7-12), the 'Penny-Catechism' (*ibid*, pp 15-16), the thirteenth-century 'Versus de Nummo' (*pr* Wright, *Latin Poems*, p 355), the English 'Sir Peni' (*ibid*, p 359), and the similar poem in *Rel Ant*, vol 11, p 108 There is also an anonymous sixteenth-century Scottish poem of 'Sir Penny' (*pr* Craigie, [Sir] W A, *The Maitland Folio Manuscript*, vol 1, S T S, New Ser, No 7, Edinburgh, 1919, p 399)

burden, l 1 Compare the rime scribbled in Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, MS 261, f. 234 r (cent xiv)

Spende and God schal sende,

Spare and ermore care

Non peni, non ware,

Non catel, non care,

Go, peni, go

Compare also the burden of No 424

stza 3, l 3 *dwer* doubt

stzas 4, 5 Compare No 390, stzas 1, 2

393. Money, Money.

Previously unpublished

See notes on Nos. 390-2

stza 3, l 2 *jett* strut, swagger.

stza. 4, ll 1, 2 Compare the still current proverb 'Money makes the mare go.' 1 3. *dysguysynges* allegorical entertainments, the forerunners of the Tudor masques

stza 5, l 2 *a mated chere* with the air of one checkmated or baffled.

stza 6, l 3. *tables* backgammon

stza 7, l 2 *fayne* glad.

394. In Praise of Women.

Pr James & Macaulay, p 76

The reaction of the honour paid to Mary on the earlier medieval attitude of disapproval of women is well shown in this piece. A sense of antagonism between the sexes is present, however, as in some other carols, for the praise of women involves depreciation of men

stza 1, l 1 *saw save*. *bedene* together

stza. 2, l. 1. *hend* smart, pretty

stza 3, l 4. *yawyð*: (?) gaped, talked windily. Apparently this is an intensive phrase, compare 'He lies in his teeth'

stza 5, l. 2. *throw hem howt* call them true. l 3 *hote* promise. l 4. The failure of rime indicates corruption of this line. The sense of the present reading appears to be: 'They speak idly, as in a song'

395. In Praise of Women.

a *Pr. Wright, Wart Club*, p. 106, C & S., p. 198.

b *Pr. Wright, Wart Club*, p. 11.

The excellence of the Virgin Mary is even more emphasized in this piece than in No. 394 as justification for an admiration for women in general. Unlike many of the carols to the Virgin, it praises her less as the recipient of a special supernatural sanctity than as the embodiment of all the good qualities to be found in her earthly sisters. The claim of stza 4, l. 3 is unusual even in poems devoted to the praise of women, and here it is rested on the tradition of Mary's reticence. This was fostered by the fact that Scripture records her speaking on only four occasions, the Annunciation, the Visitation, the finding of Jesus in the Temple, and the Marriage of Cana.

Compare the long poem in similar strain printed from the Auchinleck MS by Kolbing, E., *Englische Studien*, vol. vii, p. 103 (see also Holthausen, F., *Archiv*, vol. cxvii, pp. 290 ff., vol. cx, p. 102), and the poem with refrain 'Of wimmen comeþ þis worldes welle,' printed from the Vernon MS. by Brown, R.L. 14 C., p. 174, as well as Dunbar's 'In Prays of Woman' (Baldon, H. B., ed., *The Poems of William Dunbar*, Cambridge, 1907, p. 28), especially l. 2 'Off erthly thingis nane may bettir be.'

stza 2, l 1 *on her tour* in their degree or order.

396. In Praise of Women

Pr. Rel. Ant 1, p. 275

burden, l 1. Compare 'Deo Gracias' in the Vernon MS, f. 407 v, ll. 9-10 (*pr* Brown, R.L. 14 C., p. 138).

pouȝ I beo riche of gold so red,
And liht to renne as is a Ro.

stza 2, ll 2, 3. *the* dative of the pronoun 'thou'. l 2 Compare Lydgate's 'A Mumming at Hertford', l. 190 (*pr* MacCracken, Part II, p. 680).

397. Of Virginity.

Pr. C. & S., M.L.R. vi, p. 76, Whiting, p. 206

stza 3, l. 4 *pouste*. power.

stza. 4, l. 1. In connexion with Audelay's choice of these three names from among the *virgines* to note that St. Catherine and St. Margaret are the two *sculptures* still preserved at the entrance to the chapter *Winfred's* name would of course be ever ready to a Shropshire pen. All three were beheaded after refusal to yield their virginity. See Nos. 313, 314.

398. The Treasure of Virginity.

Pr. C. & S., M.L.R. vi, p. 77, Whiting, p. 207

stza. 2, l 1. *vndur* secret. l 3. *tame*. injure.

stza 3, l. 4. *fe*. property

stza. 5, ll. 1, 2. 1 e. had it not been for the virginity of Mary. l. 3. Compare No. 172, stza. 1, l. 2, and No. 230, stza 2, l. 5.

stza. 6, l 1 *myer*. were it not that. The emendation suggested by Whiting (p. 254), following Professor R. J. Menner, of 'nyed', meaning 'approach with

lustful purpose', is unnecessary. An exactly similar use of 'nere' occurs in No. 26, stza 4, l 1 1 3 *lene* let have.

stza. 7. Audelay's praise of the worldly value of chastity is consonant with his prudential attitude throughout. Compare his No. 411.

399. Women are Excellent—or the Contrary

a *Pr* Dyboski, p. 112

b *Pr* Wright, *P.S.* xxiii, p. 88

The regular return of the burden makes the carol-form a good one for the employment of this particular type of humour. One can imagine possibilities of mirth raised by its performance before women who did not understand the Latin of the burden. Lydgate uses a similar device in his poem with the refrain 'So as þe crabbe goþ forwarde' (*pr* MacCracken, Part II, p. 465).

a. stza. 3, l 1 *cumbers* cumbrous, troublesome

a stza. 5, l 3. *Gryzell* a form with final *d* was doubtless used by the original author of a. This and the following line in b are makeshifts to fill a gap caused by failure of memory or copy.

a stza. 7, l 1 *smater* prate, chatter

stza. 8. The love of women for the ale-house is one of the most frequent objects of derision among satirical critics. Compare No. 419 for a more sympathetic view of this recreation.

400. Women Compared to Steel

Pr James & Macaulay, p. 80

burden, l 1 *war* take heed of 1 2 'As true as steel' was already proverbial in the Middle Ages. See Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* (London, 1929), p. 647, and compare Chaucer, *Epilogue to the Merchant's Tale*, l 8.

For other occurrences in Chaucer see Whiting, Bartlett J., *Chaucer's Use of Proverbs* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1934), p. 174.

stza. 1, l 2 *Kaymys* Cain's. The line appears to be a condemnation of women which likens them to 'Cain's brothers' in the same derogatory sense in which the term was applied to the friars by their enemies. 1 3 *schrewdnes* mischief, wickedness.

stza. 2, l 2. *flyt*. quarrel. *stryfe* strive

stza. 5, l 2. *den* deign, condescend 1 3 *faytur* begging impostor, cheat

401. Of the Different Sorts of Women

A. a. *Pr* Dyboski, p. 113

b *Pr* Wright, *P.S.* xxiii, p. 89.

B *Pr. Rel. Ant* 1, p. 248

The two widely differing versions of this carol probably represent the activities of at least two different authors, writing to the same air and according to an easy and suggestive formula.

A. stza. 1, l 5 *lewed* worthless. 1 6. *shrewed* here probably 'shrewish' rather than 'wicked'.

A. stza. 4, l 1. A proverbial comparison. See Chaucer, *Knigh's Tale*, l 403, *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, l 246.

B. burden. Halliwell-Phillipps mistakenly prints this as part of the first stanza. Its true character is indicated in the MS. by brackets. The first stanza has lost two lines.

B. stza. 1, l 1. 'As nice as a nun's hen' is a proverbial simile, recorded by Ray (*A Collection of English Proverbs*, Cambridge, 1678, p. 281). See also Apperson, *English Proverbs*, p. 444.

B. stza. 2, l 3. Compare Wiat's 'The louer sheweth how he is forsaken', ll 5, 6 (Rollins, H. E., ed., *Tottel's Miscellany*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1928, p. 39):

That sometye they haue put them selues in danger,
To take bread at my hand

B stza 3 (A stza 6), 1 2 *bate* stufe 1. 3 *chehemate with* i.e. be a match for.
 B. stza 4, 1. 2 *tender as a tripe*. the proverbial simile for toughness, ironically reversed. It is obscured by Halliwell-Phillipps, who reads 'accripe' 1 3 *chury-ripe*. i.e. rosy and luscious

B stza 5, 1 3 A proverbial allusion to cuckolding, compare No. 407, stza. 7, ll 3-6, and Lydgate's 'The Pain and Sorrow of Evil Marriage', ll. 78-80 (*pr.* MacCracken, Part II, p. 459).

B stza 6, 1. 3 *moke* (?) muck, dust. The meaning of the line is obscure.

B stza 7 The author knows the wisdom of anonymity in the case of a piece like this one.

402. When to Trust Women.

a *Pr* Wright, *PS* xxiii, p 66.

b *Pr* Dyboski, p 114

c. *Pr* Garrett, R. M., *Anglia*, xxxii, p 358.

The burden was written by the same hand as the rest of the carol, but at a different time. This probably indicates the adaptation to carol-music of a song not originally written as a carol, a probability which is strengthened by the absence of burdens in b and c

The particular absurdities used to elaborate the misogynic theme in stzas 3-6, especially those of animals engaged in human pursuits, show the work of the same kind of imagination which produced similar grotesqueries in other medieval arts, notably sculpture and drawing. They especially bring to mind the curious animals which appear in the margins of the famous Bodleian MS of the *Romance of Alexander* (MS Bodley 264, *pr. facs.*, James, M. R., Oxford, 1933).

stza. 1, 1 6 *kyskys*. kecks, a term applied to a number of hollow-stalked umbelliferous plants, here probably teazles

stza. 2, 1. 4. *bulles of the see* seals 1 6 *incypyens*: foolishness.

stza 3, 1 3 *marmsattes* small monkeys of any sort 1 4. *gurnardes* gurnets, a species of fish

stza. 4, 1 4. *boserds* buzzards

stza 5, 1 1. *spawyns* spawns 1 4 *semaus*: sea-mews 1 5. *wodknyfys*: knives for cutting up game

stza. 6, 1. 1. *crowbes* corbies, ravens 1 5. *ryd*: road or bridle-path.

stza 7, 1 4. *musketes* male sparrow-hawks. *verges* verjuice, sour fruit juice used in cooking and medicine 1 5. *syll*. shall. 1 6. *Westmynster* i.e. Westminster Hall, where courts were held

b, c. stza 1, 1. 4. *croppis* tops of trees

c. stza. 3, 1. 3 *marlynges*: merlings, an alternative name for whittings.

b, c stza 3, 1 6. *sperlynges*: smelts

b. stza. 5, 1. 6 *griffons*: griffon-vultures

b. stza 6, 1. 5 *the blod of hayhs*: the alleged blood of Christ, preserved as a relic at Hailes Abbey, to which it was given in 1270 by the founder, Richard, Earl of Cornwall.

403. Against Hasty Wedding.

Pr. Wright, *Wart. Club*, p. 27.

With the burden compare the *Towneley Plays*, xiii, ll. 91-3 (ed. England, G., and Pollard, A. W., EETS., Ex. Ser., No LXXI, London, 1897, p 119):

Bot yong men of wowyng / for god that you boght
 Be well war of wedyng / and thynk in youre thoght.
 'had I wyst' is a thyng / it seruys of noght.

stza 1, 1 2. *knet* tied, married 1. 4. i.e. cast off the old love. The phrase is borrowed from hawking. Compare the song in British Museum MS. Harley 5396, f. 293 v. (*pr. Rel. Ant.*, vol 1, p. 75), with the refrain 'Turne up hur halter and let hur go.'

stza 4, 1. 3 A similar phrase for sexual excitability occurs in *Piers Plowman*, A, Passus iii, l 126: 'Heo is tikel of hire tayl.'

404. Beware of a Shrewish Wife.

Pr. Wright, *P S* xxiii, p 43

This carol shows influence from the *Gohas de Coniuge non Ducenda*, perhaps through Lydgate's English translation, 'The Pain and Sorrow of Evil Marriage', in Bodleian Library MS Digby 181, f 7 r (*pr* Wright, T, *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, London, 1841, p 295) Compare especially the last couplet (p 299)

Wherfore, yonge men, to eschewe sorowe and care
Withdrawe your foot or ye fall in the snare

Note also the following (p 298) from a spurious stanza (MacCracken, Part II, p 460)

It is trewe, I tell you, yonge men everychone,
Women be varyable and love many wordes and stryfe
Who can not appease them lyghtly or anone,
Shall have care and sorowe al his lyfe

The Latin version appears in some of the MSS with the *Confessio Gohae*, from which is taken the famous drinking song 'Meum est propositum', included in the MS of this carol

stza 2, l 1 *panter* fowler's snare
stza 3, l 1 *qwene* quean, light wench

405. A Young and Hen-pecked Husband's Complaint.

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p 70

stza 1, ll 1, 2. The marriage of young men to older women was much commoner in the Middle Ages than in modern times. The frequency of early widowhood and the great importance of marriage in relation to matters of property were contributing causes. The classic instance is, of course, the matrimonial history of Chaucer's Wife of Bath

stza 2, l 2 *reuen* cracked
stza 3, l 3 *led*. lead, large kettle or caldron. Perhaps the reading should be 'bed'

stza 4, l 3. *reych* rush. The phrase is a common expression for worthlessness
stza 5, l 2. *al at ese* a phrase of emphasis

406. A Hen-pecked Husband's Complaint.

Pr. Wright, *P S* xxiii, p 26

The burden, in sense the reverse of appropriate, was doubtless taken from another song, or common to several. Compare that of No 470

stza 5, l 2 This phrase had a sort of proverbial currency. Compare the incomplete poem in MS Lambeth, 491, f. 295 r. (*pr* Bulbring, K, *Archiv*, vol. lxxxvi, p 387), which uses it as a refrain. The poem uses it in its serious and proper sense, that the phrase 'inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos' was put in the Creed to remind men daily of their accountability for all their acts. See the passage on this phrase in the famous *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum* of Rufinus Aquileiensis (*Pat Lat* xxi, col 368). In the carol, as in 'The Reply of Friar Daw Topias' (Wright, *Political Poems*, vol 11, p 58), it is used rather profanely. Here the sense is that to the hen-pecked man every day is one of judgement. Compare the modern colloquialism 'to put the fear of God into one'

407. Of the Tyranny of Women.

Pr Wright, *P S* xxiii, p 64

Apperson (*English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, p 66) cites this carol as the earliest instance of the use of the phrase 'to wear the breeches' in the sense of 'to dominate the household'

stza 1, 1 2 *radicacyon* rooting, hold. 1 3 *thong*. thought, acknowledgement

stza. 2, 1. 2 *newels* news, Fr *nouvelles* 1. 6 *syth to mych*: say too much

stza 3, 1 2. *objurgacyon* chiding, scolding. OED records no instance earlier than 1550

stza. 6, 11. 1, 2. A bit of lore ultimately derived from Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, lib xxxvii, cap xv 'hucino rumpitui sanguine, neque aliter quam recenti calidoque macciata,' &c

stza 7, 1 1 *scald*. scabbed 11 3, 4 1 e a cuckold cannot conceal his situation.

408. Strife in the House.

Pr. Dyboski, p. 110.

stza 2, 1. 3 *shrew shake* 'cured of shrewishness', OED. 'Shrewishly inclined' (Dyboski) fits the context better

stza 8, 1. 3 *the* thrive

stza 9, 1 3 *ouerthrew* fell over

409. The Old Man Worsted.

Pr Wright, *P S* xxiii, p 51

stza 1, 1 3 *plyght* twisted, tangled

stza 4 The old man's choice of excuse contains an implicit allusion to a well-known and appropriate proverb, used by Innocent III in the form 'Tria sunt quae non sinunt hominem in domo permanere fumus, stillicidium, et mala uxor.' See Taylor, Archer, *The Proverb* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931), pp 40, 50, 58, 160-4

410. Women Will Have their Word

a. Pr Dyboski, p 109

b. Pr Wright, *P S*. xxiii, p 86.

The burden is possibly a parody of the famous Easter Prose, 'Victimae paschali laudes', strophe 4 (*Sar Miss*, p. 468)

Dic nobis maria, quid uidistis in uia

An English burden perhaps suggested by this one is found in a satirical piece on the clergy of the late sixteenth century in Victoria and Albert Museum MS Dyce 43, f. 22 r:

In towne-a, in towne-a,

God wolde hyt were layde down-a.

stza. 5, 1. 3 Compare Lydgate's 'A Mumming at Hertford', ll 63-4 (*pr*. MacCracken, Part II, p. 677).

stza. 13, 1 1 A proverb of wide currency. It is among the *Proverbs of Alfred* (ed. South, H P, New York, 1931, p. 107) in the form 'Sorwe hit is to rowen a[3]jen þe se-flode.' 11 2, 3. Another proverb. See Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, p 631

stza. 14, 1. 3 1.e he shall go in rags.

411. Of the Decadence of Marriage

Pr. C & S, *M.L.R.* vi, p. 78, Whiting, p 208

This carol, with the exception of the burden and first stanza, is taken bodily from another poem by Audelay which is in long stanzas (Whiting, No. 1, ll 78-103) Except for a few insignificant verbal changes, the only alteration necessary was to omit the short lines joining the quatrains of the long stanzas and to replace them by the tag 'All day thou sist'

burden, 1 2 One of the *Proverbs of Wysdom*, often quoted. For some of its occurrences see Zupitza, *Archiv*, vol xc, p. 258.

stza 1, 1 3. *gam and gle* sport and mirth

stza 3, l 2 'The parties to a match should be equal in birth, in wealth, and in age.'

stza 5, l 3 *chesyn* Whiting's emendation

stza. 6 Audelay's attack may here be directed against the putting into practice of the theories of courtly love He is a strong believer in social distinctions Compare No 347

stza 7 Fashionable adultery not only is a disgrace to the upper classes but also creates unrightful heirs to places and wealth

412. A Carol of Childhood

Pr C & S, *M.L.R.* vi, p 69, Whiting, p 197

The attitude of reverence for childhood expressed by Audelay in this carol is unusual in the Middle Ages and has been deservedly praised Nevertheless, the expression of it is rather stiff and conventional with its systematic introduction of the Deadly Sins, and is more probably inspired by the words of Jesus (Matthew xviii 3, Mark x 15, Luke xviii 17), than by sympathetic association with real children With the pleasant touch of the cherry-stones in stza 2, l 4, compare Lydgate's condemnation of his youthful self for the same play ('Testament', ll 646-8, *pr.* MacCracken, Part I, p 353)

My wyttes fyve in wast I did alle vse,
Redier cheristones for to telle
Than gon to churche, or here the sacryng belle

stza 1, l 2 i.e. he assumes no worldly dignity

stza 3, l. 4 *mystere* bodily need

stza 4, l. 1 *algate* at any rate.

413. The Schoolboy's Complaint.

Pr. Furnivall, F J, *The Babees Book* (E.E.T.S., Or Ser., No 32, London, 1868), p 403

stza 2, l 2 *vi of the clok* the usual time for children to rise See Furnivall's note. If our scholar had been at Eton about this time he would have kept even earlier hours See Coulton, G G, *Social Life in Britain* (Cambridge, 1918), p 81. *gise* custom l. 3 *avise* consideration, i.e. argument

stza 4, l 2 *fynkyll sede* fennel seed, the beating was sharper than fennel sauce

stza 5, l. 1. *watt* hare. l 3 *toppe* top of the book

414. The Wandering Bachelor

Pr. Wright, *P.S.* xxiii, p 27

stza. 2, l 3 *rennyng at the ball* probably stool-ball, as that was the principal ball-game in which maidens joined with men and which involved running See Hackwood, F W, *Old English Sports* (London, 1907), p 141

stza 3, l 1 *lat lyght be* think little of

stza 4. The bachelor of the carol is apparently a chapman or pedlar, or it may be a gay friar, compare No 416

415. The Carol of Jack Reckless.

Pr James & Macaulay, p. 80

stza 1, l 1 *bornys barns* l 2. i.e. he will help himself to what he needs. l. 3 *wolle* will

stza. 2, l 3. *hem* i.e. other men *hye dese* the high dais, the regular seat of the lord and his guests Jack will have nothing to do with that class of persons

stza 4, l 2. *the* thrive. l 3 *red* advise

416. A Pedlar's Carol.

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p 76.

burden, l 2 The wretched condition of nearly all roads in the Middle Ages was notorious. To be 'light of foot' and without a heavy pack was a great advantage

stza 1. The rogue of this song contrasts his 'wares' with those of the ordinary pedlar, or possibly of the wandering friar. Compare Chaucer's Friar with his 'tippet farsed full of knives', and Wyclif's account of friars in his tract 'On the Leaven of the Pharisees' (Matthew, F. D., ed., *The English Works of Wyclif hitherto Unprinted*, EETS, Or Ser., No 74, London, 1880, p 12)

'3it þei becomen pedderis berynge knyues, pursis, pynnyngs and girdlis and spices and sylk and precious pellure and forrouis for wymmen, and þei to smale gentil hondis, to gete loue of hem and to haue many grette ȝittis for litil good ore nouȝt, þei couerten euyle here neȝboris goodis'

See also the song against the friars printed by Thomas Wright (*Political Poems*, London, 1859, vol. 1, p 264)

For thai haue noght to lyve by,
thai wandren here and there,
And dele with dyvers marcerye,
ȝight as thai pedlers were

Thai dele with purses, pynnes, and knyves,
With gyrdles, gloves, for wenches and wywes,
Bot ever backward the husband thuyves
Ther thai are haunted tilte.

stza. 2, l 4. *rathere* sooner

stza. 3, l 1. *jelyf* jelly, 'perh[aps] in imitation of jolif, archaic form of jolly', OED *sonde* gift l. 4. *Ryd* guess

417. The Braggart and his Baselard.

Pr Wright, *Wart Club*, p 84, *P.S.* xxvii, p 50, C & S, p 243

burden, l 1. *Prenegard* the warning of a provoked and armed man. l 2. *baselard*: a long dagger, worn at the girdle

stza 1, l 2. *leke*: a common term of contempt. See examples in Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, p. 457.

stza. 2, l 1. *schede* sheath. l. 2. *loket*. a plate or band on the sheath

stza 3, l. 1. *wrethm* decorated with scroll-work.

stza 4, l. 1. *schape*: cross-bar or guard. l. 2. *gaspe and gape*: yawn as a sign of nonchalance. l. 3. *knape* knave, rascal.

stza. 5, l. 1. *trencher*. blade.

stza. 8, l. 2. *panne*. brain-pan.

418. Fare Far and Have Little.

Previously unpublished.

burden, l 1. *Hos*. whoso, whoever

stza. 2, l. 3. *fawe*: fain, glad

stza. 3, l. 4. *Myche yerne*. very swift, active: 'a fast rolling stone'.

stza 4, l. 1. *groute* root or dig up the earth, i.e. work on the land. l. 3. *prest*: loan or advance of wages.

stza. 5, l. 3. *halwen*: saints.

419. The Gossips' Meeting.

A a *Pr* Dyboski, p. 106; Flügel, *N.L.*, p 149

b. *Pr* Wright, *P.S.* xxiii, p. 91

B *Pr* Ritson, *Ancient Songs* (1790), p 77, (1829), vol. 1, p 136

B lacks the opening stanzas because of a defect in the MS. Several leaves are

missing immediately before f. 161 r, at the top of which the text begins. The abbreviated form, 'gode gosyp', as written after each stanza, is all that remains of the burden.

Some such piece as this was doubtless the model for 'The Good Gossippes songe' in the Chester Play of the Deluge (Deimling, H., ed., *The Chester Plays*, EETS, Ex Ser., No. LXII, London, 1893, p. 57). A song in Pepys's collection of ballads (Pepysian Library, vol. 1, pp. 436-7) tells of 'Fowre wittie Gossips' whose meeting to drink wine parallels much of the action of this carol.

A stza 4, l 1 *mery-go-down* strong ale

A b stza 6, l 5 *wryng* suffer

A. stza 11, l 4 *jonkers* junkets, merrymakings

A stza 12, l 1 *muscadell* the strong wine of muscat grapes

A stza 16, ll 4, 5 Compare Chaucer, *Nun's Priest's Tale*, l. 100 'Have ye no mannes herte, and han a berd?'

A stza 17, l 1 *shot* reckoning

B stza 4, l 2 *at a brayd* with a quick movement, suddenly

B stza 8, l 4 *oneithe* scarcely

420. A Minstrel's Greeting

Pr. Dyboski, p. 117.

This carol, like Nos. 10, 11, shows the visiting minstrel not merely as a performer but as an organizer of the company for general song. The stanzas addressed to the different members of the audience are such as a minstrel could count on to be appropriate to figures likely to be found in almost any gathering. The modern variety artist knows the same trick.

burden, l 3 *par la pompe* i.e. with ceremony or celebration

stza 2, l 3 *appose* examine, interrogate like a schoolmaster

stza 3, l 2. *tempereth his mowth* 'tunes up' l. 6 *tought* taut, congested

stza 5, l 3 *ipocras* the famous 'lusty' sweet wine

421. Fill the Bowl, Butler.

Pr. Dyboski, p. 118.

burden, l 1 *Bevis a tow* Beuvez à tous l. 2. *rowght* go round

stza 1, l 1 Compare the refrain of the cumulative drinking song reprinted from *Deuteromeha* (1609) by Rimbault, E. F., *A Little Book of Songs and Ballads* (London, 1851), p. 120 'Sing, gentle butler, *balla moy*' l 3 *by and by* at once

stza 4, l 2 *noll* head

stza 5, l 1 A good pun, as 'Walter' was so pronounced l 2 *galow-claper*: gallows-bird, by reference to the swinging motion of a suspended body l 3 *rather* sooner

422. Bring Us in Good Ale.

A. *Pr. Wright*, *PS* xxiii, p. 63, C. & S., p. 222

B. *Pr. Rutson*, *Ancient Songs* (1790), p. xxiv, Chener, Polecarp, *N & Q*, 2nd Ser., vol. x, p. 471

See Introduction, pp. xcv-xcvi. The carol is preceded in the manuscript by a pleasantly simply modal melody, under the notes of which is written No. 239 d. This is followed by the gloss 'Thys is the tewyn for the song foloyng yf so be that ye wyll haue a nother tewyn it may be at yowr plesur for I haue set all the song'. This has always been taken to indicate that 'Bring Us in Good Ale' was to be sung to the tune given, but the melody neither fits the stanza of the drinking-song nor suggests a convivial air. A difference in the ink with which 'Bring Us in Good Ale' begins (see facsimile in *EBM*, No. c) shows that some kind of break occurred just at that point in the writing of the manuscript. The words of No. 239 are given in full ten leaves farther on, in accordance with an annotation

written by another hand ('fo 10') directly after the words 'the song foloyng'. Apparently they should have followed the music directly but through mistake were entered elsewhere, and the space left vacant was filled with the words of the drinking-song, which undoubtedly had a very good tune of its own but was never meant to be sung to the 'Nowell, nowell,' melody. The note on this question in *The Oxford Book of Carols* (p. 43) is misleading and gives British Museum MS. Sloane 2593 as the source of the tune.

A. stzas 2, 5 Compare the 'Proverbial Rhyme' quoted by John Ray (*A Collection of English Proverbs*, Cambridge, 1678, p. 293)

He that buys land buys many stones,
He that buys flesh buys many bones,
He that buys eggs buys many shells,
But he that buys good Ale buys nothing else

A. stza 8, l. 2 *mer* mere, pond

B. stza 5, l. 1 *duwe* keep

B. stza 6, l. 1. *palde* flat, stale

423. Of the Effects of Ale.

Pr Wright, *P S* xxiii, p. 81, C & S, p. 224.

The vigorous disapproval expressed in this carol of the nearly universal English beverage is surprising, especially in view of the convivial associations of carol-singing. It marks the piece as certainly the work of a moralizing religious, probably, to judge from its realistic observation of drunkenness in humble life, a friar. For one of the few similar attacks on ale *per se* (not its abuse) compare the quotation from Pecock's *Repressor* in Coulton, G. G., *Social Life in Britain*, p. 378.

burden, l. 1. *Doll*. warm, mull. Compare *Promptorium Parvulorum* 'Dollyn, as alle or oder lyke Tabefacio' l. 2 *doty poll* stupid head. OED does not record this use, but gives 'doddy poll', as transferred to the possessor of the head stza 5, l. 1. *blokkas* stones or other obstructions, 'stumbling-blocks'

stza 6, l. 1 *falows* ploughed land Compare the proverb using the three rhyme-words of this stanza in Chaucer, *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, ll. 655-8, and the variant of it in *Rel. Ant.*, vol. 1, p. 233.

424. A Carol of Hunting.

A. *Pr*. Dyboski, p. 103

B. *Repr.* Flugel, *Angha*, xii, p. 587, *N L.*, p. 151; C. & S., p. 245, &c.

It is difficult to be certain of the exact arrangement of stanza and burden intended in B because of the abbreviated manner of its printing. The buyers of Wynkyn de Worde's little book would be expected to know the music

A. stza 1, l. 3 *Go bett*. Go better, a cry of encouragement. Compare Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women*, l. 1213, and No. 392, burden.

A. stza. 2, l. 2 *mountenaunce* extent *myle*: i.e. time enough to go a mile. l. 3 *withowt any gyle* i.e. 'I speak truly', an emphatic phrase.

425. Of the Death of Archbishop Scrope.

Pr Furnivall, F. J., *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ* (E.E.T.S., Or. Ser., No. 24, London, 1867), p. 128.

Richard le Scrope, Archbishop of York, was beheaded on 'Whitson Monday', 8 June 1405, as the result of his disaffection towards Henry IV, his conspiracy with the Percys, and his rousing of the people of York. Shakespeare's treatment of the episode (*I Henry IV*, iv. 4, and *II Henry IV*, 1. 3, iv. 1, 2) is written from the point of view of the King's policy. The carol is by a sympathizer with the Bishop, probably a religious. It agrees strikingly with the account of the execu-

tion given by Thomas Gascoigne, who was one of those who revered Scrope as a martyr (Rogers, J E T, ed, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, Oxford, 1881, pp. 225 ff)

stza 3, l 1 *He* i.e the executioner

stza 4 Compare Gascoigne (Rogers, op cit, p 227) 'et Thomae Alman, suo decollatori dixit "Fili, mortem meam Deus tibi remittat, et ego tibi remitto, rogans te intume ut des michi cum gladio tuo quinque vulnera in collo, quae intendo sustinere pro amore Domini nostri Jesu, qui pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem, quinque vulnera principalia pacienter sustinuit' Hall's *Chronicle* (quoted Furnivall, op cit, p 130) declares the report of this request a lie, written by 'seditious Asses' See also the Latin poem on the same event, likewise sympathetic to Scrope, in British Museum MS Cotton Faustina B x, f 242 r. (*pr* Wright, *Political Poems*, vol II, p 215)

426. The Agincourt Carol

a Music for two voices *Pr* Padelford, p 101, with music, *EBM* II, p 128, facs Nos lxvi, lxvii, &c

b Music for two and three voices *Pr* Padelford, p 102, with music, Fuller Martland, p 15, facs *ibid*, frontispiece

This stirring song, probably the best-known carol in English not concerned with the Nativity, was evidently composed in defiance of Henry V's famous interdict (Wallace, R S, and Hansen, A, eds, *Holinshed's Chronicles, Henry V*, Oxford, 1917, p 43) 'neither would he suffer any ditties to be made and soong by minstrels of his glorious victorie, for that he would wholie have the praise and thanks altogether given to God' The burden of this carol, which is probably the work of a cleric rather than a minstrel, reflects the King's insistence on the divine agency in the victory 'Deo gratias' was displayed on the tower of St Paul's during the celebration of the King's homecoming

Compare the long poem on Agincourt in British Museum MS Harley 565, f 102 r (*pr* [Nicolas, Sir Nicholas Harris, and Tyrrel, Edward], *A Chronicle of London*, London, 1827, p. 216) This, though not a carol, has inserted at intervals the couplet

Wot ye right well that thus it was
Gloria tibi, Trinitas

The MS copy of the Agincourt Carol on a single vellum leaf pasted in the front of vol 1 of Pepys's collection of ballads (Pepysian Library, No 2505) was made from the Selden MS and has no separate authority It is interesting, however, as the source from which Dr Burney gained his acquaintance with the piece See *A General History of Music* (London, 1776-89), vol II, pp 384-7

427. The Rose of Ryse

Pr Furnivall, F J, *N. & Q*, 5th Ser, vol XII, p 124. Furnivall misplaces the short lines of the stanzas

The end of the carol is missing, as two leaves have been torn from the MS.

The phrasing of the first two stanzas shows strong influence from the symbolism and poetic convention of the rose as emblem of the Virgin. Not until the third stanza does it become clear that an English king is meant, as in No 431 The allusion is to Henry V and the Agincourt campaign The fleur-de-lys, of course, is France Compare the song from oral tradition on the battle in Nicolas, Sir Nicholas Harris, *The History of the Battle of Agincourt* (London, 1832), Appendix, pp 78-9, in which the French king is made to say

And the fairest flower in all French land,
To the rose of England I will give free

burden, l. 3 *of Ryse* on branch

stza 1, l 4 *saluoure* healer

stza 3, l 4 Compare No 428, stza 6, l 4.

428. In Honour of King Henry VI.

Pr C & S, *M.L.R.* v, p 488, Whiting, p 193

These verses of Audelay's on the accession of Henry VI are of greater poetical merit than two other poems in English on the same subject printed by Wright (*Political Poems*, vol II, pp 141-8) James Ryman, the carol-writer, produced verses on the death of Henry VI, but did not give them a burden (*pr*. Zupitza, p. 268) Ryman showed himself to be a Lancastrian sympathizer and one of those who venerated Henry as a saint and martyr

burden, l. 1 *Perles Pryns* Christ

stza. 1, l. 1 Henry VI was crowned on 6 November 1420, when he was ten years old This circumstance excuses Audelay's devoting most of the carol to the exploits of the new king's father rather than to the virtues of the boy himself

stza. 3, l. 1 Audelay is, of course, historically incorrect in the motive he assigns for Henry V's invasion of France, the wooing of Katherine being a result of the war and not a cause l. 3 *hee*. i.e. the Dauphin See Whiting's note

stza. 4 The tennis-ball incident and its sequel of 'teaching the French the game' caught Audelay's imagination as it later did Shakespeare's For a full discussion of the episode see Emmertig, Oskar, '*The Bataille of Agincourt*' in *Lichte geschichtlicher Quellenwerke* (Nürnberg, 1906), pp. 14 ff.

l. 3 *tenes*-hold tennis, the 'hold' from Fr. *tenes* *ferd*. frightened.

stza. 6, l. 4 Compare No. 427, stza. 3, l. 4.

stza. 10, l. 1 An obvious adaptation of the most hackneyed phrase of Nativity carols

stza. 12. Both Henry IV and Henry V cherished the purpose to win back the Holy Land for Christendom, and both were thwarted by the demands of more immediate problems l. 4 See Whiting's note.

stza. 13. Audelay's prophecy is given a tragic irony by the events of Henry VI's reign The last stanza, however, shows that the poet recognized the possibilities of disaster facing the new sovereign.

429. In Honour of King Edward IV.

Pr. Furnivall, F. J., *Political, Religious, and Love Poems* (E.E.T.S., Or. Ser., No. 15, London, 1866), p. 4.

This carol must be nearly contemporary with No. 431 and the work of a jingoistic partisan of the Yorkists

burden, l. 1 A fourth 'a' is probably omitted Compare the burdens of Nos. 114, 232, 313, 414 l. 2. The first phrase of the king's official style

stza. 2, l. 1. *stoke*: the line of York, dispossessed during the reigns of the Lancastrians, 1399-1461 In this figure of the rose from the dead stock a complimentary parallel to the rose as the type of Christ sprung from the root of Jesse is implied Compare the flattering speeches of 'prophets' in the pageant at Coventry on the occasion of the queen's visit in 1456 (Harris, M. D., ed., *The Coventry Leet Book*, E.E.T.S., Or. Ser., Nos. 134, &c., London, 1907-13, p. 287).

'... furst at Bablake there was made a Jesse ouer the yate right well [arayed], and there were shewed too speches, as foloweth

Ysay. . . .

Like as mankynde was gladdid by the birght of Jhesus,
So shall pis empyre ioi the birth of your bodye.

Jeremy . . .

Vn-to the rote of Jesse rote likken you well I may:

The fragrant flour sprongon of you shall so encrece & spredde,
That all the world yn ich party shall cherisse hym, love & drede.'

stza. 3, l. 2 *brede in*. buried from. l. 3 *rosse so white*: the famous emblem of the House of York

stza. 4, ll. 2, 3 Edward was unmarried when he seized the throne and married Elizabeth Grey in 1464. The carol must have been written before the latter date.

stzas 6-8 This high-flown advice was singularly unpractical, as Edward had enough difficulty in keeping his throne at home. Possibly the writer was opposing the negotiations carried on in 1464 for peace with France.

430. Willikin's Return.

Previously unpublished.

The burden of this carol is written at the end of the text instead of at the beginning as usual. The first stanza is preceded by 'Conditor alme siderum eterna lux c', but the phrase is in a different hand and obviously not meant as a burden.

The piece is probably a close parody of a folk-song, to judge from its lilt and its use of repetitive formulas. For similar use of the figure of the ship in political verse see 'Seldom seen is soon forgot,' on Edward III, his sons, and Richard II (*pr* Furnivall, F J, *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS*, Part II, E E T S, Or Ser, No 117, p 715) in which the 'English ship' has a good rudder, mast, and barge, also the fifteenth-century verses on the Ship of State printed by Sir Frederick Madden (*Archaeologia*, vol xxix, p 326) where the ship is King Henry, the mast Prince Edward, the light the Duke of Exeter, &c. For a full discussion of the use of the same figure in sermons from the eleventh century on, see Owst, G R, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 68-75.

The carol appears to date from 1470, when Warwick had broken with Edward IV and had allied himself with Margaret of Anjou. The writer is looking toward the return of the Lancastrians, which actually materialized in September of that year in the short-lived restoration of Henry VI. 'Wylekin' is probably Warwick, 'Kyng Hary', of course, Henry VI, 'my Lorde Prynce' Edward, Prince of Wales, and 'my Lorde Chaberlayne' Neville, Marquess of Montagu, who had been made Lord Chamberlain of the Household in 1459 and who declared for Henry on his landing. I am indebted to Dr C W Previt -Orton of St John's College, Cambridge, for a suggestion leading to this interpretation.

I am unable to identify 'my Lorde Fueryn' satisfactorily. The 'knot' that is knyt is probably the re-alliance of Warwick with the Lancastrian party.

stza 3, 1 1. *nore oar* 1 2 *for-sore* heavily afflicted

431. The Rose of Rouen

Pr. Madden, Sir Frederick, Archaeologia, xxix, p 343

The following notes are condensed from those supplied by Madden.

The Battle of Towton, near York, of which this long carol gives an account, was fought on the eve and morning of Palm Sunday, 29 March 1461. The carol was probably written soon afterwards by a supporter of the Yorkists, perhaps by an eyewitness, as stza 13, 1 2 suggests. Edward IV is called 'the Rose of Rouen' in allusion to his birth in that city on 29 April 1441.

stza 1, 1 3 *moued oure mone* removed our complaint

stza. 3, 1 2 The 'lords of the north' were Northumberland, Westmorland, Exeter, Somerset, Devonshire, Clifford, Roos, and Dacre.

stza 4, 1. 1 *leede meadow* 1 2 The Yorkists had been defeated at Saundridge, near St Albans, in the second Battle of St Albans on Shrove Tuesday, 17 February 1460-1.

stza 7, 1 2. *Ragged Staf* the Earl of Warwick, from his famous heraldic device 1 3 *White Lyon* the Duke of Norfolk.

stza 8, 1 1 *Fyssh Hoke* Lord Fauconberg 1 2. *Cornyssh Chowghe*. Probably John, Lord Scrope of Bolton, wounded in the battle 1 3 *Blak Ragged Staf* Edmund, Lord Grey of Ruthyn 1 4 *Watyr Bouge* Probably Henry, Viscount Boucher.

stza 9, 1 1 *Hertes Hede* Perhaps Thomas, Lord Stanley. 1 2 *Harow of Caunterbury*. The town is mentioned with its heraldic bearing, as in the case of the other towns listed. *Clynton* John, Lord Clinton, whose badge was, however, not a key, but a mullet.

stza. 10, 1 1. *Fetherlok*: fetherlock, one of the badges of the House of York
 1 2 *Blak Bulle*: a bearing used by Edward himself in allusion to his descent from the House of Clare

stza. 12, 1 2. *Estrich Feder*. This device appeared on the seals of Richard, Duke of York

stza. 15, 11 1, 2 Edward entered London on 26 June 1461, and was crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury on 29 June

432. The White Rose

Music for three voices. *Pr* Flugel, *N.L.*, p. 159, Bayne, T, *N. & Q.*, 8th Ser., vol. xii, p. 384

The praise of the white rose marks this carol as the work of a Yorkist sympathizer. The stanzas follow the formula of the *chanson d'aventure*. The garden setting is like that of the ballad 'The Rose of England' (Child, No 166), and probably stands for England in the same way.

The burden, which has no logical connexion with the words of the stanzas, plainly belongs to the medieval lyric theme of the *aube*, or lovers' parting at dawn. It is probably borrowed from some earlier song on that theme, but hardly from the Scottish lyric quoted in *N & Q*, loc cit.

The 'queene' or lady of stza 1, 1 2 is possibly, although not certainly, meant for Elizabeth of York, eldest daughter of Edward IV, who was married to Henry VII in January, 1486, and became the mother of Prince Arthur. See *N & Q*, loc cit, and notes on Nos. 433, 434.

stza 1, 1 4 *betwene* in the midst

stza 2, 1 3. *on rewe* pity.

433. The Tudor Rose

Music for three voices by Sir Thomas Phillipps. *Pr*. Fehr, B, *Archiv*, cvi, p. 58; C & S., p. 72, with music, Stafford Smith, W., *Collections of English Songs*, No IV, Rimbault, E. F., *Ancient Vocal Music* [London, 1847], Part II.

This gay and spirited carol celebrates the cessation of strife between the houses of York and Lancaster, the white and red roses. It was doubtless intended to supersede such partisan carols as No. 432. Compare the opening lines of Skelton's 'A Laud and Praise Made for our Sovereign Lord the King' (ed. Henderson, P, *The Complete Poems of John Skelton*, London, 1931, p. 25)

The Rose both White and Red

In one Rose now doth grow.

The carol preserves one of the happiest features of the medieval English lyric, the graceful use of flower-names in verse. With stza 2, 1 3 compare lines from the fragment of early fourteenth-century song 'Maiden in the mor lay' (*pr* Heuser, W., *Angha*, vol. xxx, p. 175).

Wat was hire mete?
 the primerole ant the violet.

Wat was hire bour?
 pe rede rose ante lilie flour.

C & S. (p. 343) point out the likeness of stza 3, 1 2 to the ballad refrain 'Jennifer gentle and Rosemarée' (Child, No 1 B). With the whole image of the choice of flowers compare stzas. 4, 5 of the folk-song 'The Seeds of Love' (Sharp, Cecil J., *One Hundred English Folksongs*, Boston, 1916, pp. 76-8).

The Violet I did not like

Because it bloom'd so soon

The Lily and the Pink I really overthink

So I vow'd that I would wait till June.

In June there was a red Rose-bud,
 And that is the flow'r for me
 I oftentimes have pluck'd that red Rose-bud
 Till I gained the willow-tree

No other composition by this Sir Thomas Phillipps is known. C & S assume that he is also the author of the words and would identify him with a Thomas Phillipps, a priest at Woodstock in 1518. This must be regarded as doubtful. The division of the words among the three vocal parts is intricate and appropriate to the effects of dialogue throughout which yield to agreement in the last lines.

434. The Ostrich Feather.

Music for three voices by Edmund Turges. *Pr. Flugel, N L.*, p. 159

Rimbault (*A Little Book of Songs and Ballads*, London, 1851, p. 21) prints the song with the note 'The following Song is given from an ancient parchment book, consisting of early English songs in parts, in the possession of the editor. It was written and composed by 'Maister Edmond Turges', and the MS. from which it is taken is in all probability the original. Another copy may be seen in the Fairfax MS.' This 'ancient parchment book' I have not been able to trace. If Rimbault's statement is accurate, this book bore an extremely close relation to the Fairfax MS., for the text which he prints agrees almost *literatim* with that here presented. It shows, in short, a higher degree of accuracy than is usual in sixteenth-century copying. As a result, Rimbault's text is in no sense a variant, and the few differences of spelling which it presents are not here recorded.

An eighteenth-century modernized version of the burden of this piece, made by Dr. B. Cooke, is in the library of the Royal College of Music, London, MS. 810. It was made from the Fairfax MS.

Little is known of the composer Turges's life, but he may have been the son of a John Turges, harper to Queen Margaret (Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. 'Turges'). Other pieces by him are contained in the same MS., ff. 17 v., 19 v., 115 v. (No. 436).

The ostrich feather, the heraldic badge of the Prince of Wales, here represents Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII. The prayer of the carol was not answered, for the prince died in April 1502, not long after the probable date of this composition. The piece was not necessarily composed, as Grove states (loc. cit.), to celebrate the marriage of Arthur and Catherine of Aragon. For a much inferior 'balet' sung in honour of the same prince at Coventry see *The Coventry Leet Book* (ed. Harris, M. D., E. E. T. S., Or. Ser., No. 134, &c., London, 1907-13, pp. 589-92).

435. A Prayer for Peace.

Music for two and three voices. *Pr. Fehr*, p. 276

This piece, although of only one stanza, has the carol-form. The petition for the preservation of peace would have been appropriate enough at almost any time around 1500. It may refer to the danger to the English truce with Scotland in 1499, following a clash at Norham. After negotiations of some delicacy a treaty between the two realms was signed in July of that year. The term 'neighbours' is more likely to have been applied to the Scots than to continental powers. Another possibility is that the carol is of earlier date, and that the strife of Lancaster and York is the subject of the author's concern.

436. To King Henry VIII.

Music for three voices by Edmund Turges. *Pr. Fehr*, B, *Archiv*, cvi, p. 68; with music, *Madrigals by English Composers of the Close of the Fifteenth Century* (Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, London, 1893), No. 3.

The text of this carol may be dated early in the reign of Henry VIII. The tone of the address is more appropriate to a monarch just assuming the throne than

to one who had long occupied it. The 'right of your commons' and the 'hurts of thy commonalty' may be meant only as generalities, but it is possible that they refer to the extortions which were systematically practised by Henry VII and which resulted in a revolt of Cornishmen, crushed at Blackheath in June 1497.

437. Of the Time of Youth.

Music for three voices by King Henry VIII. *Pr. Flugel, Anglia*, xii, p. 246, *N L*, p. 137, with music, Trefusis, Lady Mary, *Songs, Ballads, and Instrumental Pieces Composed by King Henry the Eighth* (Roxburghe Club, Oxford, 1912), p. 28.

Although it has been doubted that Henry VIII actually wrote and composed the songs headed with his name in this MS, yet such phrasing as appears in stza. 3, l. 4 is ordinarily accepted as proof of authorship. Later events in the monarch's life endow stza. 1, l. 4 with a certain humour.

burden, l. 3 *God and my ryght* an allusion to the royal motto of England, 'Dieu et mon droit'

stza. 2, l. 3 *wars* worse

stza. 3, l. 1 *dyscusse* declare

438. A Ballet of the King's Majesty

Pr. Strype, J., Ecclesiastical Memorials (Oxford, 1822), vol. II, pt. II, p. 329; Esdaile, A., *The Age of Elizabeth* (London, 1915), p. 1.

The MS. which contains this uninspired lyric gives an interesting description of the circumstances under which it was sung. As the coronation procession of the young Edward VI passed through the City of London, it encountered various pageants arranged in the streets in the manner then usual. At the 'Lytell Countreyth in Chepe' was a stage with persons representing St. George, his page, a maiden with a lamb, and a child. The child was prepared to speak a short Latin oration and St. George an English one, both of which are preserved, but, as a previous speaker had overrun his allotted time, 'yt coulde not be done. Who be yt ther was a Songe, the dyttee was thus.'

The use of the word 'ballet' in the title prefixed to this piece is of no particular force. The looseness of application of the terms 'ballad' and 'ballet' at this time is well known.

'Down-a-down' continues throughout Elizabethan song as one of the most popular phrases for burdens and refrains. This is the only instance known to me where its literal meaning is thus dwelt on. The pedantic attempt at wit and the pedestrian character of the verse make one conjecture that the carol is the work of a schoolmaster, perhaps a follower of Ascham in view of the somewhat irrelevant practical advice of stza. 5. Such a person might well have been in charge of the choir which sang and of the coaching of the youthful (and disappointed) Latin orator.

stza. 1, l. 3. *myter*: metre.

stza. 4, l. 1. Boulogne had been captured by Henry VIII's forces in September, 1544 and left in England's possession by the treaty of 1546 with France. l. 3 *wight*: strong.

stza. 6, l. 1 *towardes*. hopeful, promising.

439. The Complaint of One Banished.

Pr. Wright, P S xxiii, p. 5.

This highly artificial piece shows the carol-form elaborated from a simple song-type to an involved literary metre. In its mannered extravagance it points towards some of the inferior lyrics of the next century. There is no clue to the identity of the paragon described in stza. 8.

stza. 2, l. 2 *prosyrs*: procures, noblemen. l. 5. *Fortunat*: perhaps the result of confusion of the names of Fortune and Fortunatus.

- stza. 3, 1. 4. *naysom* noisome
 stza 4, 1 5 *contrystant* sorrowing
 stza 6, 1 2 *cyn* sin
 stza 7, 1 1 *determyne* limit, embarrass 1 4 *redownd* cause to be full of
 favour
 stza 8, 1. 4. *facund* eloquent 1 7 *dyscuse*. make known

440. The Lovelhest Lady in Land

Pr Boddeker, K, *Allenglische Dichtungen* (Berlin, 1878), p 168, Ritson, *Ancient Songs* (1790), p 26, (1829), vol 1, p 58, (1877), p. 50, Brown, Carleton F, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century* (Oxford, 1932), p 148 Brown's title for the piece is adopted here For French parallels to some of the epithets applied to the loved one see Heider, Otto, *Untersuchungen zur mittellenglischen erotischen Lyrik* (Halle, 1905), pp 35-7 Compare also the lyric to 'Johon' from the same MS (*pr*. Boddeker, op cit, p 145)

- stza 1, 1 1 *Ichot* I know 1 3 *Menskful* gracious 1 4 *fonde* take
 1 5 *wurhliche* won goodly country 1 8 *Lussomore* more lovable
 stza 2, 1 3 *monge* mingle 1 4 *breme* clear, brilliant
 stza 3, 1 1 *lure lumes* frown shines 1 3 *bleo blykyeth* face gleams 1 5
suyre neck Compare the similar imagery in the poem from the same MS *pr*
 Boddeker, op cit, p 145
 stza. 4, 1 5. *lasteels* blameless. 1. 8 *Yheryed* honoured *heste* vow
 stza. 5, 1 5 *murgest* merriest 1 7 *crouth.* crowd, stringed instrument
 stza 6, 1 6 *paruenke.* periwinkle 1. 7 *salsecle.* heliotrope
 stza 8, 1. 3 *Thoht* Care 1 5 *balful bende* dire bondage
 stza 9, 1 2 *beh* bent *bord* table 1 3 *hente* seize *hord* treasure
 1 6 *fen of fote* mud from the foot 11 7, 8 'That she will deal honourably and
 helpfully with you'
 stza 10, 1 2 *dare* crouch, hide timidly

441. A Lover's Plea.

Previously unpublished

- stza 2, 1 1 *beyne* both 1 2 *lysse* relieve 1 3 *geyne* avail, serve
 stza 3, 1 1 *my n arnde bede* do my errand

442. A Slighted Lover's Complaint.

Pr Ritson, *Ancient Songs* (1790), p 72, (1829), vol 1, p 129, (1877), p 111

- stza 1, 1 4 *quyht* rewarded *mede* merit, desert
 stza 7, 1 2 *neve the rathere* none the sooner

443. Strife over a Kiss

Pr., in part, *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, v, Appendix, p. 458 The carol is there said to be signed 'J Wolstan', as also in the transcript and note in Dr Shepard's handwriting found with the original MS The note reads: 'The name of J Wulstane "The Poet" does not occur in any list of the monks yet found Therefore to the credit of the monastery [Christ Church, Canterbury], it may be presumed that he was only a novice—"non professus nec etiam rasmus".'

Dr. Shepard misread the colophon, which is 'Fmyns quod wulstane p[] jone'
 The second name is damaged I find no such name listed in the rolls of monks,
 but the author might be identified with 'Will Preston', who died 1457 (Searle,
 W G, ed, *Lists of the Deans, Priors, and Monks*, Christ Church, Canterbury
 Publications, Octavo Series, No XXXIV, Cambridge, 1902, p 189) The last
 word might also be 'persone' and the author's style rather than his surname

The stanzas of the carol are written as if spoken alternately by the maid and the man, except for stza 4, of which he speaks the first two lines, and she the last two.

stza 5, 1 3. *karchos nocke* kerchief's knot, which would lie on her bosom.

444. Of Two Loving Hearts

Pr Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, v, Appendix, p. 458

The play on the word 'heart' in this carol is like that of Audelay on 'love' in No 272. It is possible to interpret this piece as devotional, the two hearts being those of the author and of Christ, but in the absence of specific identification it is safer to regard it as an amorous carol of more refinement than most.

stza 3, 1 3 *later lyne* a reference to the refrain as the second line of the burden

445. My Lady is a Pretty One.

Music for treble part only. *Pr Fehr, B., Archiv*, cvii, p. 57

446. In Praise of Serving-men

Pr. Ritson, Ancient Songs (1790), p. 92, (1829), vol. II, p. 8, (1877), p. 154, Wright, *P S* xxvii, p. 58; Furnivall, F J, *Captain Cox, his Ballads and Books* (Ballad Society, London, 1871), p. cxxx

Furnivall (op cit, pp. xii, cxxix) identifies this piece with one listed among the 'ballets & songs' of Captain Cox's library as No LIV. 'So wo iz me begon, trolly lo.' This is hardly safe, in view of the difference in wording and the frequent practice of using the same or similar burdens for several pieces.

burden, II 1, 3. *begone*: provided. 'So fortunate am I.'

stza 1, 1 3 *mynyon trym* daintily smart. OED cites the phrase for 'mignon' as an adjective, but the use here is adverbial. Compare the song 'Mynyon goo trym' in British Museum Book K. 1 e 1 (*pr. Flugel, Angha*, xii, p. 593).

stza. 8, 1 3 *to deith depart* till death part (us).

447. A Good Use of Money.

Music for bass part only. *Pr Flugel, Angha*, xii, p. 593.

This is the only one of the songs in its part-book that has the true carol-form, as far as can be judged from the bass part alone. A number of the others have separate burdens and stanzas of the same verse-form throughout, but the music is varied from stanza to stanza.

stza 2, 1 2. *mynyon*: pretty, dainty.

448. Green Groweth the Holly.

Music for three voices by King Henry VIII, written for the burden only. *Pr. Flugel, Angha*, xii, p. 237, *N.L.*, p. 135; C. & S., p. 54, with music, Trefusis, *Lady Mary, Songs, Ballads, and Instrumental Pieces* (Roxburghe Club, Oxford, 1912), p. 13; (burden only) *Oxford Book of Carols*, Music Edition, p. 130, *fac.* (burden only) Briggs, H. B., *The Musical Notation of the Middle Ages* (Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society, London, 1890), plate xx

This famous composition, of which the words as well as the music have been generally attributed to King Henry VIII, shows a literary adaptation of the old folk-theme of the holly and the ivy. The identification of holly and ivy with man and woman persists, but the symbolism here (stzas 2, 3) is of amity and not of opposition. The phrase forming the first two lines of the burden enjoyed currency as a folk-saying in the sense of 'forever'. Compare the method of laying a ghost by tricking it into agreeing to stay away 'while hollies are green' (Wright, E. M., *Rustic Speech and Folk-Lore*, London, 1913, p. 193)

449. Why So Unkind?

Music for tenor part only *Pr* Flugel, *Anglia*, xii, p 261

The phrase 'Soo to be kende to me' is written after the repetition of the burden which follows the first stanza, and is marked off from it by a bar, the only one across the stave. The music for this phrase is the same as that for the second line of the burden

450. Now Springs the Spray

Pr Woodbine, George E, *M L R* iv, p 236, Skeat, W W, *M L R* v, p 104, Sisam, Kenneth, *Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose* (Oxford, 1928), p 163, Brown, Carleton F, *English Lyrics of the XIIIth Century* (Oxford, 1932), p 119

This graceful *chanson d'aventure* is one of the very earliest texts preserved in the carol-form. The memorandum in the same hand which follows it is dated 1302-3 (31 Edward I). On its similarity to an Old French poem beginning 'L'autrier defors Picarni', *pr* Bartsch, K, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourelles* (Leipzig, 1870), p 117, see Brown, *op cit*, p 214, and Sandison, pp 47-8

Skeat suggests (*loc cit*) that the piece, like those of British Museum MS. Harley 2253, comes from the West Midland

stza 1, l 5 May the clod cling to him! i e may he be buried (Skeat)

stza. 3, l 3 *bhot* promised l 7 *Br this dar* Skeat glosses 'If I can (con-
trive it), it shall repent him concerning this day,' and does not think the line an expression of emphasis or affirmation. But compare No 415, burden, l 1

451. A Love-Complaint.

Pr Mayer, sheet k

stza 1, l 1 *altherbest*. best of all

stza 2, ll 2, 3 This line is repeated through an error in copying, it is properly

l. 3 The missing line should be something like 'He maketh haste to go me fro'

stza 4, l 2 *dyrward*. dearworth, dearly beloved

452. The Serving-Maid's Holiday

Previously unpublished

burden, l. 1 *Rybbe* scrape flax with an iron tool

stza. 1, l 2 *werne* (?) yerne, yarn

stza 2, l 1 *ulech* flet, floor l 2 *vnbech*: unmended l 3. *vnrepe yech*.
unprepared yet

stza. 3, l. 1 *worton* herbs l 2 *Predele* pride (v), adorn, trim.

stza 4, l 2 *cherrus* chores, domestic work. l 3 *solas* make easy l 4.

dowge douce, soft

stza 5, l. 2 *Outh* over *schayl* shall

stza. 6, l 3. *eyghe* awe

stza 7, l 2. *ale-schoch*. scot-ale, a festival for which the ale was provided by
a forced contribution l 3 *sowse* soak *wroch* distaff.

453. Jack and the Dancing Maid.

Previously unpublished

See Introduction, pp xcv, cxl

stza. 1, l 2 *trippus* light steps, as in dancing l 3 *haly-watur clerk*. the
carrier of the holy-water vessel, often regarded as one of rather low position

stza 2, l. 2. *For the chesone of*. because of l 3 *ryng* the circle of the carole

stza 3, l 2 *werly*. cautious l 4 *bed* offered

stza 4, l 1 *rowne*: whisper.

stza. 5, l 1. *euensong* i e about sunset

stza. 6, 1 1. *chalonus* blankets or coverlets. 1. 3 *lynne*: cease, leave off
 stza 7, 1 3. *reaggeth* ragged, shaggy, as the Devil was often described. 1. 4
burdus. the meaning here is uncertain.
 stza 8, 1. 2. *coppud* peevish, in ill humour
 stza 9, 1. 1 *clot* clout, blow

454. A Betrayed Maiden.

Pr James & Macaulay, p 71

stza 2, 1 1 *gramery* magic 1 2. *skyll*. reason. 1 3. *stcurly* surely.
 1 4 *warne* refuse *may* strength, originally 'mayn' to rime with the burden
 stza 3, 1 2. *lete* allowed 1. 4 Compare stza 2 of a macaronic song on
 a similar theme in Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 176, f 98 v (c 1600)

What shall I say meis parentibus?

That with me hath layen quidam clericus?

They wyll me beate virgis et fustibus

And me deprave coram hominibus

stza 4, 1 2 The frequency of such a plight after pilgrimages was a common
 subject of medieval jest and moralizing

455. A Forsaken Maiden's Lament.

Previously unpublished

The line 'Bryd on brere, Y tell yt to none othur, Y ne dar,' prefixed to the
 burden of this carol, appears to be the burden of another song, possibly on a similar
 theme, to the air of which this piece is written.

stza 3, 1. 1 *sawus*: sayings, promises

456. Waking the Well.

Pr. Rel Ant i, p 1. The MS is there incorrectly assigned to the beginning of
 cent. XV

The false step related by the girl who is the speaker in this carol may be the
 result of her participation in a merry-making at some well, probably a 'holy'
 well. W C Hazlitt (*Faiths and Folklore*, London, 1905, vol. ii, p 617) prints the
 piece in illustration of an article on wakes. These festivals were, of course, of
 pagan origin and were unsuccessfully combated and then more successfully given
 a Christian colouring by the Church. The *Penitential* of King Egbert, for instance,
 enjoined three years' penance for keeping a wake at a well or elsewhere than at
 a church, but the custom of well-wakes lasted none the less until modern times.
 St John's Eve was a favoured time for these wakes, a time when licence was
 prone to occur as part of the festivities. At Kirkhampton the youths and girls
 jumping through the flames of the St. John's bonfires sang to the well, 'Awake,
 awake, for sin gales [a corruption of 'St. John's'] sake.' See Hope, R C, *The
 Legendary Lore of the Holy Wells of England* (London, 1893), pp. xix, 40, 42, 48.

An equally possible explanation of the carol is that the girl was observing
 a New Year's custom, not social, but solitary, of going to gather what was called
 'the cream of the well', the first water drawn from it in the year, and that she was
 there surprised by the persuasive wooer. Stza 2 suggests such an episode rather
 than a crowded festival.

Sir John is probably the village priest, or at any rate a cleric. Chaucer's Nun's
 Priest is named Sir John. Compare Audelay's account (Whiting, No. 2, ll. 144-6):

Oure gentyl ser Ione, ioy hym mot betyde,

He is a mere mon of mouþ among cumpane;

He con harpe, he con syng, his orglus ben herd ful wyd

See also Grose, F, *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (ed. Partridge, E.,
 London, 1931), p 311

- stza 1, 1. 2 *croke* crooked staff, like a shepherd's 1 3 *be bel and boke*:
 i.e. by those used in excommunication, a common medieval oath
 stza. 2, 1 2 *burne* spring 1 4 *rofe* stole. *bell-ey* prize, treasure
 stza 4, 1 2 *copious* plentiful Sir John tried to make his peace with gifts.
 stza. 5. The young girl of this carol is more practical in her outlook than the
 heromes of Nos 454, 455

457. Jolly Jankyn.

Pr Wright, *Wart Chub*, p 100

The speaker in this irreverent carol is one of 'peos prude maidenen þat lunnep Ianekin', who, according to 'A lutel soth Sermun' (*pr* Morris, R, *An Old English Miscellany*, E E T S, Or Ser, No. 49, London, 1872, p 188), are among the persons destined for hell. It is a kind of indirect parody of the Mass, its refrain being the solemn formula of the *Kyrie*. There is probably a pun on 'Alison', the girl's name. See Introduction, p lxiii. The carol is probably the work of a cleric and is in much the same vein as such humorous parodies of the sacred service as are found in Lehmann, Paul, *Parodistische Texte* (Munich, 1923), pp. 59-69.

stza 1, 1 3 'Kerieleson' appears as the refrain of a Nativity song (possibly a carol which has lost its burden) in British Museum MS Harley 2942, f 4 r, to which my attention was directed by Mr Geoffrey B Riddehough.

stza 3, 1 2. *sel* good fortune

stza 5. Compare the line from a song in the same MS (*pr* Wright, op cit, p 93)

Therefore smale notes wil I crake

See also 'The Second Shepherds' Play', ll 656-8 (England, G, and Pollard, A W, eds, *The Towneley Plays*, E E T S, Ex Ser, No LXXI, London, 1897, p 137), and 'The First Shepherds' Play', ll 305-6, 413-19 (*ibid*, pp 110, 113).

stza. 6, 1 1. *pax-brede* the disk of silver or gilt with a handle and a sacred symbol used in giving the 'kiss of peace' to the congregation. Its introduction is attributed to the Franciscans. See Bumpus, John S, *A Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms* (London, n d), s v 'Pax'.

458. Kit Hath Lost her Key.

Music for tenor part only *Pr* Flugel, *Anglia*, xii, p 261, *N L*, p 138.

Collier (*Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company*, London, 1848, vol 1, p 55) prints from a MS of date later than 1562 an erotic song with the title 'Kitt Hath Lost Her Key' which is in the nature of a sequel or reply to this piece. It is not in the carol-form. Collier regards it as probably the song referred to in the following entry in the *Register* for 1561-2, but it is equally possible that the carol is the original form of the moralized 'ballett' mentioned 'Rd of John Tysdale, for his lycense for pryntinge of 11 ballettes, Kyt hath loste hyr keye, the other, the Country hath no pere, newly moralized vñj d'.

stza. 2, 1 3 *Seynt Sythe* St Zita of Lucca (d 1271), known in England as St Sithe. She was the patron saint of serving-maids, such as we may suppose Kit to have been, and a key was one of her emblems. On this identification see Coulton, G G, *Art and the Reformation* (New York, 1928), p 292, and *N. & Q.*, 12th Ser, vol. xii, pp. 107, 180. St. Sithe was commonly appealed to in cases of the loss of keys. G R Owst quotes from a medieval sermon (*Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, Cambridge, 1933, pp 147-8). 'and a wife lose a keye of valew of thre pens, anon she wil hete to seke seynt Sithe, and spende a noble or ten schilyngis in the iurney'. The waxen image of a key would be Kit's votive offering in accordance with the old and still current custom at shrines. The masculine pronoun 'hym' suggests that the writer of the carol was not familiar with particulars of the saint's life.

459. With Lullay, Lullay, Like a Child.

Repr. Skelton, *Works*, ed Dyce, A (London, 1843), vol 1, p 22, Henderson, P., ed, *The Complete Poems of John Skelton* (London, 1931), p 27

In this, the only poem in which Skelton uses the carol form, he characteristically turns the lullaby convention to satirical use. ('Wofully arrayed' and 'Hoyda Jolly Rutterkin' in British Museum MS. Addit 5165 have carol verse-forms, but are not set to music as true carols.) Alliteration is more freely used than in most of the poet's other work

stza. 2, 1 1 *ba, bas*. kiss OED cites both as substantives, but their use as verbs seems more likely here. Compare No. 60, stzas. 3, 4, 1. 4

stza 3, 1. 1. *rowth* rough 1 4 *halsyd* embraced 1. 6. *rowtyth* snores
stza. 4, 1 3. *blynkerd blowboll* blinded drunkard 1 7. *powle hachet*: ale-house gossip, from the pole set up as an inn-sign (Henderson).

460. The Maid and the Miller.

Repr. facs. Reed, p 36

The traditional aptness of the miller for this kind of toll-taking is the subject of a number of broadside ballads of the next century, e.g. Bodleian Library, Douce Ballads 2, f 140 v.

stza 1, 1 1 *brenten ars* a term of general disparagement. Compare OED, s.v. 'Burnt', an older form of the now bowdlerized proverb. 'The pot calls the kettle black'

stza 2, 1 3. *clache* run, from the 'clacker' or clapper of a mill, the beater of which strikes the hopper and dislodges the corn to be ground.

stza. 3, 1. 2 *vyce*. screw.

461. The Nun and the Friar.

Repr. facs. Reed, p 37.

The burden is made by omitting the negative from a phrase of the Pater Noster 'Et ne nos inducas in tentationem' (Luke xi. 4)

462. A May-Morning Encounter.

Pr. Rel. Ant., II, p. 39

Hallwell-Phillipps notes that the carol is incomplete, but he does not distinguish between the burden and the rest of the piece. The burden is probably borrowed from folk-song. On the strength of the three stanzas preserved it is impossible to say with certainty whether the carol is a religious or a secular *chanson d'aventure*.

463. The Knight and the Lady.

Music for three voices, written for the burden only, by William Cornysh. *Pr. Flugel, Anglia*, XI, p 239, *N.L.*, p. 135; C & S, p. 56.

This piece shows a likeness to the ballad style unusual in the carols. As the burden has no connexion with the subject matter of the stanzas, it is possible that the words of the two were first joined by the composer.

On the significance of the name Amyas in the burden see C. & S, p 337, where a historical connexion between an Amyas family and both court and 'greenwood' is pointed out. In a collection of songs to be used at court the choice of the name may well have had a topical interest now only to be guessed at.

The castle is a favourite figure in medieval allegory. Compare the prose *Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (ed. Perry, George G, *Religious Pieces*, E.E.T.S., Or Ser.,

No 26, London, 1867, p 53), where Dread is portress and Pity the 'sponsere that does seruesse to gud all that scho maye'

stza 2, l 1 *blyn.* wait

stza 6, l 1 *breffe a byll* draw up a petition

For a brief sketch of the life of the famous composer see Grattan Flood, W H, *Early Tudor Composers* (London, 1925), pp 20-2

464. I Will Love but One.

Music for three voices *Pr* Fehr, B, *Archiv*, vol cvi, p 68

The fifth lines of the stanzas, serving by their rime as links with the burden, do much to enhance the charm of this love-carol

The first line of the burden is less irrelevant than it might otherwise seem in view of the wide currency of an English proverb, 'There are more ways to the wood than one' (Ray, J, *A Compleat Collection of English Proverbs*, London, 1768, vol 1, p 167) to which an allusion seems to be intended

stza 1, l 2 *Indyfferent* common

stza. 2, l 3 *fetter* prettier l. 4. *buxum* submissive

465. The Old Forester.

Music for three voices, by Dr [Robert] Cooper, written for the burden only. *Pr* Flugel, *Angha*, xii, p 244

The probability that the burden of this carol is borrowed or adapted from an older song, possibly a folk-song, is strengthened by the occurrence in British Museum MS Addit 5665, f 53 v, of another piece with a similar opening and on the same theme, but not in carol-form and without the *double entente* (*pr*. Flugel, *N L*, p 151, &c)

Y haue ben a foster long and meney day,

My lockes ben hore

Y shall hang vp my horne by the grene wode spray,

Foster will Y be no more

All the whiles that Y may my bowe bende

Shall Y wedde no wiffe,

I shall bygge me a boure atte the wodes ende

Ther to lede my lyffe

For the life of the composer (c. 1474-1529?) see Grattan Flood, *Early Tudor Composers*, pp 64-5, which says of this piece 'His madrigal of "I have been a foster" was probably sung in the play presented by Cornish at Windsor on June 15, 1522, in which a keeper, three foresters, and four hunters took part, as well as six Children of the Chapel Royal'

stza 2, l 2 Arrows were sometimes spliced with heavier wood at the 'nock' to counterbalance the weight of the metal head If the glue failed, the arrow would, of course, become unserviceable Ascham mentions and condemns the practice (*Toxophilus*, ed Wright, W A, Cambridge, 1904, p 87)

stza 5, l 1 *for and* intensive. 'and moreover'

466. The Forester Still Valiant.

Music for three voices *Pr*. Flugel, *Angha*, xii, p 245, *N L*, p. 151, C. & S, p. 246

This carol is a 'reply' to No. 465, or possibly to a prototype of that piece, for the amorous meaning is less obvious and possibly not intended at all For a similar pairing of songs see notes on No 458 The carol aptly borrows and uses the folk-song device of a repetitive formula.

stza 2, l 1 *lynde* here, as often in poetry, for 'tree' in general rather than specifically for 'linden'

stza 4, l. 2 *luge*. lodge, discover the lair of a buck *sute* pursuit, chase

467. If It Were Not

Pr. Foxwell, A. K., Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat (London, 1913), vol. 1, p. 325.

This poem shows Wiat's use of the native medieval carol-form, a practice on which Miss Foxwell has commented in *A Study of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Poems* (London, 1911), pp. 103-5. Her later designation of the piece as a 'glosa poem' (*Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat*, vol. II, pp. 164-5) is unfortunate, as the writings of the burden between stanzas show that it was meant to be sung in carol-fashion. She correctly points out (*ibid.*, pp. 147-8) that No. 468 A is related to medieval verse rather than to any Spanish *glosa*. She does not seem to realize, however, the repetitive character of the burden in the earlier carols.

It is more probable that the burden of this piece was to be sung after every quatrain than after every other one. Irregularity in writing burdens is frequent in carol manuscripts.

stza. 2, l. 1. *shace* scarce.

468. Even As Ye List.

A. *Pr. Foxwell, A. K., The Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat*, vol. I, p. 276

B. *Pr. Reed, E. B., Anglia*, vol. xxxiii, p. 362

Miss Foxwell regards this as a 'doubtful poem', the MS. of A lacking the mark added to the 'fynys' which is usual with Wiat's poems. She thinks that the poem may be either by Wiat or by some member of his literary circle, e.g. G. Boleyn or Francis Brian (*loc. cit.*). In her notes (*ibid.*, vol. II, p. 148) she is also doubtful but says, 'It is certainly in Wiat's style.'

469. The Delivered Lover

Pr. Rel. Ant. 1, p. 202.

The allusive and generalizing style of this carol keeps it from giving a clear picture of the situation it treats. The speaker seems to be a woman who has escaped from an affair with an unworthy lover and is properly thankful.

The burden has a freshness that contrasts sharply with the sophistication of the stanzas and is doubtless borrowed from folk-song.

stza. 3, l. 4 *mater* affairs, condition.

stza. 4, l. 1 *sond.* gift.

stza. 6, l. 2. *altherbest* best of all.

stza. 8, l. 2 Addressed to the company to whom the story is sung. Compare stza. 6, l. 3, 'fest'.

470. A Lover's Sad Plight.

Previously unpublished.

This carol is an amusing example of the use of a humorous device which has survived to modern times in such minor classics as Goldsmith's *Elegy on Mrs. Mary Blarney* or Gilles Ménage's 'Le Fameux la Gallise' (*Menagiana*, Paris, 1729, vol. III, pp. 384-91). The latter has the lines:

Tandis qu'il ne dormoit pas,
On tient qu'il veilloit sans cesse.

A longer and more literary, but less effective, song on this same theme is found in Balliol College, Oxford, MS. 354, f. 252 r (*pr. Dyboski*, p. 119) and in MS. Porkington 10 (*pr. Halliwell-Phillips*, J. O., *Wart. Club*, II, London, 1855, p. 6; combined text of the two in C. & S., p. 217). This is probably the work of a later poet inspired by the more informal carol. It uses stza. 1, l. 3, of the carol as its refrain, and ll. 3, 4 of stzas. 2, 3 appear as follows (C. & S., stza. 4):

In the morning when I rise shall
Me list right well for to dine,
But comonly I drink noon ale
If I may get any good wine.

To make your hart to me encline
Such tormentes to me I take,
Singing doth me so mikell pine
That when I slepe I may not wake

471. A Lying Carol

Pr Dyboski, p 110

The burden means, 'I shall prove to be the best liar' In the Middle Ages and even into the seventeenth century it was the custom (at one time prescribed by law) to tie a whetstone about the neck of a convicted liar as he stood in the pillory Compare *Hudibras*, Part II, Canto I, ll 54-60 Hence in jocular lying contests the whetstone became the symbol of victory See *N & Q*, 1st Ser, vol vii, p 208, 8th Ser, vol iv, p 522, vol v, p 245 According to Hackwood (*Old English Sports*, London, 1907, p 9) the whetstone was to indicate that the liar's inventiveness would need sharpening if he used it so freely

For quotations from and references to other lying songs see Kittredge, G L, 'Note on a Lying Song', in *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol xxxix, pp 195-9.

stza 1, l. 1 *sowse* pork used for pickling

stza 2, l. 1 *vrchyn* hedgehog *shape* cut out clothing

stza. 3, l. 3 *pye* magpie

stza 4, l. 1 *stokfysshe* dried fish

stza 5, l. 2 *clewens* balls of yarn.

stza. 6, l. 2. *plasshe* weave

472. Strange News.

Pr Rel Ant 1, p 239, Boddeker, K, *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Sprache und Literatur*, N F, vol. 11, p. 90

stza 2, l. 4 *fat vat*

stza 6, l. 1 *John Joan* 1 2 *forwende* turned into 'I don't know what's become of her'

473. A Nonsense Carol.

Repr Bliss, p 53, C & S, p 254, *facs* Reed, p. 38

The words of the burden and first stanza occur in a round or canon in Ravenscroft's *Pammelia* (1609) as follows (Hawkins, Sir John, *A General History of Music*, London, 1776, vol 11, pp. 379-80)

My heart of gold as true as steele,
As I me leant into the bowers,
But if my Lady love me well,
Lord so Robin lowres

My Lady's gone to Canterbury,
St Thomas be her boote,
She met with Kate of Malmesbury,
Why weep'st thou maple Root?

See Reed, pp xlix, 78, where full text is also given

burden, l. 2 *me lened*. OED records the reflexive use of 'lean' at the end of the sixteenth century

stza. 1, l. 2. *the Saynt* St Thomas *bothe*: boot, help.

stza 2, l. 4 *snew*: snowed

stza 4, l. 3 *Jacke Napes*: a monkey *mow* grimace

stza 7, l. 1. *Saynt Katheryn of Kent*. I am not acquainted with any records of this saint.

stza. 8, l. 1 *lauerocke* lark.

474. A Nonsense Carol

Repr. facs Reed, p. 40

The Latin phrases of this carol are adapted from bits of the services for Christmas Day. (Compare No. 20) and the song in Bodleian Library MS Arch Selden B. 26, f. 25 r, using some of the same phrases (*pr* Padelford, p. 150)

burden, l. 1 A ludicrous 'farcing' of the Office of the morning Mass on Christmas Day (*Sar Miss*, p. 27)

stza. 1, l. 1 *moat* perhaps merely a typographical error, perhaps a pun on English 'mock at'. It is from an antiphon, 'Ipse invocavit me', (*Br Sar*, 1, col. clxxvii) l. 3 A frequent phrase in the Scriptures, here from Luke 11 11, the Nativity narrative

stza. 2, l. 1 A response in the service for Nones on Christmas Day (*Br Sar* 1, col. xciv)

stza. 3, l. 1. A corruption of the opening of one of the two chapters from Titus 11 and 111 said at Lauds and Sext, respectively, on Christmas Day, 'Apparuit gratia', and 'Apparuit benignitas' (ibid 1, cols. clxxxix, cxc)

stza. 4, l. 1 This phrase occurs repeatedly in the Christmas services l. 2 In the form 'A black sheep', &c., this was a proverbial saying throughout much of the sixteenth century. Compare Lyly, *Endimion*, 11 2, at close. It there appears to be much in people's mouths because of the increasing number of sheep in England and the consequent economic difficulties. Compare the burden of a carol of the late sixteenth century in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 168 (*pr* Goodwin, J., *P.S.* xii, 'Six Ballads', p. 4, there wrongly interpreted):

The blacke shepe is a perylous beast,
Curus contrarium falsum est

On the whole agitation see the detailed account by Furnivall (*Ballads from Manuscripts*, Ballad Society, London, 1868-72, vol. 1, pp. 3-37, 97) and the tract 'Certeayne causes.' edited by J. M. Cowper (E.E.T.S., Ex. Ser., No. XIII, London, 1871)

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